THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

CONNECTED,

FROM

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

TO

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF SARDANAPALUS, AND TO THE DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, UNDER THE REIGNS OF AHAZ AND PEKAH:

INCLUDING

THE DISSERTATION ON

THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

BY SAMUEL SHUCKFORD, D. D.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, GEORGE THE SECOND.

Revised, Corrected, and Greatly Improved,

BY JAMES CREIGHTON, B. A.

FOUR VOLUMES IN TWO.

VOL. I. & 2 (added)

Volume 2 is on PAGE 217

THE FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE FIFTH LONDON EDITION.

Illustrated with a New and Correct Set of Maps and Plans, and an Extensive Index.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM W. WOODWARD.

NO. 52, SOUTH SECOND STREET.

1824.

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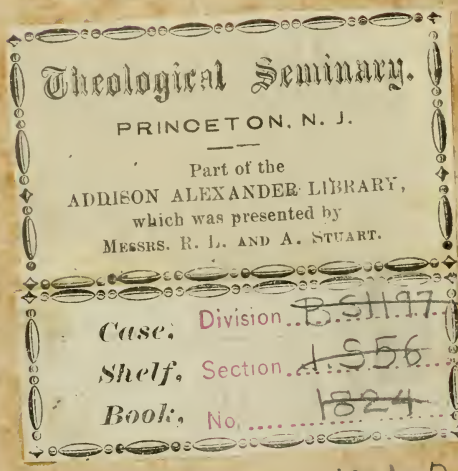

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THE high rank in the Theological World, which Dr. Shuckford's "Sacred and Profane History Connected" *has hitherto sustained, has again rendered its republication necessary. In laying the* Fifth Edition *of this Work before the Public, it may not, perhaps, be improper to specify some of its advantages.*

When last published, in 1808, *the labours of the learned Editor appeared to great disadvantage from the hurried and incorrect manner in which the Work passed through the Press. The faulty passages have been, in this Edition, corrected; the Scriptural and other authorities, and, in most instances, the quotations, have been compared: indeed, the greatest care has been taken to avoid inaccuracies of every kind.*

Anxious to render the present Edition of Dr. Shuckford's Connection *as convenient and useful as possible, the Publisher has added a very copious and much enlarged Index, which will add greatly to the facility of reference. In short, notwithstanding the low price affixed to these Volumes, no effort has been spared to render them in every respect worthy of so learned and masterly a performance.*

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TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

An Edition of the following Work was nearly completed in last August, the whole being printed off (a few sheets excepted,) when every copy, with many other valuable publications, was consumed by a fire in Mr. HENEY'S printing office. My much-respected friend, Dr. ADAM CLARKE, was then engaged as Editor of the Work, to which he had made many corrections, added some notes, and given the ancient alphabets, with important inscriptions, in a more lucid manner than had been done in former Editions. But his time being wholly occupied with many imperious calls, he was obliged to decline the re-editing of the present Work, and requested me to undertake it. With what fidelity it has been executed, must be left to the judgment of the candid and learned reader. On looking into the original copy, I saw it absolutely necessary to alter Dr. SHUCKFORD'S mode of punctuation, to expunge many redundant words, and also to transpose others in innumerable instances; in order to render the sentences more perspicuous, more intelligible, and more harmonious to a modern ear. Every intelligent reader well knows, that very great improvements may be made in these respects, in constructing sentences, even where the sentiments and ideas of an author are faithfully retained. Dr. SHUCKFORD had frequently a whole octavo page, and sometimes more, in *one period;* and the subdivisions of this were marked only with com-

mas! These are now divided into three or four distinct sentences; and yet the Author's sentiments are not at all altered. He had also (like many other writers of the two last centuries, and even some respectable authors of the present day) detached the prepositions *of, to, from, by, with,* from the pronoun which they govern, and placed them at the end of the sentence. This inelegance, as well as defect in harmony, is here generally avoided; which will facilitate the labour of future Editors: and it is hoped, that, upon the whole, many considerable improvements have been made. The notes of Dr. CLARKE, and also those additions and improvements which he had made in that Edition which was burned, as far as they could be recovered, are inserted in this.

JAMES CREIGHTON.

LONDON, May 20, 1808.

PREFACE.

The design of this undertaking is to set before the reader a view of the History of the World, from Adam to the dissolution of the Assyrian Empire, at the death of Sardanapalus, in the reigns of Ahaz, king of Judah, and Pekah, king of Israel. At this period, the most learned Dean Prideaux began his Connection of the Old and New Testaments, and I would bring my performance down to the times where his work begins; hoping, that if it can set the transactions of these ages in a clear light, my endeavours may be of some service towards forming a judgment of the truth and exactness of the ancient Scripture history, by showing how far the old fragments of the heathen writers agree with it, and how much better and more authentic the account is, which it gives of things, where they differ from it. What is now published is but a small part of my design; but, if this meets with that acceptance, which I hope it may, the remaining parts shall soon follow.

Chronology and geography being necessary helps to history, I have taken care to be as exact as I can in both; and that I might give the reader the clearest view of the geography, I have, here and there, added a map, where I differ in any particulars from other writers, or have mentioned any thing, not so clearly delineated in the draughts already extant. As to the chronology, I have observed, as I go along, the several years in which the particulars I treat of, happened; and where any doubts or difficulties may arise, I have endeavoured to clear them, by giving my reasons for the particular times of the transactions, of which I have treated.

In the annals, as I go along, I have chosen to make use of that æra of the creation of the world, which seemed to be most easy and natural. The transactions, of which I am to treat, are brought down from the beginning; and it will be often very clear at what interval or distance they follow one another, and how long after the Creation; whereas, if I had used the same æra with

Dr. Prideaux, and computed by the years before CHRIST, it would have been necessary to have ascertained the reader in what year of the world the incarnation of CHRIST happened, before he could have had a fixed and determinate notion of my chronology. However, when I have gone through the whole, I shall add such chronological tables as may adjust the several years of the creation, both to the Julian period and the Christian æra.

It is something difficult to say, of what length the year was, which was in use in the early ages. Before the Flood, it is most probable, that the civil and solar year were the same, and that three hundred and sixty days were the exact measure of both. In that space of time the Sun made one entire revolution; and it was easy and natural for the first astronomers to divide the circle of the Sun's annual course into three hundred and sixty parts, long before geometry arrived at perfection enough to afford a reason for choosing to divide circles into that number of degrees. All the time of the antediluvian world, chronology was fixed and easy, for a year could be more exactly measured than it now can.

At the Flood, the Heavens underwent some change: the motion of the Sun was altered, and a year, or annual revolution of it, became, as it now is, five days and almost six hours longer than it was before. That such a change had been made,[a] most of the philosophers observed, and, without doubt, as soon as they did observe it, they endeavoured to set right their chronology by it: for it is evident, that as soon as the solar year became thus augmented, the ancient measure of a year would not do, but mistakes must creep in, and grow more and more every year they continued to compute by it.

The first correction of the year, which we read of, was made in Egypt;[b] and Syncellus[c] names the person who made it, *viz.* Assis, a king of Thebes, who reigned about a thousand years after the Flood. He added five days to the ancient year, and inserted them at the end of the twelfth month. And though this did not bring the civil year up to an exact measure with the solar;

[a] See Plutarch de Placit. Philos. lib. ii, c. 8, lib. iii, c. 12, lib. v, c. 18; and Plato Polit. p. 174, 175, 269, 270, 271; and Laertius in vit. Anaxagor. lib. ix, seg. 33. [b] Herodot. lib. ii, sec. 4. [c] Syncell, p. 123.

yet it was a great emendation, and put chronology in a state in which it continued for some ages. The Egyptian year, thus settled by Assis, consisted of months and days, as follow :—

Months.	Containing Days.	Beginning about
1 Thyoth	30	August 29.
2 Paophi	30	September 28.
3 Athyr	30	October 28.
4 Choiac	30	November 27.
5 Tubi	30	December 27.
6 Mecheir	30	January 26.
7 Phamenoth	30	February 25.
8 Pharmuthi	30	March 27.
9 Pachon	30	April 26.
10 Pauni	30	May 26.
11 Epiphi	30	June 25.
12 Mesori	30	July 25.

Ἐπαγόμεναι, or additional five days, begin August 24, and so end August 28, that the first of Thyoth next year may be August 29, as above.

The Babylonians are thought to have corrected their year next to the Egyptians; they computed but three hundred and sixty days to a year, until the death of Sardanapalus, about one thousand six hundred years after the Flood. At his death Belesis began his reign, and Belesis being the same person with Nabonassar, from the beginning of his reign commenced the famous astronomical æra called by his name. The Nabonassarean year agrees exactly with the Egyptian year before mentioned. The months differ only in the name; they are the same in number, and of equal lengths; but this year does not begin in autumn, as the Egyptian does, but from the end of our February, which was the time when Nabonassar began his reign.

The ancient year of the Medes is the same with the Nabonassarean: it begins about the same time, has the same number of months and days, and epagomena, or additional days, at its end; and was probably brought into use by Arbaces, who was confederate with Nabonassar against Sardanapalus; and who by agreement with him founded the empire of the Medes, at the same time when the king set up himself king at Babylon. Dr.

Hyde[d] agrees to this origin of the Medes' year, and supposes that it was instituted about the time of founding the empire of the Medes. He very justly corrects Golius, and accounts for the Median year's beginning in the spring; by supposing it derived from the Assyrian, though in one point I think he mistakes. He imagines that all the ancient years began about this time, and that the Syrians, Chaldeans, and Sabæans, who began their year at autumn, had deviated from their first usages; whereas the contrary is true; for all the ancient nations began their year from the autumn. Nabonassar made the first alteration at Babylon; and his year being received at the setting up the Median empire, the Medes began their year agreeably to it. Dr. Hyde supposes the ancient Persian year to be the same with the Median; but Dean Prideaux was of opinion that the Persian year consisted only of three hundred and sixty days, in the reign of Darius.[e]

Thales[f] was the first who corrected the Greek year. He flourished something more than fifty years after Nabonassar. He learned in Egypt that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days, and endeavoured to settle the Grecian chronology to a year of that measure. Strabo[g] supposes that Plato and Eudoxus were the correctors of the Greek year; but he means, that they were the first of the Grecians who found out the deficiency of almost six hours in the year of Thales; for he does not say, that Plato and Eudoxus were the first that introduced three hundred and sixty-five days for a year, but speaks expressly of their first learning the defect before-mentioned. The year had been settled to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days almost two centuries before the time of Eudoxus or Plato. The correction of Thales was not immediately received all over Greece; for Solon, in the time of Crœsus, king of Lydia, was ignorant of it.[h]

The most ancient year of the Romans was formed by

[d] Rel. vet. Pers. c. 14. [e] Connect. vol. i, Ann. ante Christum 509.
[f] Diogenes Laert. in. vit. Thaletis. seg. 27. [g] Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 806.
[h] Herod. lib. i, sec. 32. Solon seems to hint, that a month of thirty days should be intercalated every other year: but this is supposing the year to contain three hundred and seventy-five days. Either Solon was not acquainted with Thales's measure of a year, or Herodotus made a mistake in his relation, or the Greeks were about this time trying to fix the true measure of the year, and Solon determined in one way, and Thales in another.

Romulus. Whence, or how he came by the form of it is uncertain; it consisted of but ten[i] months, very irregular ones,[k] some of them being not twenty days long, and others above thirty-five; but in this respect it agreed with the most ancient years of other nations, for it consisted[l] of three hundred and sixty days, and no more, as is evident from the express testimony of Plutarch.

The *Jewish year*, in these early times, consisted of twelve months, and each month of thirty days; and three hundred and sixty days were the whole year. We do not find that GOD, by any special appointment, corrected the year for them; for what may seem to have been done of this sort,[m] at the institution of the Passover, does not appear to affect the length of their year at all, for in that respect it continued the same after that appointment, which it was before. And we do not any where read that Moses ever made a correction of it. The adding *five days* to the year under Assis, before-mentioned, happened after the children of Israel came out of Egypt: so that Moses might be learned in all the learning of the Egyptians, and yet not instructed in this point, which was a discovery made after his leaving them. A year consisted of twelve months in the times of David and Solomon, as appears by the course of household-officers[n] appointed by the one, and of captains[o] by the other; and we nowhere in the books of the Old Testament find any mention of an intercalary month; and Scaliger is positive, that there was no such month used in the time of Moses, or of the Judges, or of the Kings[p]. And that each month had thirty days, and no more, is evident from Moses's computation of the duration of the Flood. The Flood began, he tells us[q], on the seventeenth day of the second month; prevailed without any sensible abatement for one hundred and fifty days[r], and then the ark lodged on mount Ararat[s], on the seventeenth day of the seventh month. So that we see, from the seventeenth of the second month, to the seventeenth

[i] Thus Ovid. Fast. lib. i.

Tempora digereret cum conditor urbis in anno
Constituit menses quinque bis esse suo.

[k] Plutarch. in. vit. Num. [l] Id. ibid. [m] Exodus xii.
[n] 1 Kings iv, 5. [o] 1 Chron. xxvii.
[p] Lib. de Emend. Temp. in capite de Anno Piscorum Hebræorum Abrahameo.
[q] Gen. vii, 11. [r] Ver. 24. [s] Gen. viii, 3, 4.

of the seventh month (*i. e.* for five whole months) he allows one hundred and fifty days, which is just thirty days to each month, for five times thirty days are a hundred and fifty. This, therefore, was the ancient Jewish year; and I imagine this year was in use amongst them, without emendation, at least to a much later period than that to which I am to bring down this Work. Dean Prideaux[t] treats pretty largely of the ancient Jewish year, from Selden, and from the Talmud and Maimonides; but the year he speaks of seems not to have been used until after the captivity[u].

From what has been said, it must be evident that the chronologers do, in general, mistake in supposing the ancient year commensurate with the present Julian. The one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, which preceded the Flood, came short of so many Julian years by above twenty-three years. And in like manner after the Flood, all nations, till the æra of Nabonassar, which begins exactly where my history is to end, computing by a year of three hundred and sixty days, except the Egyptians only (and they altered the old computation but a century or two before,) and the difference between this ancient year and the Julian being five days in each year, besides the day in every leap-year; it is very clear, that the space of time between the Flood and the Death of Sardanapalus, supposed to contain about one thousand six hundred ancient years, will fall short of so many Julian years by five days and about a fourth-part of a day in every year; which amounts to one or two and twenty years in the whole time: but I would only hint this here; the uses that may be made of it shall be observed in their proper places. There are many chronological difficulties which the reader will meet with, of another nature; but as I have endeavoured to adjust them in the places where they occur, it would be needless to repeat here what will be found at large in the ensuing pages.

I shall very probably be thought to have taken great liberty in the accounts I have given of the most ancient profane history; particularly in that which is antediluvian, and which I have reduced to an agreement with the history of Moses. It will be said, "take it altogether,

[t] Preface to the first volume of his Connection.
[u] See Scaliger in loc. supr. citat.

as it lies in the authors from whom we have it, that it has no such harmony with the sacred writer; and to make a harmony by taking part of what is represented, and such part only as you please, every thing, or any thing, may be made to agree in this manner; but such an agreement will not be much regarded by the unbiassed." To this I answer: the heathen accounts, which we have of these early ages, were taken from the records of either Thyoth the Egyptian or Sanchoniathon of Berytus; and whatever the original memoirs of these men were, we are sure the accounts were, some time after their decease, corrupted with fable and mystical philosophy. Philo of Biblos in one place[x] seems to think, that Taautus himself wrote his Sacra, and his theology, in a way above the understanding of the common people, in order to create reverence and respect to the subject of which he treated; and that Surmubelus and Theuro, some ages after, endeavoured to explain his works, by stripping them of the allegory, and giving their true meaning. But I cannot think a writer so ancient as Athothes wrote in fable or allegory; the first memoirs or histories were without doubt short and plain, and men afterwards embellished them with false learning, and in time endeavoured to correct that, and arrive at the true. All therefore that I can collect from this passage of Philo Biblius is this, that Thyoth's memoirs did not continue such as he left them. Surmubelus and Theuro in some time altered them, and I fear, whoever they were, they altered them for the worse; for *such* were the alterations which succeeding generations made in the records of their ancestors, as appears from what the same writer farther offers.[y] "When Saturnus," says he (now I think Saturnus to be only another name for Mizraim,) "went to the South," (*i. e.* when he removed from the Lower Egypt into Thebais, which I have taken notice of in its place,) "he made Taautus king of all Egypt, and the Cabiri" (who were the sons of Mizraim) "made memoirs of these transactions." Such were the first writings of mankind; short hints or records of what they did, and where they settled: "but the son of Thabio, one of the first interpreters of the Sacra of the Phœnicians, by his comments and interpretations filled these records full of allegory, and mixed

[x] See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10. [y] Ibid.

his physiological philosophy with them, and so left them to the priests, and they to their successors. With these additions and mixtures they came into the hands of the Greeks, who were men of an abounding fancy, and who, by new applications, and by increasing the number and the extravagancy of the fable, did in time leave but little appearance of any thing like truth in them." We have much the same account of the writings of Sanchoniathon. "Sanchoniathon of Berytus," we are told[z], "wrote his history of the Jewish antiquities with the greatest care and fidelity, having received his facts from Hierombalus, a priest; and having a mind to write a universal history of all nations from the beginning, he took the greatest pains in searching the records of Taautus. But some later writers (probably the persons before-mentioned) had corrupted his remains by their allegorical interpretations, and physical additions; for (says Philo,) the more modern ἐξηγηταὶ, priests, or explainers of the Sacra, had omitted to relate the true facts as they were recorded, instead of which, they had obscured them by[a] invented accounts and mysterious fictions, drawn from their notions of the nature of the universe; so that it was not easy for one to distinguish the real facts which Taautus had recorded, from the fictions superadded to them. But he (*i. e.* Sanchoniathon,) finding some of the books of the Ammonei, which were kept in the libraries or registries of the temples, examined every thing with the greatest care; and rejecting the allegories and fables, which at first sight offered themselves, he at length brought his work to perfection. But the priests, who lived after him, adding their comments and explications to his work, in some time brought all back to mythology again." This, I think, is a just account of what has been the fate of the ancient heathen remains; they were clear

[z] See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 9.

[a] We have an instance in Plutarch, lib. de Iside, p. 355, of the manner in which the ancient records were obscured by fable. The ancient Egyptians had recorded the alteration of the year which I have mentioned, and perhaps observed, that it was caused by the Sun's annual course becoming five days longer than it was before, and that the Moon's course was proportionably shortened. The mythologic priests turned this account into the following fable:—"Rhea," they say, "having privately lain with Saturn, begged of the Sun that she might bring forth in no month nor year. Mercury hereupon was set to play at dice with the Moon, and won from her the seventy-second part of each day; which being given to the Sun, made the five additional days, over and above the settled months of the year, in one of which Rhea was brought to bed." Five days are the seventy-second part of three hundred and sixty days, which was the length of the ancient year.

and true, when left by their authors, but after-writers corrupted them by the addition of fable and false philosophy. Therefore, whoever would endeavour to give a probable account of things from the remains of Thyoth, or Sanchoniathon, must set aside what he finds to be allegory and fable, as the surest way to come at the true remains of these ancient authors. This I have endeavoured to do in my accounts of the Phœnician and Egyptian antiquities. I have added nothing to their history, and if their ancient remains be carefully examined, the nature of what I have omitted will justify my omitting it; and what I have taken from them, will, I believe, satisfy the judicious reader, that ancient authors, before their writings were corrupted, left accounts very agreeable to that of Moses.

Some persons think that the remains we have of Sanchoniathon, and the extracts from Taautus, are mere figments; and that very probably there never were either such men or such writers. But to this I answer, with Bishop Stillingfleet[b], had it been so, the antagonists of Porphyry, Methodius, Apollinaris, but especially Eusebius, who was so well versed in antiquities, would have found out so great a cheat; for however they have been accused of admitting pious frauds, yet they were such as made for them, and not against them; as the works of these writers were thought to do, when the enemies of Christianity produced them. And I dare say, that if the fragments of these ancients did indeed contradict the Sacred History, instead of what they may, I think, when fairly interpreted, be proved to do, namely, agree with it, and to be thereby an additional argument of its uncorrupted truth and antiquity, our modern enemies of revealed religion would think it a partiality not to allow them as much authority as our Bible.

As the works of Taautus and Sanchoniathon were corrupted, by the fables of authors who wrote after them, so probably the Chaldean records suffered alterations from the fancies of those who in after ages copied them; and from hence the reigns (or lives) of Berosus's Antediluvian Kings (or rather men) came to be extended to so incredible a length. The lives of men, in these times, were extraordinary, as Moses hath repre-

[b] Origines Sacræ, b. i, c. 2.

sented them; but the profane historians, fond of the marvellous, have far exceeded the truth in their relations. Berosus computes their lives by a term of years called *sarus;* each sarus, he says, is six hundred and three years, and he thinks that some of them lived ten, twelve, thirteen, and eighteen sari, *i. e.* six thousand and thirty, seven thousand two hundred and thirty-six, seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, and ten thousand eight hundred and fifty-four years; but mistakes of this sort have happened with writers of a much later date. Diodorus, and other writers, represent the armies of semiramis, and her buildings at Babylon, more numerous and magnificent than can be conceived by any one who considers the infant state kingdoms were in when she reigned. Abraham, with a family of between three and four hundred persons, made the figure of a mighty prince in these early times, for the earth was not full of people: and if we come down to the times of the Trojan war, we do not find reason to imagine, that those countries of which the heathen writers treated, were more potent or populous than their contemporaries, of whom we have accounts in the sacred pages; but the heathen historians, hearing that Semiramis, or other ancient princes, did what were wonders in their age, took care to tell them in a way and manner, that should make them wonders in their own. In a word, Moses is the only writer whose accounts are liable to no exception. We must make allowances in many particulars to all others, and very great ones in the point before us, to reconcile them either to truth or probability; and I think I have met with a saying of an ancient writer, which seems to intimate it; for he uses words something to this purport: *Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo ficta veris primordia sua augustiora faciat.*

In my history of the Assyrian empire after the Flood, I have followed that account which the ancient writers are supposed to have taken from Ctesias. Herodotus differs much from it; who imagines that the Assyrian[c] empire began only five hundred and twenty years before the Medes broke off their subjection to it; and thinks that Semiramis was but five generations older than Ni-

[c] Herod. lib. i, sec. 95.

tocris,[d] the mother of Labynetus, called in scripture Belshazzar, in whose reign Cyrus took Babylon. Five generations, says Sir John Marsham,[e] could not make up two hundred years. Herodotus has been thought by all antiquity to be mistaken in this point. Herennius observes, that Babylon[f] was built by Belus, and makes it older than Semiramis by two thousand years, imagining, perhaps, Semiramis to be as late as Herodotus has placed her; or taking Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to be Semiramis, as Photius[g] suggests Conon to have done. Herennius was, indeed, much mistaken in the antiquity of Babylon; but whoever considers his opinion will find no reason to quote him, as Sir John Marsham[h] does in favour of Herodotus. Porphyry[i] is said to place Semiramis about the time of the Trojan war; but as he acknowledges, in the same place, that she might be older, his opinion is no confirmation of the account given by Herodotus. From Moses's Nimrod to Nabonassar appears evidently from Scripture to be about one thousand five hundred years; for so many years there are between the time when Nimrod began to be a mighty one,[k] and the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, who was contemporary with Nabonassar; therefore Herodotus, in supposing the first Assyrian king to be but five hundred and twenty years before Deioces of Media, falls short of the truth above nine hundred years. But there ought to be no great stress laid upon Herodotus's account in this matter; as he himself seems to own that he had taken up his opinion from report only, and not examined any records to assure him of the truth.[l]

Ctesias, who was physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and lived in his court and near his person about seventeen years, wrote his history about a hundred years after Herodotus. He was every way well qualified to correct the mistakes which Herodotus made in his history of the Assyrian and Persian affairs; for he did not write, as Herodotus did, from hearsay and report; but he searched the royal records of Persia, in which all transactions and affairs of the government were faithfully re-

[d] Id. ibid. sec. 184. [e] Can. Chron. sec. 17, p. 489.
[f] Apud. Steph. Byz. in voce βαϛ. [g] Phot. Myraob. Tm. 186; Narrat 9.
[h] In loc. supr. cit. [i] Euseb. Præp. l. x, c. 9. [k] Gen. x, 8; 2 Kings xvi, 7.
[l] Lib. i, c. 95; ως των Περσεων μετεξετεροι λεγεσι——κατα ταυτα γραϕω.

gistered.[m] That there were such records was a thing well known; of which the books of Ezra and Esther[n] give us a testimony. Ctesias's account falls very well within the compass of time which the Hebrew Scriptures allow for such a series of kings as he has given us; and we have not only the Hebrew Scriptures to assure us that from Nimrod to Nabonassar were as many years as he computes; but it appears from what Callisthenes the philosopher,[o] who accompanied Alexander the Great, observed of the astronomy of the Babylonians, that they had been a people eminent for learning for as long a time backward as Ctesias supposes. They had astronomical observations for one thousand nine hundred and three years backward when Alexander took Babylon; and Alexander's taking Babylon happening about four hundred and twenty years after Nabonassar, it is evident they must have been settled near one thousand five hundred years before his reign; and thus Ctesias's account is, as to the substance of it, confirmed by very good authorities. The Scriptures show us, that there was such an interval between the first Assyrian king and Nabonassar, as he imgines. The observations of Callisthenes prove, that the Assyrians were promoters of learning during that whole interval; and Ctesias's account only supplies us with the number and names of the kings, whose reigns, according to the royal records of Persia, filled up such an interval. Ctesias's accounts, and Callisthenes's observations were not framed with a design to be suited exactly to one another, or to the Scripture; and therefore their agreeing so well together is a good confirmation of the truth of each.

There are, indeed, some things objected against Ctesias and his history. We find the ancients had but a mean opinion of him; for he is treated as a fabulous writer by Aristotle, Antigonus, Caristheus, Plutarch, Arrian, and Photius. But I might observe, none of these writers ever imagined that he had invented a whole catalogue of kings; but only related things not true of those persons of whom he has treated. There are, without doubt, many mistakes and transactions misreported in the writings of Ctesias, as there are in Herodotus, and in every other heathen historian; but it would be a very

[m] Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii, p. 84. [n] Ezra iv, 15; Esther vi, 1.
[o] Simplicius, lib. ii, de Cœlo.

unfair way of criticising, to set aside a whole work as fabulous, on account of some errors or falsehoods found in it. However, H. Stephens has justly observed, that it was the Indian history of Ctesias, and not his Persian,[p] which was most liable to the objections of these writers. In that, indeed, he might sometimes romance, for we do not find he wrote it from such authentic vouchers; but in his Persian history there are evident proofs[q] that he had a disposition to tell the truth, where he might have motives to the contrary. In a word, though he might be mistaken in the grandeur of the first kings, or think their armies more numerous than they really were, and their empires greater, and their buildings more magnificent; yet there is no room to imagine that he could pretend to put off a list of kings, as extracted from the Persian records, whose names were never in them. Or if he had attempted to forge one, he could hardly have happened to fill up so exactly the interval, without making it more or less than it appears to have been from the Hebrew Scriptures, and from what was afterwards observed from the Chaldean astronomy.

I am sensible that the account, which Callisthenes is said to give of the celestial observations at Babylon, is called in question by the same writers who dispute the authority of Ctesias; but with as little reason. They quote Pliny,[r] who affirms Berosus to say, that the Babylonians had celestial observations for four hundred and eighty years backward from his time; and Epigenes to assert, that they had such observations for seven hundred and twenty years back from his time; and they would infer from hence, that the Babylonian observations reached no higher. But it is remarkable, that both Berosus and Epigenes suppose their observations to be no earlier than Nabonassar; for, from Nabonassar to the time in which Berosus flourished is about four hundred and eighty years, and to the time of Epigenes about seven hundred and twenty.[s] The Babylonians had not (as I have observed) settled a good measure of a year, until about this time; and therefore could not be exact in their more ancient computations. Syncellus remarks[t] upon them to this purport; and for this reason Berosus,

[p] Hen. Stephanus in Disquisitione de Ctesia.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Plin. lib. vii, c. 56.
[s] Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 474.
[t] Syncellus, p 207.

Epigenes, and Ptolemy afterwards, took no notice of what they had observed before Nabonassar; not intending to assert, that they made no observations; but, their astronomy not being at all exact, their observations were not thought worth examining.

There are some other arguments offered to invalidate the accounts of Ctesias. It is remarked, that the names of his kings are Persian, or Greek, and not Assyrian; and it is said, that he represents the state of Assyria otherwise than it appears to have been, Gen. xiv, when Abraham with his household beat the armies of the king of Shinaar, Elam, and three other kings with them. But the latter of these objections will be answered in its place; and the former, I conceive, can have no weight with the learned, who know what a variety of names are given to the men of the first ages, by writers of different nations.

Upon the whole, Ctesias's catalogue of the first Assyrian kings seems a very consistent and well-grounded correction of Herodotus's hearsay and imperfect relation of their antiquities; and as such it has been received by Diodorus Siculus, by Cephaleon, and Castor, by Trogus Pompeius, and Valleius Paterculus, and afterwards by Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus. Sir John Marsham raised the first doubts about it;[u] but I must think, that the accounts which he endeavours to give of the original of the Assyrians, will be always reckoned among the peculiarities of that learned gentleman. There are some small differences among the writers, who have copied from Ctesias, about the true number of kings from Ninus to Sardanapalus, as well as about the sum of the duration of their reigns; but if what I have offered in defence of Ctesias himself may be admitted, the mistakes of those who have copied from him will be easily corrected in the proper place.

I hope the digressions in this work will not be thought too many, or too tedious; being occasioned by the circumstances of those times of which I treat. I have not made it my business to write at large upon any of them; but thought a few general hints of what might be offered upon them, would be both acceptable to the reader, and not foreign to the purpose I have in hand; all of them,

[u] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 485, speaking of Ctesias's catalogue, he says, De cujus veritate, cum nemo adhuc sit qui dubitaverit, &c.

if duly considered, tending very evidently to illustrate the Sacred History. There are two subjects which the reader might expect at the beginning of this work; one of them is the account of the creation of the world, the other the state of Adam and Eve in Paradise, their fall, and their loss of it. Of the former of these I would give some account in this place; the latter, I think, may be treated with greater clearness, when I come hereafter to speak of Moses and his writings.*

I. The account, which Moses gives of the creation, is to this purport:

In the beginning, GOD created the Heavens and the Earth.

The Earth after it was created was for some time a confused and indigested mass of matter, a dark and unformed chaos; but GOD in six days reduced it into a world, in the following manner:—

First, the Spirit of GOD moved upon the fluid matter, and separated the parts of which it consisted from one another; some of them shined like the light of the day, others were opaque like the darkness of the night; GOD separated them one from the other; and this was the first step taken in the formation of the world.

Secondly, GOD thought it proper to have an expansion[x] between the Earth and Heaven, capable of supporting clouds of water: the appointing this expansion, and suspending the waters in it, was the work of the second day.

Thirdly, After this, GOD caused the waters of the earth to be drawn off, so as to drain the ground, and thus were the seas gathered together, and the dry land appeared; and then GOD produced from the earth all manner of trees, and grass, and herbs, and fruits.

On the fourth day, GOD made the lights of Heaven capable of being serviceable to the world in several respects, fitted to distribute light and heat, to divide day and night, and to mark out times, seasons, and years; two of them were more especially remarkable, the Sun and the Moon: the Sun he made to shine in the day, the Moon by night; and he gave the stars their proper places.

* See this subject treated at large in the Introduction to the Fourth Volume. EDIT.

[x] רקיע *Rachiang* properly signifies an *expansion*, and not what is implied by the Greek word στερεωμα, or our English word *firmament*.

Fifthly, Out of the waters GOD created all the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air.

On the sixth day, out of the earth GOD made all the other living creatures, beasts, cattle, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth. Last of all, he made man, a more noble creature than any of the rest: he made his body of the dust of the earth, and afterwards animated him with a living soul. And out of the man he made the woman. This is the substance of the account given by Moses of the creation of the world. Moses did not write until above two thousand three hundred years after the creation; but we have nothing extant so ancient as this account.

II. We have several heathen fragments, which express many of the sentiments of Moses about the creation. The scene of learning, in the first ages, lay in India, in the countries near to Babylon, in Egypt, and in time spread into Greece.

The Indians have been much famed for their ancient learning. Megasthenes is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus,[y] representing the Indians and the Jews as the great masters of the learning, for which afterwards the Greeks were famous; but the antiquities of these nations have either been little known, or their ancient learning is by some accident lost, for our best late inquirers can now meet no remains of it. Strabo and Clemens Alexandrinus give hints of several notions amongst them, which would argue that they have been a very learned people; but the only considerable specimen we now have of their literature is the writings of Confucius. Their present notions of philosophy are mean and vulgar, and whatever their ancient learning was, it was either destroyed by their emperor Zio, who, they say, burnt all their ancient books, or by some other accident it is lost.

The works of the most ancient Phœnician, Egyptian, and many of the Greek writers, are also perished; but succeeding generations have accidentally preserved many of their notions, and we have considerable fragments of their writings transmitted to us. The Egyptians, Diodorus Siculus[z] informs us, affirmed, that in the beginning the Heavens and the Earth were in one lump, mixed and blended together in the same mass.

[y] Strom. lib. i, p. 360. Edit. Oxon.

[z] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, p. 4.

This assertion may at first sight seem to differ from Moses, who makes the Heavens and the Earth distinct at their first creation; but it is obvious to observe, that the Egyptians did not take the word Heaven in the large and extended sense, but only signified by it the air and planetary regions belonging to our world; for the first Greeks, who had their learning from Egypt, agree very fully with Moses in this point. "In the beginning," says Orpheus,[a] "the Heavens were made by GOD, and in the Heavens there was a chaos, and a terrible darkness was on all the parts of this chaos, and covered all things under the Heaven." This is very agreeable to that of Moses: *In the beginning* GOD *created the Heavens and the Earth, and the Earth was without form, and void*, i. e. was a chaos, *and darkness was upon the face of the deep. Orpheus* did not conceive that the Heavens and the Earth had ever been in one mass: for as Syrian[b] observes, the Heavens and the chaos were, according to Orpheus, the principia, out of which the rest were produced.

The ancient heathen writers do not generally begin their accounts so high as the creation of the Heavens and the chaos; they commonly go no farther back than to the formation of the chaos into a world. Moses describes this in the following manner: *The Earth was without form, and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of* GOD *moved upon the face of the waters.* Anaxagoras, as Laertius informs us, began his book,[c] "All things were at first in one mass, but an intelligent agent came and put them in order;" or as Aristotle[d] gives us his opinion, "all things," says he, "lay in one mass, for a vast space of time, but an intelligent agent came and put them in motion, and so separated them from one another." We have Sanchoniathon's account of things in Eusebius, and if we throw aside the mythology and false philosophy which those who lived after him added to his writings, we may pick up a few very ancient and remarkable truths, namely, that there was a dark and confused chaos, and a blast of wind or air to put it in a ferment

[a] Suid. voc. Ὀρφ: Cedren. ex Timol. p. 57; Procl. in Tim. βιβ. ϛ. p. 117.
[b] Arist. Metaph. p. 7.
[c] Παντα χρηματα ην ομυ ειτα Νους ελθων αυτα διεκοσμησε. Lib. ii, seg. 6.
[d] Φησι γαρ Ἀναξαγορας, ομυ παντων ουτων και ηρεμουντων τον απειρον χρονον, κινησαι εμποιησαι τον Νουν και διακριναι. Arist. Phys. Ausc. lib. viii, c. i.

or agitation. This wind he calls ανεμος Κολπια, not the wind *Colpia*, as Eusebius seems to take it, but ανεμος *Col-pi-jah*, i. e.[e] the wind or breath of the voice of the mouth of the LORD; and if this was his meaning, he very emphatically expresses God's making all things with a word, and intimates also what the Chaldee paraphrast insinuates from the words of Moses, that the chaos was put into its first agitation by a mighty and strong wind.

Some general hints of these things are to be found in many remains of the ancient Greek writers. Thales's opinion was, that the first principle of all things was υδωρ, or water.[f] And Tully[g] affirms this to have been his opinion; but it should be remarked, from Plutarch's observation, that Thales's υδωρ was not pure elementary water. The successors of Thales came by degrees to think that water, by being condensed, might be made earth, and by being rarefied would evaporate into air; and some writers have hence imagined, that Thales thought water to be the *initium rerum*, i. e. the first principle out of which all other things were made: but this was not the doctrine of Thales. The ancient philosophers are said to have called water, chaos, from χεω, the Greek word which signifies *diffusion;* so that the word chaos was used ambiguously, sometimes as a proper name, and sometimes for water; and it is conceived, that this might occasion the opinion of Thales to be mistaken, and himself to be represented as asserting the beginning of things to be from *chaos, water,* when he meant from a chaos. But take him in the other sense, asserting things to have arisen from water; it is easy to suppose that he means, by water, a fluid substance, for this was the ancient doctrine. Thus Sanchoniathon argues, from the chaos he supposes יוח or muddy matter to arise; and thus Orpheus,[h] out of the fluid chaos, arose a muddy substance; and Apollonius,[i] out of the muddy substance the Earth was formed, *i. e.* says the scholiast, the chaos, of which all things were made, was a fluid substance, which, by settling, became mud, and that in time dried and condensed into solid earth. It is remarkable that Moses calls the chaos,

[e] קול-פי-יה. [f] Αρχην των παντων υδωρ υπεστησατο. Laert. lib. i, seg. 27.
[g] Lib. de Natura Deorum i, sec. 10. Thales Milesius aquam dixit esse initium rerum. [h] Εκ τε υδατος ιλυς κατεστη. [i] Εξ ιλυς εθλασησε χθων αυτη.

water, in this sense; the Spirit of GOD, he says, moved upon the face of the *maim*, waters, or fluid matter.

The fragments to be collected from the Greek writers are but few and short; the Egyptian are something larger. According to Diodorus,[k] they assert, 1. as I have before hinted, that the Heavens and Earth were at first in one confused and mixed heap. 2. That upon a separation, the lightest and most fiery parts flew upwards[l], and became the lights of Heaven. 3. That the Earth was in time drained of the water. 4. That the moist clay of the Earth, enlivened by[m] the heat of the Sun, brought forth living creatures, and men. A very little turn would accommodate these particulars to those of Moses; as may be seen by comparing the account of Diodorus with that which is given us by the author of the Pimander in Jamblicus. The ancient philosophy had been variously commented upon, disguised, and disfigured, according as the idolatry of the world had corrupted men's notions, or the speculations of the learned had misled them, before the times of Diodorus Siculus. And it is so far from being an objection, that the accounts he gives do in some points differ from Moses, that it is rather a wonder that he, or any other writer, could, after so many revolutions of religion, of learning, of kingdoms, of ages, be able to collect from the remains of antiquity any positions so agreeable to one another, as those which he has given us, and the accounts of Moses are.

III. But though the ancients have hinted many of the positions laid down by Moses; yet we do not find that they ever made use of any true or solid reasoning, or were masters of any clear and well-grounded learning, which might lead them to the knowledge of these truths. All the knowledge which the ancients had in these points lay at first in a narrow compass; they were in possession of a few truths, which they had received from their forefathers; they transmitted these to their children, only telling them that such and such things were so, but not giving them reasons for, or demonstrations of the truth

[k] Lib. i.

[l] This was the opinion of Empedocles. Εμπεδοκλης πυρινα τα ασρα εκ τα πυρωδες, οπερ ο αιθηρ εν εαυτω περιεχαν εξεθλιψε κατα την πρωτην διακρισιν Plutarch. Placit. Phil. ii, 13

[m] Τα ζωα εκ της ιλυος γεννηθηναι, was a position embraced by Archelaus and several other Greeks.

of them. Philosophy[n] was not disputative until it came into Greece; the ancient professors had no controversies about it; they received what was handed down to them, and out of the treasure of their traditions imparted to others; and the principles they went upon to teach or to learn by, were not to search into the nature of things, or to consider what they could find by philosophical examinations, but "ask and it shall be told you; search the records of antiquity, and you shall find what you inquire after;" these were the maxims and directions of their studies.

This was the method in which the ancient Greeks were instructed in the Egyptian physiology. The Egyptians taught their disciples geometry, astronomy, physic, and some other arts; and in these, it is likely, they laid a foundation, and taught the elements and principles of each science. But in physiology the case was quite otherwise; the Egyptians themselves knew but little of it, though they made the most of their small stock of knowledge, by keeping it concealed, and diverting their students from attempting to search and examine it to the bottom.[o] If at any time they were obliged to admit an inquirer into their arcana, we find[p] they did it in the following manner: 1. They put him upon studying their common letters; in the next place he was to acquaint himself with their sacred character; and in the last place, to make himself master of their hieroglyphic; and after he had thus qualified himself, he was permitted to search and examine their collections, and to decypher what he found in them. Thus they did not furnish their students with the reasons of things, or teach them by a course of argument, to raise a theory of the powers of nature; for in truth they themselves had never turned their studies this way. The art,[q] which they had cultivated, was that of disguising and concealing their traditions from the vulgar; and so instead of supporting them with reason and argument, they had expressed them in mystical sentences, and wrote them down in intricate and uncommon characters; and all that the students had to do, was to unravel these intricacies, to learn to read what was written, and to be able to explain a dark and enigmatical sentence, and give it its true meaning.

[n] Clem. Alex. Strom. viii, ad Princip.
[o] Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 806.
[p] Clem. Alexand. Strom. v, sec. 4.
[q] Ibid.

If we look into the accounts we have of them, we shall find that the most eminent Geek masters of this part of learning, were not men of retired study and speculation, but industrious travellers, who took pains to collect the ancient traditions. The first hints of physiology were brought into Greece by the poets, Hesiod, Homer, Linus, and some others; but these men had taken up their notions too hastily; they gathered up a few of the Egyptian fables, but had not searched deep enough into their ancient treasures; so that in a little time their notions, though they had taken root amongst the vulgar, and were made sacred by being of use and service in religion, came to be overlooked by men of parts and inquiry, who endeavoured to search after a better philosophy. From Pherecydes, the son of Badis, to the times of Aristotle, are about three hundred years, and during all that space of time, philosophy, in all its branches, was cultivated by the greatest wits of Greece, with all possible industry; but they had only Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, who were the eminent masters, all the other philosophers must be ranged under these, as being only explainers or commentators upon their works, or, at most, the builders of an hypothesis, from some hints given by them. Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, were the originals of the Greek learning; and it is remarkable, that they did not invent that part of their philosophy of which I am treating, but travelled for it, and collected it from the records of other nations.

Thales, we find,[r] travelled into Egypt, and after having spent some years there, brought home with him a few traditions, which, though but few, obtained him the credit of being the first who made a dissertation upon nature;[s] for, in truth, all before him was fable and allegory. But Thales was so far from having furnished himself with all that might be collected, or from pretending to build a theory of natural knowledge upon principles of speculation, that he advised[t] Pythagoras, who studied for some time under him, to finish his studies in the way and method that he himself had taken. According to his direction, Pythagoras, for above forty years together,[u]

[r] Laert. lib. i, seg. 24.

[s] Πρωτος δε και περι φυσιως διελεχθη Id.

[t] Jamblic. de vit. Pythag. c. 2.

[u] Porph. de vit. Pyth. et Gamblic.; Voss. de Philos. Sect. lib. ii, c. 2, sec. 2; Clem. Alex. Strom i; Id. Strom. v; Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 6; Joseph. contra Apion.; Orig. adv. Cels. lib. i, p. 13.

travelled from nation to nation, from Greece to Phœnicia, from Phœnicia to Egypt, and from Egypt to Babylon, searching every place he came at, and gathering all the traditions he could meet with, not omitting to converse with any person eminent for learning, and endeavouring to collect from the Egyptians and the Jews, and all others he could meet with, every ancient dogma. These were the pursuits of Pythagoras, and from this his course of study, and his diligent researches, he acquired a great stock of ancient truths, collected in such a manner, that it is no wonder he afterwards taught them with an air of authority condemned by Cicero,[x] who would have set philosophy upon the basis of reason and argument. But Pythagoras took up his notions upon the authority of others, and could therefore give them to his disciples no otherwise than he had them. His αυτος εφη was the proof of what he asserted, for he had collected, not invented his science; and so he declared or delivered what he had gathered up, but he did not pretend to argue, or give reasons for it.

If we look into the writings of Plato, we may see that he confessed, in the freest manner, what I am contending for. He never asserted that his physiology was the product of his invention, or the result of rational inquiries and speculations; but acknowledged it to be a collection of traditions gleaned up from the remains of those who lived before him. In general he asserts,[y] that the Greeks received their most valuable learning from the traditions of barbarians more ancient than themselves; and often speaks of Phœnician and Syrian, *i. e.* Hebrew fables,[z] as the ground of many of their notions. He particularly instances a Phœnician fable[a] concerning the fraternity of mankind, and their first derivation from the ground, or earth; and confesses[b] that their knowledge of the Deity was derived from the gods, who communicated it to men by one Prometheus; nay, he calls it a tradition which the ancients, who, says he, were better, and dwelt nearer the gods than we, have transmitted to us. In his treatise, *de Legibus*,[c] he makes mention of an ancient tradition about the nature of God. And in his Phædo,[d] treating of the Immor-

[x] Lib. de Nat. Deorum, i, sec. 5.
[z] See Bochart's Phaleg. lib. iv, c. 24.
[b] In Phileb. p. 17. [c] De Legib. lib. iii.
[y] In Cratyl. p. 426.
[a] Lib. de Rep. iii, p. 414.
[d] In Phædon. p. 96.

tality of the Soul, he introduces Socrates reminding his friend, that they had an ancient tradition asserting it; and that the surest and best way to prove it was by the divine account or tradition of it. In his Timæus,[e] being about to treat of the Origin of the Universe, he lays down this preliminary, "It is just, that both I who discourse, and you that judge, should remember that we are but men, and therefore receiving the probable mythologic tradition, it is meet that we inquire no further into it." In his Politicus[f] he gives a large account of Adam's state of innocence, in the fable of Saturn's golden age, which he was so far from taking in the literal sense of the poets, that he complains of the want of a fit interpreter to give its true meaning. In the same manner his fable of Porus's getting drunk in Jupiter's garden, was very probably derived from the ancient accounts of Adam's fall in the garden of Eden. In short, Plato's works are everywhere full of the ancient traditions; which, as he had collected very carefully, so he always endeavoured to deliver without art or reserve, excepting only some fabulous turn, which he was now and then forced to give them, to humour the Greeks.

There were many philosophers among the Greeks, who in their several times endeavoured to reason upon the positions that had been laid down by these masters, and to form a system by deductions of argument and speculation; but all their attempts this way proved idle and insufficient; truth suffered, instead of being advanced by them. Pherecydes endeavoured to form a system from the poets,[g] and wrote a Theogonia, in ten books: but his performance was dark and fabulous, full of fancy and allegory, but in nowise a specimen of true philosophy. The followers of Thales made attempts of the same sort, with as little success. Anaximander and Anaximenes endeavoured to form a system upon Thales's principles; but instead of clearing any thing that had been advanced by their master, or of opening a way to more truth, than he had discovered; they rather puzzled his philosophy with a number of intricate and confused notions. Anaxagoras undertook to correct the mistakes of Anaximenes and Anaximander, and pre-

[e] In Timæo, p. 29. [f] Page 272.
[g] Laert. Ger. Voss de Histor. Græc. lib. iv, c. 4.

tended to set Thales's principles in their true light; and he is clear and consistent just so far as he keeps to Thales's traditions; but wherever we find him attempting to speculate and give reasons, there he appears but trifling and inconclusive.

Amongst all these philosophers, Leucippus and Democritus seem to have laid the best foundation for a good and rational theory of nature. They did not puzzle themselves with[h] hard words of no meaning, harmonic forms, ideas, qualities, and elements; but considered matter as a system of infinitely small particles, contained in an infinite extension of void or space; but however they came by these principles, they either set them in so different a light, or the studies of others had carried them into notions so opposite, that this scheme, which had the most truth in it, was less understood and more exploded than any other.

As the traditions of Thales suffered by being mingled with the philosophy of his successors; so the doctrines of Pythagoras met the same fate. His disciples were willing to have a system, and to give reasons for the truths they had to offer; but if we consider what reasons they gave, what schemes they built, what comments they made upon their master's doctrines, we shall be abundantly convinced, that the doctrines of Pythagoras were not invented by their way of reasoning. The Pythagoreans must be allowed to have been in possession of many considerable truths; but the reasons and arguments they offered to prove them by are weak and frivolous, and the additions they made to them are trifling and inconsistent; and all their speculations so false, or so idle, as to show that they did not think well enough to discover the noble and just sentiments which they had concerning their works of nature. We have nothing of Pythagoras now extant, nor[i] are we certain that he ever wrote any philosophical composition. It is most probable that all his vast stock of knowledge was contained in a select number of sentences, which he expressed after the manner of the Egyptians, and explained to his disciples. But we have several Pythagorean fragments, and at-

[h] Burnet. Archæol. c. 12.

[i] Ο μεν γε θεσπεσιος Πυθαγορας, μηδεν αυτος ημιν ιδιον καταλιπειν των αυτȣ ηξιωσεν. Lucian. in libro pro Lapsu inter salutandum. The books ascribed to him by Pliny, and other writers, are esteemed fictitious.

tempts of his followers; and a complete book of Timæus Locrus; and we may see from any of these performances, that as soon as these men ventured to enlarge beyond the dogmata of their master, and advanced speculations which they had not his authority to support; instead of maintaining the credit of their philosophy, they corrupted it by degrees, and made it subtil and unintelligible, until in time they sunk it to nothing.

The last of the ancient philosophers was Aristotle; whose system was indeed invented. He rejected the ancient traditional knowledge, thinking it unbecoming a philosopher to offer opinions to the world, which he could not prove to be true; but then I am sensible it will be allowed me, that what he advanced is so totally distant from truth, that he will never be an instance of an ancient, who by reason and good argument produced a well-grounded theory of natural knowledge.

Thus, if we look over all the philosophers, and consider what the treasures of knowledge were, which they had among them; we shall find that there were many beams of true light shining amidst their dark and confused notions: but this light was never derived from any use of their reason, for they never could give any reasonable account of it. The invisible things of God had been some way or other related to them; and as long as they were contented to transmit to posterity what their ancestors had transmitted to them, so long they preserved a considerable number of truths. But whenever they attempted to give reasons for these opinions, then in a little time they bewildered themselves, under a notion of advancing their science; then they ceased to retain the truth in their knowledge, changed the true principles of things, which had been delivered to them, into a false, weak, and inconsistent scheme of ill-grounded philosophy. And now let us see,

IV. What does necessarily follow, if this be true. If the natural knowledge which the ancients had was traditional; if the succeeding generation received down only some reports from the generation that went before it, where was the fountain? who was the author of this knowledge? Moses was as unlikely as another, to make discovery of these truths by any powers of reason; he was, indeed, learned in all the learning of the Egyp-

tians; but we do not find any principles in the Egyptian learning which could lead into the secret of these things. It is remarkable, that Moses's account of the creation is a bare recital of facts; no show of argument or speculation appears in it. He related that things were created in such and such a manner; but attempts no argument, to establish or account for any part of his relation. We must allow, I think, that Moses either had these truths imparted to him by immediate revelation; or we must say that he collected the dogmata of those who lived before him. If we choose the latter opinion, the question still remains, who taught the predecessors of Moses these things? Let us trace up to the first man: how, or whence had he this knowledge?[k]

How should Adam discover the manner of his own creation, or describe the formation of the world, which was created before he had any being? Besides, if these things were discoverable by reason, and Adam, or any other person, brought them to light by a due course of thinking, and related them to their children, what were the traces of this reasoning? Where to be found, or how were they lost? 'Tis strange these things should be so obvious at first; that an early attempt should discover so much truth, and that all the wit and learning, which came after, for five or six thousand years, should, instead of improving, only puzzle and confound it. If Adam, or some other person of extraordinary learning, had, by a chain of reasoning, brought these truths into the world, some hints or other of the argument would have remained, as well as the truths produced by it; or some succeeding author would, at one time or other, have reasoned as fortunately as his predecessor: but nothing of this sort happened; instead of it we find, that the early ages had a great stock of truths, which they were so far from having learning enough to invent or discover, that they could not so much as give a good account of the true meaning of them. A due consideration of these things must lead us to believe, that God at first revealed these things unto men; that he acquainted them with what he had done in the creation of the

[k] Nec aliquid interfuit eo tempore, quo mundus certum diem habuit ortus sui, nec aliquid interfuit eo tempore quo mundus Divinæ mentis ac providi numinis ratione formatus est; nec eo usque se intentio potuit humanæ fragilitatis extendere, ut originem mundi facile possit ratione concipere aut explicare. *Julius Firmicus Maternus.* Mathes. lib. iii, c. 2.

world; and what he had thus communicated to them, they transmitted to their children's children. Thus GOD, *who in these last days hath spoken unto us by his Son*, did in the beginning in some extraordinary manner speak unto our fathers; for there was a stock of knowledge in the world, which we cannot see how the possessors could possibly have obtained any other way. Therefore fact, as well as history, testifies, that the notion of a revelation is no dream; and that Moses, in representing the early ages of the world as having had converse with the Deity, does no more than what the state of their knowledge obliges us to believe.

SHELTON, NORFOLK,
Oct. 2, 1727.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK I.

WHATEVER may have been the opinions of philosophers, or the fables of poets, about the origin of mankind, we are sufficiently informed from[1] history, that we are descended from two persons, Adam and Eve. They lived in the Eastern parts of the world; their first children were Cain and Abel. Josephus[2] mentions their having daughters, but does not say how many; what their names were,[3] when they were born, or how they married.

Cain and Abel grew men, but were of a different genius and disposition: Cain was an husbandman, Abel a shepherd: Abel was more virtuous than his brother, and when they brought their offerings, his sacrifice was accepted beyond Cain's; Cain hereupon took a private opportunity, and out of envy and malice killed him. And this was the first act of violence committed in the world; it proceeded from a principle which many actions of the same sort have since proceeded from, a spirit of emulation, which being not duly managed and made a spur to virtue, took an unhappy turn and degenerated into malice and revenge. Soon after Cain had committed this wicked action, God appeared to him; but the examination and result of this affair will be best seen, if I add it in three or four particulars.

[1] Gen. i. 26; ii. 7, &c. Sanchoniatho begins mankind from two mortals, Protogonus and Eon; the other heathen writers are not so particular. Diodorus Siculus formed his account of the origin of mankind, not from history, but from what he thought to be the ancient philosophy.

[2] Antiquit. lib. i, c. ii. p. 7.

[3] Some writers have imagined that Cain and Abel were twins, but the account of their births (Gen. iv, 1, 2,) contradicts this notion. Others have supposed (see Selden de Jure Naturali et Gentium, lib. v. c. viii.,) that Eve at each of their births brought forth a daughter, and that Cain married the daughter born with Abel, and Abel the daughter born with Cain: but the trifling conceits of this sort that might be mentioned are innumerable.

1. God had before both vindicated himself, and excused Abel, from having either of them given the least reason for this violent and unjust proceeding: God had indeed accepted Abel's offering beyond Cain's; but that was owing to Abel's being better than Cain's, and not to any partiality in God; for if Cain would have been as deserving, he should have been as well accepted. *If thou dost well*, said God to him[4] *shalt thou not?* i. e. thou shalt *be accepted; but if thou doest not well,*[5] *sin lieth at the door.* And as to Abel, he had not affected to slight Cain, or to set himself above him; Abel would always have been heartily disposed to pay him all respect; and Cain might have had all the superiority of an elder brother; for so God argued with him,[6] *unto thee shall be his desire*, or will be, *and thou shalt rule over him;* i. e. thou mayest be his superior.

The expositors seem to treat this as a very difficult passage, and there are several very wild and foreign senses put upon the words, *unto thee shall be his desire.* The true meaning of them is clear and easy, if we consider that there are two expressions in the Hebrew tongue to signify the readiness of one person to serve or respect another. The one of them expresses an outward attendance, the other the inward temper or readiness of mind to pay respect or honour. עיניאל־יד *aine el yad*, or our eyes are to his hand, is the one expression. תשוקהאל *teshukah el*, or, our desire is to him, is the other. Of the former we have an instance, Psalm cxxxiii. *The eyes of servants are to the hand of their masters, and the eyes of a maiden are to the hand of her mistress;* i. e. they stand ready with a vigilant observance to execute their orders. We meet the other expression in the place before us, in Gen. iii, 16, and it imports an inward temper and disposition of mind to pay respect and honour. *His desire will be unto thee;* i. e. he will be heartily devoted (as we say in English) to honour and respect you, and *thou shalt*, or mayest, *rule over him;* i. e. you may have any service from him you can desire.

I have had an interpretation of this 7th verse communicated to me by a person of very great learning, and I find the[7] critics favour it. He thought the whole verse was spoke of Cain's sin, that the Hebrew words might be translated as I have interlined them[8] below,[9] and that it might be Englished thus, *If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? but if thou dost not well sin lieth at the door: indeed the appetite of it*, i. e. of sin, *will be at thee*, i. e. to tempt thee, *but thou shouldst rule over it.* But the words will, I think, in

[4] Gen. iv, 7.

[5] Dr. Lightfoot renders the word *chataah* here, a *sin-offering*, as if God had reprehended Cain for not making a due atonement for his sins.—See hereafter in Book ii.

[6] Gen. iv, 7. [7] See Synop. Critic. in loc.

[8] Eum gubernares tu sed appetitus ejus quidem te apud.

[9] בו תמשל ואתה תשוקתו ואליך

nowise bear this sense, תשוקתו *teshukato*, is not the desire or appetite of *it*, but of *him*. And בו *bo*, does not signify *it*, but *him*. And the expression אליך תשוקתו *eleka teshukato*, is the Hebrew expression for, He will heartily respect thee, and not for, Sin will tempt thee.

2. After Cain had been so wicked as to kill his brother, God was pleased to pass a very just sentence upon him: his aim was to have made himself great and flourishing, in favour with God, and credit with men, without any one to stand in competition with him; but he was disappointed in every particular he aimed at, for his attempting to compass his designs so wickedly; the ground was sentenced not *to yield him her strength*,[1] i. e. he was to be unprosperous in his husbandry and tillage; and, instead of being in God's favour without rival, he was henceforwards,[2] *to be hid from his face;* i. e. he was not to have any longer that happy converse with the Deity, which these first ages of the world were blest with; and he was to be[3] *a fugitive and a vagabond*, so far from being able to live amongst his friends with credit and satisfaction, that the sense of what he had done should so[4] hurry him, as to force him to retire from them to a distant part of the world, as a mischievous person not fit to live and be endured amongst them.

3. Cain had, in a little time, a full conviction of his folly and wickedness. He repeats over[5] God's sentence against himself, as acknowledging the justice of it, and withal, thought so ill of himself, and had so true a sense of his crimes, as to imagine,[6] *that every one that happened on him would kill him*, that mankind would rise against him, as a person not fit to be suffered to live, and in their own defence destroy him. A sense of these things moved him to a great compunction: *Is my sin*, cried he, *too great to be forgiven?* for this is the true sense of ver. 13. We translate the words, *my punishment is greater than I can bear;* but the Hebrew word עון[7] *aven*, signifies iniquity rather than punishment, and the verb נשא *nasha* signifies to be forgiven, as well as to bear; and the verse may be rendered either positively *my iniquity is too great to be forgiven*, or the[8] Hebrew expositors take it by way of interrogation, *is my iniquity too great to be forgiven?* And this last sense is the best; for,

Upon Cain's being brought to a sorrow for his sin, God was pleased, in some measure, to pardon his transgression. There was as yet no express law against murder, and God[9] gave a strict charge, that no one should for this fact destroy

[1] Gen. iv, 11, 12. [2] Ver. 14. [3] Ver. 12.

[4] The Hebrew words express an unsettledness of mind, which probably induced the LXX. to translate them σεσαν και τρεμων.

[5] Gen. iv, 14. [6] Ibid.

[7] See the word so used 1 Sam. xx, 8; and in other places of Scripture, so used very often, particularly Job xi, 6.

[8] See Fagius in loco. [9] Gen. iv, 15.

Cain. Some writers[1] make this an addition to his punishment, but I see no reason for their opinion. As Moses has represented this affair, it appears, that Cain was very sorry for what he had done, and acknowledged the just sentence of God against him; but represented that he should be in continual danger of a still further evil; namely, that it should come to pass, that every one that should find him, or happen on him, should kill him; hereupon he bewailed the wretched state he had brought himself into, and cried, *is my sin too great to be forgiven?* Can I find no mercy? No mitigation of the punishment I have brought upon myself? Hereupon God was pleased so far to favour him, as to give orders, that no one should kill him, and to make him easy by giving him assurance of it. For so the words, verse 15, which we render, *God set a mark upon Cain*, should be interpreted. The Hebrew word אות *aoth* is a sign or token. The bow, Gen. ix, was to be לאות *leaoth*, for a sign or token that the world should be no more destroyed by water. So here the expression, וישם יהוה לקין אות *vejashem Jehovah lecain Aoth*, is not as we render it, *And God set a mark upon Cain*, but God gave or appointed a sign or token, *i. e.* to assure him, that no one should kill him. And here I might observe, that there is no foundation in the original, for the guesses and conjectures about the mark set upon Cain; about which so many writers have egregiously trifled.[2]

After this, Cain removed with his wife and children from the place where he had before lived, and travelled into[3] the land of Nod; here he settled, and as his family increased, took care to have their dwellings built near to one another, and so made a little town or city, which he called Enoch,[4] from a son he had of that name. Here his descendants flourished till the Flood; they were the mechanics and tradesmen of the age they lived in. The sons of Lamech, who was the fifth in descent from Cain, were the chief artificers of their time. La-

[1] Fagius, Menochius, Tirnius, and other Expositors, give the place this sense.

[2] The ridiculous conjectures upon this point have been almost without number. Some imagine that God imprest a letter on his forehead; and others have been so curious in their inquiries as to pretend to tell what the letter was: a letter of the word Abel, say some; the four letters of Jehovah, say others; or a letter expressing his repentance, say a third sort of writers. There have been some that imagined that Abel's dog was appointed to go with him wherever he went, to warn people not to kill him; but this does not come up to the humour of a mark set *on* Cain, and therefore other writers rather think his face and forehead were leprous; others that his mark was a wild aspect, and terrible rolling eyes; others say, that he was subject to a terrible trembling, so as to be scarcely able to get his food to his mouth, a notion taken from the LXX, who translate fugitive and vagabond, σεινων και τρεμων. And there are some writers that have improved this conceit, by adding, that wherever he went the earth trembled and shook round about him. But there is another notion of Cain's mark, as good as any of the rest, namely, that he had a horn fixed on his forehead to teach all men to avoid him.

[3] Gen. iv, 16. [4] Ver. 17.

mech[5] had two wives, Adah and Zillah; by Adah he had two sons, Jabal and Jubal.[6] Jabal invented tents, and gathered together herds of cattle;[7] Jubal found out music. By Zillah he had a son named Tubal Cain,[8] who invented the working of brass and iron; and a daughter called Naamah. Moses only mentions her name; the Rabbins[9] say, she was the inventor of spinning. The descendants of Cain lived a long time in some fear of the family of Adam, lest they should attempt to revenge upon them Abel's death. It is supposed,[1] that it was for this reason that Cain built a city, that his children might live near together, and be able more easily to join and unite for the common safety. Lamech endeavoured to reason them out of these fears, and therefore calling his family together, he argued with them to this purpose:—"Why should we make our lives uneasy with these groundless suspicions? what have we done, that we should be afraid of? We have not killed a man, nor offered any injury to our brethren of the other family; and surely reason must teach them, that they can have no right to hurt us. Cain indeed, our ancestor, killed Abel, but GOD was so far pleased to forgive his sin, as to threaten to take seven-fold vengeance on any one that should kill him; if so, surely they must expect a much greater punishment, who shall presume to kill any of us: if Cain shall be avenged seven-fold, surely Lamech, or any of his innocent family, seventy-seven fold." This I take to be the meaning of the speech of Lamech to his wives, Gen. iv, 23. Moses has introduced it, without any connection with what went before, or follows after, so that at first sight it is not easy to know what to apply it to; the expression itself is but dark, and the expositors have attempted to explain it very imperfectly. The Rabbins tell a traditional story, which they say, will lead us to the meaning of it; they inform us, that "Lamech being blind, took his son Tubal Cain to hunt with him in the woods, where they happened on Cain, who used to lurk up and down in the thickets, afraid of the converse and society of men; that the lad mistook him for some beast stirring in the bushes, and that Lamech, by the direction of Tubal Cain, with a dart or arrow killed him: this, they say, was the man he killed *by his wounding him.* Afterwards, when he came to see what he had done, he beat Tubal Cain to death for misinforming him, and so killed a young man, by hurting or beating him." But this unsupported old story is too idle to need a confutation. The most probable sense of the words is, I think, that which I have given them in the paraphrase above. *I have slain a man,* should be read interrogatively, *have I slain a man?* i. e. I have not slain a man *to my wounding,* i. e. that I should be wounded for it, *nor a young man to my hurt;* i. e. nor have I killed a young man that I should be hurt or punished

[5] Gen. iv, 19. [6] Ver. 20. [7] Ver. 21. [8] Ver. 22.
[9] See Genebrard in Chron. & Lyra. [1] Menochius in loc.

for it. And this is the sense which the Targum of Onkelos most excellently gives the place. "I have not killed a man," says Onkelos, "that I should bear the sin of it, nor have I destroyed a young man, that my offspring should be cut off for it;" and the words of the next verse agree to this sense so exactly, *there will be a seven-fold vengeance paid for killing Cain, surely then a seventy times seven for killing Lamech,* that I wonder how Onkelos should mistake the true meaning of them, when he had so justly expressed the sense of the other.

Adam, soon after Cain's leaving him, had a son,[2] whom he called Seth; what other children he had, we are not certain;[3] we are told he had several, both sons and daughters, probably a number of both, suitable to the many years of his life, and to the increase necessary to people the world. Moses has given us only the genealogy from Seth to Noah. The children of Seth lived separate from the rest of mankind,[4] they lived a pastoral life, dedicated themselves to the service of God, and in a little time, in the days of Enos, the sons of Seth were distinguished by the name of[5] the sons of God. It is uncertain how long the children of this family were so eminent for their virtue; Enos one of them, was a person of a distinguished character, and the integrity of his life obtained him a passage into a better world[6] without dying. It is probable that all the persons mentioned by Moses from Seth to Noah, lived up to their duties, for the Flood was, as it were, deferred, until they were safe out of the world. In the days of Noah there was a general impiety. The[7] sons of God married the daughters of men; the children of Seth took wives out of the other families, and an *evil communication corrupted their manners.* The wickedness of the world grew to such a height, that it pleased God to determine to destroy it. Noah was a just and upright man, and he found[8] favour with God. God discovered to him, that he intended to destroy the inhabitants of the world by a flood[9] about a hundred and twenty years before hand, and instructed him how to save himself and family, and a few creatures of every sort from the deluge.

Noah, hereupon, according to God's directions, built an

[2] Gen. iv, 25.
[3] Chap. v, 4.
[4] Joseph. Antiq. lib. i, cap. 2.
[5] Gen. iv, 26.
[6] We might perhaps be inclined by some of the versions to think that Enoch died a natural death, and that his translation here mentioned, was only such a translation as is spoken of, Wisd. iv, 10, 11. But the writer of the Book of the Hebrews takes it very clearly in another sense, Heb. xi. 5. *By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death.*
[7] Gen. vi, 2.
[8] Ver. 8.
[9] I suppose God determined that mankind should be still continued one hundred and twenty years, ver. 3, about the time that he communicated his intentions of a flood to Noah.

ark, about[1] six hundred feet long, a hundred feet wide, and sixty feet deep, contrived into three stories, into this ark he gathered such[2] a number of the creatures as GOD appointed him, and having prepared sufficient provision, he and his wife, and their three sons and their wives, went into the ark in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, about the[3] beginning of our November, according to the Hebrew computation, Anno Mundi 1656, and GOD caused a flood of water over all the world, thirty feet higher than the highest mountains, and thereby destroyed the inhabitants of it.

This is all the history which Moses has given us of the antediluvian world. We have short hints of those times in the remains of some heathen writers, and if we make allowance for the fables, which the heathen theology had introduced into all parts of their early history, the substance of what they offer agrees very remarkably with the accounts of Moses. Berosus wrote the history of the Chaldeans; Sanchoniatho of the Phœnicians; and the antiquities of Egypt were collected by Manetho, the Egyptian. It may not be amiss to examine the remains of these writers, in order to see what their accounts are of the first ages of the world.

I. As to the history of Berosus, the substance of it, as it is given us from Abidenus Apollodorus, and Alexander Polyhister,[4] is to this purpose, that there were ten kings of Chaldea before the Flood; Alorus, Alasparus, Amelon, Amenon, Metalarus, Daorus, Aedorachus, Amphis, Oliartes, Xisuthrus. That Xisuthrus was warned in a dream that mankind was to be destroyed by a Flood on the 15th day of the month Dæsius,

[1] The Hebrews made use of three sorts of cubits: 1, The common cubit, which was about one foot and a half of our measure. 2. The sacred cubit, which was a hand's breadth more than the common cubit. 3. The geometrical cubit, which was about nine feet. The reader, if he consults Buteo's treatise about the ark, or reads what Pool has collected (Syn. Critic. in loc.) may be satisfied that the ark is to be measured by the common cubit. The standard of a common cubit was that part of a man's arm which reaches from the bent of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. If we think the stature of mankind in Moses's time larger than it now is, we may suppose, the common cubit something larger than we should now compute it: if not, the strict measure of the ark will be, length, four hundred and fifty feet; breadth, seventy-five; height, forty-five; and the best writers generally agree, that the common stature of mankind has always been much the same that it now is.

[2] The number of creatures taken into the ark is very ingeniously conjectured by Buteo and Bishop Wilkins, and the substance of what both have said upon the subject is set down in Pool's Syn. Crit.—Vide Pool in loc.

[3] The second Hebrew month, before the children of Israel were delivered out of Egypt, was Marchesvan, which begins about the middle of our October, and ends about the middle of our November. After that deliverance, the beginning of the year was altered, and Nisan made the first month; but this alteration of the year was observed by the Jews, only in calculating their fasts and feasts, and ecclesiastical computations, and it is not likely that the Book of Genesis contains any computation of this latter sort; so the seventeenth day of the second month (Gen. vii, 11,) the day on which the Flood began, is the seventeenth of Marchesvan, *i. e.* first or second of our November. Mr. Whiston says, November the twenty-eighth.—Theory, p. 142.

[4] Vid. Euseb. Chron.

and that he should build a sort of ship, and go into it with his friends and kindred, and that he should make a provision of meat and drink, and take into his vessel fowls and fourfooted beasts; that Xisuthrus acted according to the admonition; built a ship, and put into it all that he was commanded, and went into it with his wife and children, add dearest friends. When the flood was come, and began to abate, Xisuthrus let out some birds, which finding no food nor place to rest on, returned to the ship again; after some days, he let out the birds again, but they came back with their legs daubed with mud. Some days after, he let them go the third time, but then they came to the ship no more. Xisuthrus understood hereby, that the earth appeared again above the waters, and taking down some of the boards of the ship, he saw that it rested upon a mountain; some time after, he, and his wife, and his pilot went out of the ship, to offer sacrifices to the gods, and they were never seen by those in the ship more. But the persons in the ship, after seeking him in vain, went to Babylon. The Xisuthrus here mentioned was evidently Noah. And Berosus supposes from Alorus to Xisuthrus ten generations, and so many Moses computes from Adam to Noah.

II. The history of Sanchoniatho is to this effect.[5] That the first mortals were Protogonus and Æon; that by these were begotten Genus and Genea; the children of these were Phos, Pur, and Phlox; and of these were begot Cassius, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys. Memrumus and Hypsuranius were descended from these, and their children were Agreus and Halieus; and of these were begotten two brothers, one of them named Chrysor and Hæphæstus; the name of the other is lost. From this generation came two brothers, Technites and Autochthon, and of them were begotten Agrus and Agrotes; Amynus and Magus were their children, and Misor and Sydec were descended of Amynus and Magus. The son of Misor was Taautus or Tyoth. This is the Phœnician genealogy of the first ages of the world, and it requires no great pains to show how far it agrees with the accounts of Moses. The first mortals mentioned by Sanchoniatho, and called Protogonus and Æon, were undoubtedly Adam and Eve; and his Misor, the father of Taautus, is evidently the Mizraim of Moses. From Protogonus to Misor, Sanchoniatho computes eleven generations, and from Adam to Mizraim, Moses makes twelve; so that Sanchoniatho falls short of Moses only one generation, and this, I conceive, happened by his not having recorded the Flood.

But thirdly, let us, in the next place, consider the Egyptian Antiquities, as collected by Manetho; and here, I must confess, we meet with great difficulties. The records of most

[5] In Euseb. Præp. Evang.

nations fall short of the Flood; neither Chaldea nor Phœnicia have offered any thing that can seem to be before Moses's time of the Creation, but Manetho pretends to produce antiquities of Egypt, that reach higher than the Creation by thousands of years.[6]

The accounts of Manetho seem at first sight so extravagant, that[7] many good writers look upon them as mere fictions, and omit attempting to say any thing about them; but other learned men[8] are not so well satisfied with this proceeding, but think that by a due examination the Egyptian dynasties may be made tolerably clear, and reduced at least to a degree of probability. The misfortune is, we have none of their original works, from whence they were collected, or which gave account of them. The historians, Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus, did not examine these matters to the bottom, and we have no remains of the old Egyptian Chronicon, or of the works of Manetho, except only some quotations in the works of other writers. The Chronographia of Syncellus, written by one George, an abbot of the monastery of St. Simeon, and called Syncellus, as being Suffragan to Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, is the only work we have to go for these antiquities. Syncellus collected the quotations of the old Chronicon, and of Manetho, and of Eratosthenes, as he found them in the works of Africanus and Eusebius; and the works of Africanus and Eusebius being now lost (for it is well known that the work which goes under the name of Eusebius's Chronicon is a composition of Scaliger's,) we have nothing to be depended upon, but what we find in Syncellus above mentioned.

Our learned countryman, Sir John Marsham, has collected from Syncellus the opinions of these writers; and it must appear to any one, who considers what he has offered from them,[9] that they every one in their turn took great liberties in correcting and altering, what they pretended to copy from one another; and though every one of them took a different scheme, yet not one of them could give a clear and consistent account of the Egyptian dynasties. Sir John Marsham comes the nearest to it of any; the account he gives, from Menes downward, is exceedingly probable, being consistent with the histories of other nations; and he has given some hints which may, I think, lead to a very good explication of those dynasties which preceded Menes.

The Egyptian dynasties are, by all that have treated of them, allowed to give an account, first of their gods; secondly,

[6] Scaliger supposes his Julian period to begin above seven hundred years before the world, but imagined the Egyptian dynasties to reach higher than the beginning of that period by above seven thousand years.—See Can. Isag. lib. ii. p. 123.

[7] Petav. Doctrin. Temp. l. 10, c. 17.

[8] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 1.

[9] Marsham Can. Προσκατασκευη.

of their demi-gods, and heroes; thirdly of their kings; and in this order the historians agree to treat of the Egyptian antiquities.[1] From Menes downward the account is clear, if we take it as Sir John Marsham has explained it. The number of kings are too many, if supposed to succeed one another, as Manetho imagined; but if we suppose them to be contemporaries, as Sir John Marsham has represented them, the accounts of Egypt from Menes or Mizraim, will be easy, and will agree very well with the accounts we have of other nations. Africanus, with good[2] reason, imagined all that is prior to or before Menes to be antediluvian; some broken reports of what was the state of Egypt before the Flood. Let us, therefore, consider the antiquities of Egypt in this view, and trace them backwards. The kings, the first of whom was Menes, reigned after the Flood. Who were the demi-gods and heroes that preceded them? how many were they? and how long did they reign? In the next place we must inquire who were the gods of Egypt, and what are their reigns? and perhaps such a thread of inquiry as this may help us through the difficulties of the Egyptian antiquities.

The substance of the Egyptian accounts is, that there were thirty dynasties in Egypt, consisting of one hundred and thirteen generations, and which took up the space of thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years. That after this period was run, then there reigned eight demi-gods in the space of two hundred and seventeen years. After them succeeded the Cycli Cynici, *i. e.* according to Manetho,[3] a race of heroes, in number fifteen, and their reigns took up four hundred and forty-three years; then began the reigns of their kings, the first of whom was Menes.

Menes, therefore, by Syncellus called Mestraim, being the Mizraim of Moses, the eight demi-gods and fifteen heroes that reigned in Egypt before him, were, as Manetho rightly conjectures antediluvians; and we have to inquire how their reigns took up two hundred and seventeen, and four hundred and forty three, in all six hundred and sixty years.

Now, in order to explain what is meant by the number of years in these reigns, I would observe, that perhaps Egypt was peopled no more than six hundred and sixty years before the Flood; which may be true, though we suppose an elder son of Adam to have brought a colony thither. Seth was born in the one hundred and thirtieth year of Adam's life, and Seth lived until within six hundred and fourteen years of the Flood; and therefore a son of Adam, but a century younger than Seth (and Adam lived eight hundred years after the birth of Seth, and begat sons and daughters,) might plant Egypt, and live one hundred and fifty years at the head of his plantation: or if we suppose it first planted by some

[1] See Diodorus, l. 1. [2] Syncellus, p. 54. Ib. p. 40.

children of Adam, two or three centuries younger, they might come to Egypt in the flower of their days.

It must, indeed, be allowed, that the eight demi-gods, and the fifteen heroes, cannot be a series of kings succeeding one another; for seven generations, in such a succession, would take up very near the number of years allotted to all of them, as may be seen by looking into the lives of Adam's descendants, set down by Moses. If we begin forty-six years before the death of Seth, we may see that Enos lived ninety-eight years after Seth, Cainan ninety-five years after Enos, Mahalaleel fifty-five years after Cainan, Jared one hundred and thirty-two years after Mahalaleel, Enoch was translated before his father's death; Methuselah died two hundred and thirty-four years after Jared, and in the year of the Flood, and Lamech died before Methuselah; the succession of these men, and there are but seven of them, and a short piece of Seth's life, took up six hundred and sixty years; and therefore if the lives of the other branches of Adam's family were of the same length with these, and it is probable they were, eight demi-gods and fifteen heroes (twenty-three persons,) could not succeed one another in so few years. In this point, therefore, the Egyptian writers make great difficulties, by supposing these demi-gods and heroes to reign one after another, when it is impossible to find a good account of the times of such successive reigns, or to bring the whole series of them within the compass of time allotted to them; but we may make this difficulty easy, if we suppose the eight demi-gods to be contemporaries, persons of great eminence and figure in the age they lived in, and the fifteen heroes, who lived after these demi-gods, contemporaries with one another; and I think their different titles, as well as what we find about them in the historians, lead us to this notion of them. If these persons were a successive number of kings, from the first of them to the Flood, why should eight of them be called demi-gods, and the rest but heroes? The superior appellation of the first eight, looks as if they stood upon an equal ground with one another, but something higher than those who came after them. And perhaps they were eight children of Adam, and he had certainly enough to spare many times eight to people the several parts of the world. These came together with their families into Egypt, lived all within the compass of two hundred and seventeen years; (which is an easy supposition,) and being all the heads of the families that came with them, and were descended from them, they might be so revered by their posterity, as to have a title superior to what their descendants attained to. And it is observable that the historians, who mention them, give them names very favourable to this account of them, the demi-gods, according to Diodorus,[4] were Sol, Sa-

[4] Lib. i, p. 8.

turnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius; and these are the names of persons, not of different, but of the same descent; brothers and sisters, some of whom, according to what was the early custom in Adam's family, married one another. In like manner, if we look among their heroes, we shall find them of the same sort: Osiris and Isis, Typhon, and Apollo, and Venus, are all said to be children of the same family; they taught agriculture and other useful arts, and thereby made themselves famous, and we are told[5] that several of them went up and down together, and were therefore contemporaries; and it is easy to suppose fifteen of them, the number which the old Chronicon mentions, to flourish within the space of four hundred and forty-three years. And thus it will appear, that the reigns of the demi-gods and heroes reach up to the very first peopling of Egypt, and therefore what they offer about a race of gods, superior to and before these, must belong to ages before the creation of the world.

It was a usual and customary thing, for the ancient writers to begin their antiquities with some account of the origin of things, and the creation of the world. Moses did so in his book of Genesis: Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history began in the same manner, and it appears from Diodorus[6] that the Egyptian antiquities did so too. Their accounts began with speculations about the origin of things, and the nature of the gods; then follows an account of their demi-gods and terrestrial deities, after them come their heroes, or first rank of men; and last of all their kings. Now if their kings began from the Flood; if their heroes and demi-gods reached up to the beginning of the world; then the account they give of the reigns of gods before these, can be only their theological speculations put into such order as they thought most truly philosophical.

The first and most ancient gods of the Egyptians, and of all other heathen nations, after they had departed from the worship of the true God, were the luminaries of heaven; and it is very probable, that what they took to be the period or time, in which any of these deities finished its course, that they might call the time of its reign; thus a perfect and complete revolution of any star which they worshipped, was the reign of that star; and though it might be tedious to trace too far into their antiquated philosophy, in order to find out how they came to imagine that the revolutions of the several heavenly bodies answered to such a number of years, as they ascribed to the respective reigns; yet it is remarkable that a whole entire revolution of the heavens took up, according to their computations, exactly the number of years ascribed by them to all their gods. A period of 36,525 years, is what they call an entire *mundane* revolution, and brings on the

[5] Diodorus, lib. i, p. 8. [6] Lib. i.

αποκαταστασις κοσμικη: in this space of time, they say, the several heavenly bodies do exactly go through all the relations which they can have in their motions to one another, and come round to the same point from which all their courses began. These heavenly bodies therefore being their gods, such a perfect and entire revolution of them is a complete reign of all the gods, and contained 36,525 years.

But to the first of their gods, called here Vulcan, they assign no time; his reign is unlimited. I suppose they meant hereby to intimate that the supreme God was eternal, his power infinite, his reign not confined to any one, or any number of ages, but extending itself through all: and such high notions the Egyptians certainly had of the supreme Deity, though they had also buried them in heaps of the grossest errors. This I take to be a true account of the Egyptian dynasties; and if it be so, their history is not so extravagant as has been imagined. The substance of what they offer is, that the supreme God is eternal,—to his reign they assign no time; that the sun, moon, and stars ran their courses thousands of years before man was upon the Earth; into this notion they were led by their astronomy; that Egypt was peopled six hundred and sixty years before the Flood; and very probably it might not be peopled sooner, considering that mankind began in Chaldea, and that first the plantation went eastward with Cain, and that Seth and his family settled near home. Amongst these first inhabitants of Egypt there were eight demi-gods, and fifteen heroes, *i. e.* three and twenty persons illustious and eminent in their generations. After the Flood reigned Menes, whom Moses called Mizraim, and after Mizraim, a succession of kings down to Nectanebus.

Manetho wrote his history by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, some time after the Septuagint translation was made. When the Hebrew antiquities were published to the world, the Egyptians grew jealous of the honour of their nation, and were willing to show that they could trace up their memoirs, even higher than Moses could carry those of the Israelites; for this end Manetho made his collection; it was his design to make the Egyptian antiquities reach as far backwards as he could, and therefore as many kings' names as he could find in their records, so many successive monarchs he determined them to have had; not considering that Egypt was at first divided into three, and afterwards into four sovereignties for some time, so that three or four of his kings many times reigned together. When he got up to Menes, then he set down the names of such persons as had been famous before the times of this their first king; and then, it being a point of his religion that their gods had reigned on Earth, and their astronomy teaching that the reigns of the gods took up the space of 36,525 years; he added these also, and by this management his antiquities seem to reach higher than the ac-

counts of Moses; when in reality, if rightly interpreted, they fall short of Moses, by such a number of years, as we may fairly suppose might pass before mankind could be so increased as to people the Earth, from Chaldea, the place where Adam and Eve lived, unto Egypt.

The Chinese have been supposed to have records that reach higher than the history of Moses; but we find by the best accounts of their antiquities that this is false. Their antiquities reach no higher than the times of Noah, for Fohi was their first king. They pretend to no history or memoirs that reach up higher than his times; and by all their accounts, the age of Fohi coincides with that of Moses' Noah. Their writers in the general agree, that Fohi lived about 2952 years before Christ. The author of *Mirandorum in Sinâ et Europâ* computes him to reign but 2847 years before our Saviour; and Alvarez Sèvedo places his reign not so early, imagining it to be but 2060 years; and all these computations agree well enough with the times of Noah; for Noah was born, according to Archbishop Usher, 2948 years, and died 2016 years before Christ; so that all the several computations about Fohi, fall pretty near within the compass of Noah's life. But we shall hereafter see many reasons to conclude Moses' Noah, and the Chinese Fohi, to be the same person.

The length of the lives of mankind in this world was very remarkable.[7] Moses numbers the years of some of their lives as follows:

	Years.
Adam lived	930
Seth	912
Enos	905
Cainan	910
Mahalaleel	895
Jared	962
Enoch	365
Methuselah	969
Lamech	777

Some persons have thought it incredible that the human frame should ever have endured to so great a period; and for that reason they suppose that the years here mentioned are but lunar, consisting each of about thirty days; but this scheme, under a notion of reducing the antediluvian lives to our standard, is full of absurdities. The whole time of this first world would, at this rate, be less than 130 years. Methuselah himself would have been little more than eighty years old, not so long-lived as many even now are. The persons above-mentioned would have had children, when mere infants. Besides, if we compute the ages of those who lived after the Flood, by this way of reckoning, and we have no reason from the text to alter, they will not amount to the years

[7] Gen. v.

of a man. Abraham, for instance, who is said to have died in a good old age, an old man and full of years, was,[8] as Moses writes, 175 years old; but according to the notion of lunar years, he could not be fifteen.—The years, therefore, that Moses computed these men's lives by, were solar years, of much[9] the same length as we now compute by, and there must have been some reason in their state and constitution, and in the temperament of the world they lived in, to give them that exceeding length of days, which they were able to come up to. Their houses of clay could stand eight or nine hundred years; when, alas! those we now build of the hardest stone or marble scarcely last so long.

The curiosity of the learned in all ages, has been much employed in finding out the reasons of this longevity. Some writers have attributed it to the simplicity of their diet, and to the sobriety of their living; both of them, indeed, excellent means to support nature, and to make us able to attain our utmost period, but not sufficient to account for so vast a difference as there is between our and their term of life. We have had moderate and abstemious persons in latter ages, and yet they have very rarely exceeded one hundred years.

Other writers have imagined the length of these men's lives to have been owing to the strength of their stamina; they think that we are made of more corruptible materials, of a nature not so strong as these men were, and therefore cannot last so long as they did; but this cannot be the sole cause of their long lives, for, if it were, why should the sons of Noah, who had all the strength of an antediluvian constitution, fall so[1] far short of the age of their forefathers? This, and the manner of the decline of our lives, led a[2] very ingenious writer to imagine that this alteration of the length of human life was in a great measure owing to a change of the temperament of the world; that the equality of the seasons, and evenness of weather, in the first Earth, were, in a great measure, the cause of that length of life enjoyed by the inhabitants of it; and that the vast contrariety of the seasons and weather, which we now have, is a great reason for the shortness of our days.

If we examine the proportion in which human life shortened, we shall find this longevity sunk half in half immediately after the Flood; and after that it sunk by gentler degrees, but was still in motion and declension, until it fixed at length before David's time (Psalm xc, 10[3] called a Psalm of Moses,) in that

[8] Gen. xxv, 7.

[9] Not exactly as long, for the ancients generally computed twelve months, of thirty days each, to be a year.

[1] Shem lived to but six hundred years. [2] Dr. Burnet.

[3] Dr. Burnet seems to hint in this manner, that the length of our lives was reduced to seventy years about Moses's time; but Mr. Whiston observes, that most of the persons mentioned in Scripture, who lived to old age, far exceeded that standard, until about David's time.—Chron. page 10.

which has been the common standard of man's age ever since. And how strongly does this intimate that our decay was not owing to irregular living, or to a debility of nature only, but to our being, as I might say, removed into a different world? for we fared like some excellent fruit transplanted from its native soil into a worse ground and unkinder climate; it degenerates continually until it comes to such a degree of meanness as suits the air and soil it is removed into, and then it stands without any further depravity or alteration.

The antediluvians were placed, according to the best and most philosophical notions we can form of the then world, under a constant serenity and equality of the Heavens, in an Earth so situated with regard to the sun, as to have a perpetual equinox, and an even temperature of the seasons, without any considerable variety or alteration; and hence it came to pass that the human body could, by the nourishment it is made capable of receiving, continue unimpaired to many generations, there being no external violence to cause decay in any part of its texture and constitution. But when men came to live in the world after the Flood, the world was much altered: the state of the Earth and Heavens was not the same they had before been, there were many changes of seasons, wet and dry, hot and cold, and these of course cause many fermentations in the blood and resolutions of the humours of the body; they weaken the fibres and organs of our frame, and by degrees unfit them for their respective functions. Noah had lived six hundred years in the first world, so that we may reasonably suppose he had contracted a firmness of constitution, to be able to weather the inconveniences of the new world, and we find his life was not sensibly shortened by them; but his children came into this second world very young men, before their natures were fixed and hardened, and so they scarcely exceeded two thirds of what they might probably have otherwise lived to. The next generation, who began their lives in this disadvantageous state of things, fell a third part short of them. The change is not immediately sensible, but it stands with reason that the repeated impressions every year of unequal heat and cold, dryness and moisture, should, by contracting and relaxing fibres, bring in time their tone to a manifest debility, and cause a decay in the lesser springs of our bodies; and the lesser springs failing, the greater, which in some measure depend upon them, must in proportion fail also, and all the symptoms of decay and old age follow. We see by experience, that bodies are kept better in the same medium, as we call it, than if they often change their medium and be sometimes in air, sometimes in water, moistened and dried, heated, and cooled; these different states weaken the contexture of the parts; but this has been our condition in this present world, we are put into a hundred different mediums in the course of a year; sometimes we are steeped in water, or a

misty foggy air for several days together, sometimes we are almost frozen with cold, then as it were melted with heat, and the winds are of a different nature, and the air of a different weight and pressure according to the weather and seasons. And now all these things must contribute apace to our decline, must agitate the air in the little pores and chinks of our bodies very unequally, and thereby shake and unsettle our frame continually, must wear us very fast, and bring us to old age and decay in a short time, in comparison of what we might have lived to, if we lived as the antediluvians, we think, did, in a fixed course of nature, encompassed always in the same medium, breathing always an air of one and the same temper, suited exactly to their frame and constitution, and not likely to offer them any violence without, or raise any fermentation within.[4]

The number of persons in this first world must have been very great: if we think it uncertain, from the differences between the Hebrew and LXX in this particular, at what time of life they might have their first children, let us make the greatest allowance that is possible, and suppose that they had no children until they were one hundred years old, and none after five hundred, yet still the increase of this world must have been prodigious. There are several authors, who have formed calculations of it, and they suppose upon a moderate computation that there were in this world at least two millions of millions of souls, which they think is a number far exceeding the inhabitants of the present Earth.

It would be very entertaining, if we could have a view of the religion, politics, arts, or sciences of this numerous people; but we can only make a few conjectures about them. As to their religion, it is certain, 1, that they had Adam for above nine hundred years to instruct them of all he knew of the creation of the world, and of the manner how he and Eve came into it; and though, I think, there is no reason to magnify Adam's knowledge, as some writers have done, yet it must surely be beyond all question, that the inhabitants of this first world were most sensibly convinced of GOD's being the creator of all things; they needed no deductions of reason, or much faith to lead them to this truth; they were almost eye-witnesses of it. Methuselah died but a little before the Flood, and lived two hundred and forty-five years with Adam; so that, though the world had stood above one thousand six hundred years at the deluge, yet the tradition of the creation had passed but through two hands. 2. They had a very remarkable promise made them by GOD in the judgment passed upon the serpent. *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed. He shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* 3. GOD was more sensibly present in the world then, than he now is.

[4] See Dr. Burnet's Theory, vol. i. b. ii, ch. ii, iii, iv.

He appeared to them by angels; he caused them to hear voices, or to dream dreams; and by these and such extraordinary ways and means he convinced them of their duties, instructed them in his will, and gave them directions for the conduct of their lives. And in this sense many good and virtuous men in this first world, and for several ages after the Flood, had the happiness to walk with GOD; to have an intercourse with the Deity, by divers extraordinary revelations of himself, which he was pleased to give them throughout their lifetime, if they took care to live up to their duties. If indeed any of them ran into evil courses of sin and wickedness, then they are said *to be hid from the face of the* LORD; or, GOD is said *to turn away his face from them;* or *to cast them away from his presence:* by all which expressions is meant, that from that time the intercourse between GOD and them ceased; and that GOD so far left them, as to give them none of those revelations and directions about his will and their conduct, which they might otherwise have had from him. And as this was the state of the first world, with regard to GOD's presence in it; so, fourthly, I believe, from hence was derived the religion of it, GOD himself teaching those persons with whom he was pleased to converse, what sacrifices he would have offered, what religious ceremonies they should use, and how they should order themselves in his worship. We do not meet any of GOD's express orders in these matters before the Flood, for the history is very short; after the Flood we have a great many. But the very nature of the worship that was in use does sufficiently evidence, that it came into use from divine appointment, and was not invented by the wit of man. Sacrifices were offered from the fall of Adam; Cain and Abel we are sure used them: and the method of worshipping by sacrifices does in nowise appear to be a human contrivance, invented by the natural light or common reason of men. If GOD had never appeared to the first men at all, reason alone, if rightly used, would have induced them to think that there was a GOD, and that they were obliged to live in his fear a virtuous life; and it might have led them to have prayed to him in their wants, and to have praised and adored him for his favours: but I cannot see upon what thread or train of thinking they could possibly be led to make atonement for their sins, or acknowledgments for the divine favours, by the oblations or expiations of any sorts of sacrifice: it is much more reasonable to think that GOD himself appointed this worship. All nations in the world have used it. They who were so happy as to walk with GOD, were instructed in it from age to age: the rest of mankind, who had caused GOD to turn his face from them, and to leave them to themselves, continued the method of worship they had before learned, and so sacrificed; but they invented in time new rites and new sacrifices, according to their humours and fancies, and by degrees departed from the true worship, and at length from the true GOD.

We meet with several particulars about the religion of the antediluvians.

1. That they had stated annual and weekly sacrifices; that Cain and Abel, when they came to offer, came to one of these solemn and public acts of worship. These things may, perhaps, be true; but we have no certain evidence that they are so. Aristotle is quoted to confirm this opinion, who says, that such stated sacrifices were from the beginning; but it should be considered that the heathen records commonly fall vastly short of these times; and when Aristotle or any other such writer speaks of a thing as practised from the beginning, they can fairly be supposed to mean no more than that it was in use earlier than the times of which they had any history; which it might easily be, and at the same time be much more modern than the beginning of the world. Other writers would prove this opinion from some words of Scripture. *Mikkets jamim*, Gen. iv, ver. 3, signify some say, *at the end of the week*, others say, *at the end of the year;* but these I think are precarious criticisms. The words, fairly construed, are no more than, at the end of days, or, as we render them, in process of time.

2. Some have thought that the first institution of public worship was in the days of Enos the son of Seth; others, that not the public worship of GOD, but that idolatry or false worship took its rise at that time: both these opinions are founded upon the expression at the end of Gen. iv. *Then began men to call upon the name of the* LORD.

The defenders of the first opinion construe the Hebrew words in the following manner, *Then men began to invoke the name of the* LORD, i. e. to set up and join in public invocations of it; for as to private ones, they had without doubt used them from the beginning. This interpretation is more easy and natural than that which follows it; לקרא בשם *likra be Shem*, seems pretty well to answer our English expression, to call upon the name, or invoke it; but קרא *Kara* is a verb transitive, and קרא שם *Kara Shem*, might signify to invoke the name, but קרא בשם *Kara be Shem* has quite another meaning.

The authors of the second opinion, who would prove the rise of idolatry from these words, think the word הוחל *Hochal*, not to signify *they began*, but *they profaned*. They make the sentence run thus: then they profaned in calling upon the name of the LORD. The verb חלל does indeed sometimes signify to profane, and sometimes to begin; but then it ought to be observed, that when it signifies to profane, it has always a noun following it; when an infinitive mood follows, as in the passage before us, it always signifies to begin. There are many passages of Scripture, which will justify this remark, Numb. xxx, 3; Ezek. xxxix, 7; are instances of the former sense. Gen. vi, 1; xli, 53; 2 Chron. iii, 1; and several other

places, are instances of the latter. And thus I think it may appear that both the opinions founded on this passage are groundless; they have both of them been espoused by great authors; and the latter, which is more improbable of the two, is very much favoured by the paraphrase of Onkelos, by Maimonides' Treatise of Idolatry, by Selden, and several other learned men. But since I am fallen upon this passage, I shall add a few words more to give it its true meaning; and I think the Hebrew words verbally translated would be, *then it was began to call*, i. e. them, *by the name of the* LORD, i. e. (as I expressed it p. 40) they were then first called the sons of GOD. This is, I must think, the true meaning of this expression. קרא בשם *Kara be Shem*, signifies to call or nominate by or after the name; thus Gen. iv, 17; יקרא *Jikra*, *he called* the name of the city בשם *be Shem*, *by* or *after the name* of his son. Numb. xxxii, 42; יקרא *Jikra*, *he called* it *Nobah*, בשמו *be Shemo*, *by* or *after his own name.* Psalm xlix, 11; קראו *Kareau*, *they call* their lands, בשמותם *bishmotham*, *by* or *after their* own *names.* Isaiah xliii, 7; Every one that is הנקרא *Hannikra*, *called* בשמי *bishmi*, *by* my name. And the name here hinted is expressly given these men by Moses himself, when he afterwards speaks of them, Gen. vi, *the sons of* GOD saw the daughters of men:—but to return to the antediluvians.

As we can only form some few and very general conjectures about their religion, so we can only guess at the progress they might make in literature or any of the arts. The enterprising genius of man began to exert itself very early in music, brass-work, iron-work, in every artifice and science useful or entertaining; and the undertakers were not limited by a short life, they had time enough before them to carry things to perfection; but whatever their skill, learning, or industry performed, all remains or monuments of it are long ago perished. We meet in several authors hints of some writings of Enoch, and of pillars supposed to have been inscribed by Seth, and the epistle of St. Jude[5] seems to cite a passage from Enoch; but the notion of Enoch's leaving any work behind him has been so little credited, that some persons, not considering that there are many things alluded to in the New Testament,[6] which were perhaps never recorded in any books,

[5] Ver. 14.

[6] There are many instances in the New Testament of facts alluded to, which we do not find ever recorded in any ancient books. Thus the contest between Michael and the Devil about the body of Moses is mentioned, as if the Jews had, somewhere or other, a full account of it. The names of the Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres, are set down, though they are nowhere found in Moses's history. St. Paul mentions that Moses exceedingly quaked and feared on mount Sinai; but we do not find it so recorded any where in the Old Testament. In all cases, the apostles and holy writers hinted at things commonly received as true by tradition amongst the Jews, without transcribing them from any real books.

have gone too far, and imagined[7] the epistle of St. Jude to be spurious, for its seeming to have a quotation from this figment.

There is a piece pretending to be this work of Enoch, and Scaliger,[8] in his annotations upon Eusebius's Chronicon, has given us considerable fragments, if not the whole of it. It was vastly admired by Tertullian,[9] and some other fathers; but it has since their time been proved to be the product of some impostor, who made it, according to Scaliger, Vossius, Gale, and Kircher, some time between the captivity and our Saviour's birth; but there are, I think,[1] good reasons not to believe it even so old.

As to Seth's pillars, Josephus[2] gives the following account of them. "That Seth and his descendants were persons of happy tempers, and lived in peace, employing themselves in the study of astronomy, and in other researches after useful knowledge; that, in order to preserve the knowledge they had acquired, and to convey it to posterity, having heard from Adam of the Flood, and of a destruction of the world by fire, which was to follow it, they made two pillars, the one of stone, the other of brick, and inscribed their knowledge upon them, supposing that one or the other of them might remain for the use of posterity. The stone pillar (says he,) on which is inscribed, that there was one of brick made also, is still remaining in the land of Seriad to this day." Thus far Josephus; but whether his account of this pillar may be admitted, has been variously controverted; we are now not only at a loss about the pillar, but we cannot so much as find the place where it is said to have stood. Some[3] have thought this land of Seriad to be the land of Seirah, mentioned Judges iii, 26, and that the quarries, as we render it, or the *pesilim*, as it is in the Hebrew, might be the ruinous stones of which this pillar of Seth was formerly made. Other writers[4] think the word *pesilim* to signify idols, and that the stones here mentioned were Eglon's idols, lately set up there. Bishop Stillingfleet,[5] if the word *pesilim* can signify pillars, approves of Junius's interpretation of the place, and thinks the stones here spoken of were the twelve stones pitched by Joshua in Gilgal, after the children of Israel passed over Jordan; but surely this interpretation is improbable, the stones pitched in Gilgal by Joshua would have been called as they were when they were pitched, *ha Abenim*, from *Aben*, a stone; or else the remembrance of the fact to be supported by them would be lost. The design of heaping them was, that when posterity

[7] Enochi commentitia oracula ita sprevit cordatior antiquitas, uti Hieronymus Judæ epistolam, quæ de septem Catholicis una est, ob hanc causam a plerisque a catalogo sacrorum voluminum dicat expunctam, quia testimonium ibi citatur ex hoc futili scripto. Cunæus de Rep. Heb. lib. iii; c. i, p. 300.

[8] P. 404.

[9] De habitu mulierum, lib. i, c. 3.

[1] See Jurieu Crit. Hist. vol. i, p. 41.

[2] Antiq. lib. i, c. iii, p. 9,

[3] Vossius de Ætat. Mund. c. x, et Marsham Can. Chronic. p. 39.

[4] Chytræus et alii.

[5] Origines Sacræ, b. i, c. ii, p. 37.

should inquire what mean *ha Abenim*, these stones, they might be told how the waters of Jordan were cut off. It is unlikely that the writer of the book of Judges should alter the name of so remarkable a monument.

But it is more easy to guess where Josephus had his story of Seth's pillars, than to tell in what country they ever stood; there is a passage quoted from Manetho, the Egyptian historian, which very probably was the foundation of all that Josephus has said about them. Eusebius[6] has given us the words of Manetho; for, relating what he asserted to establish the credit of his Egyptian dynasties, he says, that he pretended to have taken them "from some pillars in the land of Seriad, inscribed in the sacred dialect by the first Mercury Thyoth, and after the Flood translated out of the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue in sacred characters, and laid up amongst the revestiaries of the Egyptian temples by Agathodæmon the second Mercury, father of Tat." Josephus very often quotes heathen writers, and Manetho in particular; and it is probable, that upon reading this account of pillars in that historian, he might think it misapplied. The Jews had an old tradition of Seth's pillars: Josephus perhaps imagined Manetho's account to have arisen from it, and that he should probably hit the truth if he put the history of the one and the tradition of the other together; and it is likely that hence arose all he has given us upon this subject.

It may perhaps be inquired, what the wickedness was, for which God destroyed the first world. Some writers have imagined it to have been an excess of idolatry; others think idolatry was not practised until after the Flood; and indeed the Scripture mentions no idolatry in these times; but describes the antediluvian wickedness to have been a general neglect of virtue, and pursuit of evil. *The wickedness of man was great in the Earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.*[7] There is one particular taken notice of by Moses, *the Earth*, he says, *was filled with violence.*[8] This expression, and the severe law made against murder soon after the Flood, makes it probable that the men of this first world had taken a great license in usurping upon the lives of one another.

There should be something said, before I conclude this book, of the chronology and geography of this first world. As to the chronology, several of the transactions in it are not reduced to any fixed time. We are not told when Cain and Abel were born; in what year Abel was killed, or Cain left his parents; when the city of Enoch was built; or at what particular time the descendants of Cain's family were born. Moses has given us a chronology of only one branch of Seth's family. He has set down the several descendants from Adam

[6] In Chronico. [7] Gen. vi, 5. [8] Ver. 13.

to Noah, with an account of the time of their birth, and term of life; so that if there was not a variety in the different copies of the Bible, it would be easy to fix the year of their deaths, and of the Flood, and to determine the time of the continuance of this first world.

But first of all, according to our Hebrew Bibles, the computations of Moses are given us as set down in the following table.

	Began his life in the year of the world	Had his son in the year of his life	Lived after his son's birth, years	Lived in all, years	Died in the year of the world
Adam	1	130	800	930	930
Seth	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared	460	162	800	962	1422
Enoch	622	65	300	365	987
Methuselah	687	187	782	969	1656
Lamech	874	182	595	777	1651
Noah	1056	500			

According to the foregoing table, the Flood which began in the six hundredth year of Noah, who was born anno mundi 1056, happened anno mundi 1656; it continued about a year, and so ended 1657.

But secondly, the Samaritan copies give us these computations something different; according to them,

	Began his life in the year of the world	Had his son in the year of his life	Lived after his son's birth, years	Lived in all, years	Died in the year of the world
Adam	1	130	800	930	930
Seth	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared	460	62	785	847	1307
Enoch	522	65	300	365	887
Methuselah	587	67	653	720	1307
Lamech	654	53	600	653	1307
Noah	707	500			

The reader will easily see the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan computations, by comparing the two tables with one another. Capellus[9] makes a difficulty in reconciling them; but it is not such a hard matter, if we consider what St. Jerome[1] informs us of, that there were Samaritan copies which make Methuselah one hundred and eighty-seven years old at the birth of Lamech, and Lamech one hundred and eighty-two at the birth of Noah. Now, if this be true, it is easy to suppose sixty-two, the age of Jared at the birth of Enoch, to be a mistake of the transcriber, who might drop a letter, and write sixty-two instead of one hundred and sixty-two; and thus all the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copies will entirely vanish. Capellus is not satisfied with this account of St. Jerome's, but observes that Morinus[2] assures us, that the Samaritan MS Penta-

[9] Tract de Chronol. sacr. in Prolegom. Bib. Polyglot. Walton.
[1] In Quæst. in Genes.
[2] Joan Morinus in Præfat. Græco-Lat. Translationis LXX. Parisiis edit. 1618.

teuch agrees exactly with the calculations given by Eusebius, according to which the foregoing table is composed; but to this it may be answered, that the MS which Morinus saw,[3] is not older than the beginning of the fifteenth century; it was, he says himself, written in the year of our Lord 1404; and surely it must be very precarious to contradict what St. Jerome has asserted in this matter, from so modern a transcript.

The writers, who have given us the Samaritan chronology, do, in some respects, differ from the foregoing table; but their differences are of less moment, and may easily be corrected.

1. Eusebius[4] sets the birth of Methuselah in the sixtieth year of Enoch; but this is manifestly an error either of the printer or transcriber, who wrote ξ instead of ξε; the mistake was certainly not Eusebius's, because he immediately adds, μετετεθη εν ετει ϛπ τϑ Νωε, *i. e.* he was translated in the one hundred and eightieth year of Noah. Now, if Enoch was sixty years old at Methuselah's birth, according to Eusebius himself; from Methuselah's birth to the one hundred and eightieth year of Noah, is but three hundred years, and consequently Eusebius, to have been consistent with himself, should have made Enoch's age at his translation three hundred and sixty, but he has made it three hundred and sixty-five. But farther, Syncellus[5] from Eusebius says, that the Samaritan computation falls short of the Hebrew three hundred and forty-nine years; but, if in the life of Enoch sixty and three hundred and sixty are the true numbers, instead of sixty-five and three hundred and sixty-five, the reader, if he computes, will find the Samaritan calculations fall short of the Hebrew more than three hundred and forty-nine years, namely, three hundred and fifty-four. Once more, the Samaritan computations, as cited by Scaliger,[6] have in this place sixty-five, not sixty; and one hundred and sixty-five, not one hundred and sixty.

There are several other mistakes made, probably in printing Eusebius's Chronicon; namely,[7] that Cainan lived to the ϕκα *i. e.* the five hundred and twenty-first year of Noah, it should have been ϕκη, five hundred and twenty-eight. And Mahalaleel to the ϕπε, *i. c.* the five hundred and eighty-fifth year of Noah, it should have been ϕπγ, *i. c.* five hundred and eighty-three, for otherwise Eusebius contradicts himself; for if a table were made from Eusebius's computations, it would appear that Cainan died A. M. 1235, and that would be the five hundred and twenty-eighth year of Noah, not the five hundred and twenty-first: and so likewise Mahalaleel's death would be A. M. 1290, which, according to Eusebius, would be the five hundred and eighty-third year of Noah, not the five hundred and eighty-fifth.

[3] See Harduin's Chronol. Vet. Test. p. 6.
[4] Chronicon, p. 4.
[5] Vid. Cappelli Chronol. sacr.
[6] Id. ibid.
[7] Id. Ibid.

2. The Samaritan chronology, as given us by Scaliger,[8] differs a little from Eusebius's account of it; for, where Eusebius says that Mahalaleel was ξε, *i. e.* sixty-five years old, when he begat Jared; Scaliger thinks it should be οε, *i. e.* seventy-five. Again, where Eusebius, makes Methuselah's age ξζ, *i. e.* sixty-seven at Lamech's birth, Scaliger would have it be οζ, *i. e.* seventy-seven. By these alterations he computes twenty years longer to the Flood than the received Samaritan copies. Scaliger[9] does, indeed, produce an old Samaritan Chronicle, with a table at the end of it of the lives of the patriarchs, who lived from the Creation to Moses; in which he finds the variations from Eusebius, which he would establish. But first, he himself owns that this table contains some very great absurdities—a confession which takes away a great deal of its credit. Secondly, the Samaritan Chronology is much more reconcileable to the Hebrew, as Eusebius has given it us, than it would be if these alterations of Scaliger's were made in it. Thirdly, The Samaritan MS agrees with Eusebius, but favours none of Scaliger's emendations, as is clear from Morinus's account of that MS, and was confirmed to Capellus, by some letters of Gollius to him. Fourthly, if we alter Eusebius by this table of Scaliger's, we shall make Jared and Methuselah die A. M. 1317, *i. e.* ten years before the Flood; but all versions agree, the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint, however they differ about the year of the Flood, that Methuselah certainly died that year.

Thirdly, we come now to the Chronology of the Septuagint, which differs from the Hebrew in the following manner:—

First, in the lives of Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, there are one hundred years added before the births of their respective children, which one hundred years are again subtracted from the time they lived after the births of them; so that the Hebrew and Septuagint make the whole term of their lives exactly the same, only the Septuagint makes them fathers one hundred years later than the Hebrew.

Secondly, In the life of Lamech the Septuagint adds six years before Noah's birth, and takes away thirty years from the time he lived after Noah was born; and in the whole makes his life shorter than the Hebrew by twenty-four years.

These differences, by advancing six hundred years before the births of Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, and Methuselah, and six years before the birth of Noah (both the Septuagint and Hebrew agreeing the Flood to be in the six hundredth year of Noah's life,) do carry forward the time of the Flood six hundred and six years, and so fix it A. M. 2263, instead of 1657, according to the following table:—

[8] Vide Capelli Chronol. sacr.

[9] See Capellus, before cited.

According to the Septuagint.	Began his life in the year of the world	Had his son in the year of his life	Lived after his son's birth, years	Lived in all, years	Died in the year of the world
Adam	1	230	700	930	930
Seth	230	205	707	912	1042
Enos	435	190	715	905	1340
Cainan	625	170	740	910	1535
Mahalaleel	795	165	730	895	1690
Jared	960	162	800	962	1922
Enoch	1122	165	200	365	1487
Methuselah	1287	187	782	969	2256
Lamech	1474	188	565	753	2227
Noah	1662	500			

How the different computations of the Septuagint and the Hebrew may be reconciled, or accounted for, is a point which the learned are not agreed in. The Hebrew computations are supported by a perfect concurrence and agreement of all Hebrew copies now in being; we are sure there have been no various readings in these places since the Talmuds[1] were composed; nay, the approved Hebrew copies computed thus in our Saviour's time; for the paraphrase of Onkelos, which is on all hands agreed to be about that age, is the same exactly with the Hebrew in these points. St. Jerome, in his time, took the Hebrew computations to be right, for he translated from them exactly agreeable to what we now read them: and the vulgar Latin, which has been in use in the Church above one thousand years, agrees with them; there is no positive proof that there ever was a Hebrew copy different from what the common Hebrew now is, in these computations.

But then, on the other hand there are several arguments which have induced learned men to suspect, that the ancient Hebrew copies might differ from the present; and that the

[1] The Talmuds were two, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian: the Jerusalem Talmud was composed about three hundred years after Christ, the Babylonian about two hundred years later.

Greek computations, according to the Septuagint, are more likely to be true than the present Hebrew; for,

1. As all the Hebrew copies agree in their computations, so do the Greek copies agree in theirs likewise. The most ancient MSS have exactly the same computations with the common Septuagint, except a small variation or two, which shall be, by and by, accounted for. And though indeed we ought not to oppose even the best translation to the original, yet what I have mentioned gives us reason at least to inquire impartially how and when such a difference began between the original and the version; a difference which is not a mistake in this or that copy or transcript, but a difference probably made at first by the translators themselves.

2. These variations are of such a sort, that they cannot be imagined to be made accidentally by the translators, out of haste, or by mistake. The Hebrew computations, as St. Jerome observes, were not expressed in words in the old copies, but in small characters scarcely visible; had the Septuagint fallen short in the numbers, we might have supposed that they omitted some letter, and so lost ten or one hundred years. But such alterations as these, where there must have been letters added, and where sometimes both parts of a verse, and sometimes two verses together are altered, and so altered as still to keep them consistent with one another; this, whenever done, must have been made designedly and with deliberation.

3. Though we have no direct proof of any variations in the old Hebrew copies in these computations, yet we have some ground to suspect there were some. The Jews, before the time of Antiochus, had a long enjoyment of peace, and were very careless about the sacred writings,[2] so that numerous variations had, by degrees, got into their copies. Antiochus seized and burnt all the copies he could come at; there were only a few of those that were in private hands which escaped him. After this calamity was over, the Jews inquired, and got together those few, in order to have more copies written out from them; and from these came all the copies we have now in use. Now, suppose the private copies, which escaped the fury of Antiochus, had any of them dropped some numeral letters, and they were copied, as I said, in an age when they did not study to be very accurate; this might be the occasion of the present Hebrew falling short in its calculations; the Septuagint being translated from the copies before Antiochus's time, when the computations were not corrupted. The Pharisees were the rising sect after Antiochus's persecution; and were also the correctors of the new transcripts, and it is not likely their pride and stiffness should let them consult the Septuagint, or alter any thing in their copies by it; it

[2] Buxtorf.

is more probable, that if they found any point in their MS differing from the Septuagint, they would be fond of preserving the reading of their own originals, in opposition to a foreign translation of their books, how good soever in its kind it might be.

4. Josephus is some proof, that there were formerly old Hebrew copies, different in these computations from the present ones. He expressly says,[3] that he wrote his history from the sacred pages; and his account[4] of the lives of these patriarchs agrees with the Septuagint, except only in a very small difference in the life of Lamech; so that Josephus must have seen a copy of the Hebrew books, different from the present ones, and at least very near agreeing with the Septuagint.

5. The Greek historians who wrote before Josephus, namely,[5] Demetrius Phalereus, Philo the elder, and Eupolemus, give us reason to suspect the same thing. They are writers very much commended by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius. They learned their knowledge of the Jewish affairs, from Jews; and Josephus says, they wrote accurately about them. Now, their computations differ very much from the common Hebrew, and come very near the Septuagint. According to Demetrius,[6] from the creation to the Flood is two thousand one hundred and forty-eight years. Eusebius,[7] from Alexander (a very ancient historian) computes, from the creation to the Flood, two thousand two hundred and eighty-four years. These authors must have seen, or been informed from Hebrew copies, different from the present.

6. We may add to all this, that the whole Christian church, eastern and western, and all the ancient celebrated writers of the church, have neglected the Hebrew computations, and adhered to the Greek; until in the last century some of the Roman writers, and not all of them, in regard to the decree of the council of Trent about the vulgar Latin, adopted the Hebrew computations; not because they were the Hebrew, but because the vulgar Latin agreed with them. Baronius observes,[8] that the church used anciently to compute the years from the creation, not according to the Hebrew, but according to the Septuagint; and he cites many writers to confirm it; and indeed he might justly have cited every ancient writer, except St. Jerome and St. Austin. Amongst the moderns, Beza was the first who had any doubts about the Greek chronology: I say, had doubts, for he never absolutely rejected it, though he seemed most inclined to the Hebrew. There have been a few who have followed his opinion, but they are few, in comparison of the many who have gone the other way.

[3] Contra Appion, lib. i. [4] See it, Antiq. lib. i, c. iii.
[5] Walton Proleg. de versionibus Græcis.
[6] Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i, p. 403; Ed. Oxon.
[7] See Walton. Proleg. de versionibus Græcis, sec. 61.
[8] In Apparatu ad Annales Ecclesiasticos, n. 118.

I have now given the substance of what is offered for the Hebrew, and for the Septuagint. I should next observe, that Capellus[9] attempts to reconcile the differences in their computations, in the following manner:—

1. As to the difference between the Greek and Hebrew, in the life of Lamech, he quotes St. Austin,[1] who was of opinion that the very first transcribers, who took copies of the original Septuagint MS in Ptolemy's library, made mistakes in transcribing it; that the Septuagint computed Lamech to be one hundred and eighty-two years old at Noah's birth, to live five hundred and ninety-five after it, and to live in all seven hundred and seventy-seven years. This one correction will take away all the difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew, except the six hundred years added and subtracted, as before mentioned. And it will (agreeably to all other copies) make Methuselah die in the year of the Flood.

2. As to the addition and subtraction of the several hundred years, in the lives of the fathers before mentioned, the same author, from St. Austin,[2] answers, that they were not made by the Seventy themselves, but by some early transcriber from them; and probably for one or other of these two reasons. 1. Perhaps thinking the years of the antediluvian lives to be but lunar ones; and computing that at this rate the six fathers, whose lives are thus altered, must have had their children at five, six, seven, or eight years old, which must seem incredible; I say, the transcriber, finding this, might be induced to add and subtract the hundred years, in order to make them of a more probable age of manhood, at the birth of their respective children: or, 2. If he thought the years of their lives to be solar ones; yet still he might imagine, that infancy and childhood were proportionably longer in men,[3] who were to live seven, eight, or nine hundred years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their lives for them to be fathers at sixty, seventy, or ninety years of age; for which reason he might add the hundred years, to make their advance to manhood, which is commonly not until one fourth part of life is near over, proportionable to what was to be their term of life.

If these arguments are sufficient to answer in part what is said in favour of the Septuagint, in opposition to the Hebrew (and they seem to me to carry a great probability,) what is offered from Josephus, Philo, Demetrius Phalereus, and the other Greek historians agreeing in their computations with the Septuagint, is easily answered. They all lived since the time when the Septuagint translation was made; and very proba-

[9] Lud. Cappelli Chron. Sacr. in Apparatu Walton. ad Bibl. Polyglot.

[1] Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. xv, cap. 13. [2] Id. c. 12.

[3] Tanto serior fuit proportione pubertas, quanto vitæ totius major annositas, says St. August. lib. de Civitat. Dei, xv, c. 15.

bly took their computations from that, or some copies of it, and not from any Hebrew copies of the Scriptures.

Demetrius Phalereus[4] was the first president of the college of Alexandria, to which the library belonged where the original MS of the Septuagint was lodged. He was a very active man in erecting the library, and storing it with books; for all that Ptolemy Soter did in this matter was by his counsel and direction; and the whole care and management of it was committed to him. And when Ptolemy Soter died, his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, carrying on the same design, made use of Demetrius, as his father had before done. Ptolemy Philadelphus, says Aristeas, being desirous to raise a considerable library at Alexandria, committed the care of this matter to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian then living in his court; directing him to procure from all nations, whatsoever books were of note amongst them. Pursuant to these orders, being informed of the book of the law of Moses among the Jews, he put the king upon sending to Jerusalem for a copy of it. Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, makes the same mention[5] of Demetrius's part in this affair. We have now only some fragments of Aristobulus, quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus[6] and Eusebius;[7] but he is said to have written a comment on the five books of Moses, and therein to have mentioned this Greek version, as made under the care and direction of Demetrius Phalereus. The most learned Dr. Prideaux,[8] does indeed imagine, that Demetrius was put to death in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; but he brings only very slender proof of it. It is most likely that he lived until after the library was finished; and if he took this care about getting the translation of the books of Moses, it is likely, when he had them, that his curiosity might lead him to look into them. He was a great scholar, as well as a statesman and politician; and if the computations above-mentioned were altered so early as St. Austin imagines, and upon the reasons he gives for it, the alterations might be made by Demetrius, or by his allowance and approbation.

I have said all this about Demetrius, upon supposition that he was one of the Greek historians, whose works might prove the Septuagint computation more probable than the Hebrew. Bishop Walton[9] does indeed quote him for that purpose; but I doubt he was mistaken. The Phalerean Demetrius lived a busy active life, a great officer of state, both at home and abroad; and I do not find that he ever wrote any history. Bishop Walton, therefore, might, perhaps, mistake

[4] See Prideaux. Connect. part ii, b. i, p. 14, fourth edition.

[5] In his comment on the books of Moses; see Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. xiii, c. 12.

[6] Strom. l. i, 132, et l. v, 254.

[7] Can. Chron. p. 145. Præp. Evang. lib. vii, c. 13; lib. viii, c. 10; lib. xiii, c. 12.

[8] Connection, vol. ii, an. 284.

[9] In Proleg. ad Bibl. Polyglot. de versionibus Græcis, sec. 61.

the name; not Demetrius Phalereus, but Demetrius the historian should have been quoted upon this occasion. Demetrius[1] the historian was an inhabitant of Alexandria, lived not before the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, the grandson of Philadelphus, near seventy years after the Septuagint translation was made: he compiled the history of the Jews, and continued it down to the reign of Ptolemy Philopator before mentioned. It is easy to see that this writer might copy from the Septuagint, and be misled by any early alterations which had been made in it.

Philo lived still later, was contemporary with our Saviour; wrote almost three hundred years after the Hebrew was translated by the Seventy. He lived constantly at Alexandria, and therefore copied from the Septuagint; and, as he lived so late, was more likely to be imposed upon, by the early alterations which had been made in it.

Josephus, though a Jew, notwithstanding he so often asserted that he wrote from the sacred pages, did not always write from the Hebrew Scriptures. He was, I own, a priest, and of the first family of the priests, brought up from his childhood in the Hebrew law, and perfectly skilled in the Hebrew language; and I do not question, but he could as easily make use of the Hebrew Bible as the Greek; yet still I think it is very evident, that in several parts of his works, where he ought to have used at least one of them, he has used neither. The utmost that Dr. Hody[2] could conclude about him was, that he principally followed the Hebrew text; which, if admitted, is consistent with what Dr. Cave observed of him,[3] that he often takes a middle way, between the Septuagint and the Hebrew. But Dr. Wells has examined his chronology with great exactness,[4] and produces several passages, in which he adheres to the Hebrew against the Greek; and several others, in which he agrees with the Greek in opposition to the Hebrew, and as many in which he differs from both. From which he very reasonably concludes, that in compiling his history he had both the Hebrew and Greek bibles before him, and sometimes used one, and sometimes the other; and when he thought there was reason, he did not scruple to recede from both. The Jews had other ancient books, to which they paid great deference, beside the Scriptures. Josephus copied often from these, and from heathen writers too; and he was not only many times led away by them from what is contained in the Scriptures, but oftentimes

[1] Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. i, 146. Hieronymus in catalogo illust. Scriptor. c. 38. Vossius de Historicis Græcis, lib. iii, sub litera D. He might possibly live some time later than Ptolemy Philopator, for the exact time of his life is not told us.

[2] Hody, Dissert. de Septuagint, l. iii, c. 1. sec. 2.

[3] Histor. Literar. p. ii, p. 20, in Joseph.

[4] Dissertation upon the Chronology of Josephus, p. 16—21.

misled by them into trifles and mistakes.—Josephus is not of sufficient authority to induce us to alter our Bible.

And as to the fathers of the first ages of the church, they were good men, but not men of universal learning. They understood the Greek tongue better than the Hebrew; used and wrote from the Septuagint copies, which was the reason why the Septuagint computations prevailed amongst them.[5] And thus I have put the whole of what may be said upon this subject together, into as narrow a compass as I could well bring it. The reader may see the former part of what I have offered, treated more at large in Capellus's Sacra Chronologia, prefixed to Walton's Polyglot Bible, and in Bishop Walton's Prolegomenon upon the Septuagint and Greek versions of the Scriptures: and, if the latter part may be allowed, the differences between the Septuagint and Hebrew, as far as we have yet entered into them, have but little in them; they appear considerable only, from the weight which the learned have given them in their dissertations upon them; but they may, by the suppositions above-mentioned, be very easily reconciled.

There is one thing more which should not be wholly omitted; namely, a variation or two in the several Greek copies from one another.

We have, in our table of the Septuagint computations, supposed Methuselah to be one hundred and eighty-seven years old at Lamech's birth, to live seven hundred and eighty-two years after it, and to live in all nine hundred and sixty-nine years; but Eusebius,[6] St. Jerome, and St. Austin assert, that according to the Septuagint he begat Lamech in the one hundred and sixty-seventh year of his age, lived after his birth eight hundred and two years, and lived in all nine hundred and sixty-nine years. The Roman edition of the Septuagint, printed in Greek and Latin at Paris, in the year 1628, agrees with them in these computations. But in answer to them; First, St. Austin himself confesses, that there were various readings in the computations of Methuselah's life; that some copies (three Greek, one Latin, and one Syriac,) made Methuselah die six years before the Flood. Now these copies must have had one hundred and eighty-seven, and seven hundred and eighty-two, as in our table, for then they will exactly do it. Nay, secondly, as Eusebius allows that some copies supposed Methuselah to die six years before the Flood; so he, also, expressly computes him to live seven hundred and eighty-two years after the birth of Lamech. Now, these copies must make him one hundred and eighty-seven at the birth of Lamech; for there has been no doubt of his living in

[5] St. Jerome and St. Austin (as was before hinted) adhered to the Hebrew computations; and they were, though not the only two who understood the Hebrew, yet without doubt much better skilled in it than the fathers of their age, except Origen.

[6] Capelli Chronol. Sacra.

all, according to the Septuagint, nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Thirdly, Africanus, cited by Eusebius, says from the Septuagint, that Lamech was born in the one hundred and eighty-seventh year of Methuselah. Fourthly, If the computations above-mentioned be admitted, Methuselah must live fourteen or fifteen years after the Flood, which is too great an absurdity to be admitted. The two or three copies mentioned by Eusebius have probably the ancient reading of the Septuagint; and Eusebius and Syncellus should have corrected the exemplars, which they computed from, by them, as most of the modern editors have done. For all the later editions of the Septuagint agree with our table; namely, the Basil edition of Hervagius, published A. D. 1545; and Wichelius's, published A. D. 1595, makes no various reading upon the place; as if all books were the same with it, or those which were not, were not worth confuting. The royal edition by Plantin is the same, with this only fault, that ϖεν7ε is put instead of επ7α, one hundred and eighty-five instead of one hundred and eighty-seven; but that mistake is corrected in the Paris Greek and Latin, made from it A. D. 1628.

There is one reading more, in which Eusebius seems to differ from us. He makes Lamech to live φλε, *i. e.* five hundred and thirty-five years after Noah's birth; we say he lived five hundred and sixty-five. But it is probable that this mistake was either Scaliger's, or some transcriber's, and not Eusebius's; φλε might easily be written φξε; for first, St. Jerome, who translated Eusebius into Latin, wrote it DLXV. Secondly, all the modern editions of the Septuagint, put it five hundred and sixty-five. Thirdly, St. Austin says expressly, that the Hebrew computations in this place are thirty years more than the Greek. Now, the Hebrew makes Lamech to live five hundred and ninety-five years after Noah's birth; therefore the Greek computation, being thirty years less, must be five hundred and sixty-five. Fourthly, all copies of the Septuagint agree, that he was one hundred and eighty-eight at Noah's birth, and that he lived in all seven hundred and fifty-three years. Now from hence it is certain, that they must suppose him to live five hundred and sixty-five years after the birth of Noah; for one hundred and eighty-eight and five hundred and sixty-five is seven hundred and fifty-three.

We are now come to the last point to be treated of, the geography of the antediluvian world. There are but few places of it mentioned; the land of Eden, with its garden; the land of Nod, on the east of Eden; and the city of Enoch, in that country.

The land and garden of Eden was in the eastern parts of the world, remarkable for a river which arose out of it, dividing itself into four streams, or branches; the first of which was named Pison, and encompassed the whole land of Havilah: the second was named Gihon, and encompassed the land of

Cush; the third was Hiddekel, and ran into the eastern parts of Assyria; the fourth was the noted river Euphrates. This is the description of the place given us by Moses. The learned have formed different schemes of its situation from this description of it, two of which are worth our notice.

First, some suppose the land to be near Cœle-Syria; and imagine the river arose somewhere between the mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus; and from thence to run to the place where Euphrates now divides Syria and Mesopotamia, and there to divide itself, first, into a stream, which we now make part of the Euphrates; that this stream passed through the ridge of mountains which run across the country, and beyond them joined itself to the present Tigris, and continued its course where the Tigris now runs into the Sinus Persicus; all this stream they call Hiddekel. Secondly, Their second river, which they call Euphrates, is the present Euphrates, from the place where we divided Tigris from it, down to the Persian Gulf; much about the same place, they suppose the river to divide into two other streams, which ran through the land of the Ishmaelites, and divided the range of hills at the entrance of Arabia Felix, and so encompassed between their streams a part of that country, and then met again; but afterwards divided, and ran, the one into the Indian, the other into the Red Sea. The name of one of these streams was Gihon, of the other Pison: the draught which I have added will set this scheme in the clearest view.

The authors of the second scheme, though they have, every one of them, some peculiarities, yet agree in the main, that Eden was in Chaldea, that the garden was somewhere near the rivers amongst which Babylon was afterwards built. They prove the land of Havilah, by undeniable arguments, to be the country adjacent to the present Euphrates, all along and upon the banks of that river, and spreading thence towards the desarts of Arabia. The land of Cush, which our English translation erroneously renders Ethiopia, was, they say, that part of Chaldea where Cush, the son of Ham, settled after the Flood. A draught of this scheme will set it in a clearer light than any verbal description; I have therefore given a map of it, and shall only add a reflection or two on both the schemes of the geography of this first world.

As to the former scheme, it is, indeed, true, there was a place in Syria called Eden[7]; but it was of a much later date than the Eden where Adam was placed. Syria is not East to the place where Moses wrote, but rather North.[8] And further none of the descriptions, which Moses has given of Eden, belong to any part of Syria. There are no rivers in the world, which run in any degree agreeable to this fancy; and though

[7] See Amos i, 5.

[8] Moses wrote either when he lived in Egypt, or in the land of Midian.

the authors of it answer, that the earth and course of rivers were altered by the Flood, yet I cannot admit that answer as a good one. Moses did not describe the situation of this place in antediluvian names; the names of the rivers, and the lands about them, Cush, Havilah, &c. are all names of later date than the Flood; and I cannot but think that Moses intended (according to the known geography of the world when he wrote, and according to his own notion of it) to give us hints of the place near which Eden in the former world, and the garden of Paradise, were seated.

As to the second scheme, it seems to come a great deal nearer the truth than the other; there are but small objections to be made against it. There is, indeed, no draught of the country which shews the rivers exactly to answer Moses's description of them; but how easy is it to suppose, either that the rivers about Babylon have been at several times so much altered by streams and canals made by the heads of that potent empire, that we never had a draught of them agreeable to what they were when Moses wrote about them; or, if Moses wrote according to the then known geography of a country which he had never seen, it is very certain that all modern observations find greater varieties in the situation of places, and make greater corrections in all old charts and maps, than need to be made in this description of Moses, to have it agree even with our latest maps of the present country and rivers in and near Chaldea.

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
THE
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK II.

NOAH, with the remains of the old world in the ark, was carried upon the waters; for about five months[9] there was no appearance of the Flood's abating. In the beginning of April,[1] the ark touched upon the top of Mount Ararat. After they had stopped here forty days,[2] Noah, desirous to know whether the waters were decreasing any where else in the world, let a bird or two fly out of the ark;[3] but they flew about, until weary, and finding no place to light upon, returned back to him. Seven days after[4] he let a bird out again; she returned, but with a leaf in her mouth, plucked from some tree which she had found above water. Seven days after,[5] he let the bird fly a third time; but then she found places enough to rest on, and so returned to him no more. The waters continued to decrease gradually, and about the middle of June[6] Noah looked about him, and could see the tops of many hills. About the middle of September,[7] the whole earth came into view; and at the beginning of November[8] was sufficiently drained; so that Noah, his family, and the creatures came out of the ark, and took possession of the world again. As soon as they were come ashore, Noah raised an altar, and offered sacrifices: God was pleased to accept his piety, and promised a blessing to him

[9] One hundred and fifty days, Gen. viii. 3; *i. e.* exactly five Hebrew months, each month consisting of thirty days.

[1] On the seventeenth of the seventh month, Gen. viii, 4; *i. e.* of the month Nisan, pretty near answering to the third of our April.

[2] Gen. viii, 6. [3] Gen. viii, 7, 8. [4] Gen. viii, 10, 11. [5] Ver. 12.

[6] In the tenth month, on the first of the month, *i. e.* on the first day of Tamuz, answering to about the 16th of our June.

[7] On the first day of the first month, ver. 13, *i. e.* on the first of Tizri, or the 16th of our September.

[8] Twenty-seventh of the second month, *i. e.* 27th of Marchesvan, about the 10th of November.

and his posterity; granted them the creatures of the world for their food, and gave some laws for the future to be observed by them.

1. God granted them the creatures of the world for their food: *every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things.*[9] In the first ages of the world, men lived upon the fruits of trees, and the product of the ground; and it is asserted by some writers, that the creatures were not used for either food or sacrifice. It is thought that the offering of Abel,[1] who sacrificed of his flocks, was only wool, the fruits of his shearing; and milk, or rather cream, a part of his lactage. The heathens are said to have had a general notion, that the early sacrifices were of this sort. Theophrastus is quoted by Porphyry, in Eusebius,[2] asserting, that the first men offered handfuls of grass; in time they came to sacrifice the fruits of trees; in after ages to kill, and offer cattle upon their altars. Many other authors are cited for this opinion; Sophocles[3] speaks of wool and grapes as an ancient sacrifice; and Pausanias hints the ancient sacrifice[4] to have been only fruits of trees, of the vine especially, and honeycombs and wool: and Plato was of opinion, that living creatures[5] were not anciently offered in sacrifice, but cakes of bread, and fruits, and honey poured upon them; and Empedocles asserts,[6] that the first altars were not stained with the blood of creatures. Some Christian writers have gone into this opinion, and improved it: they have imagined, that sacrifices were offered only of those things which men ate and drank for their sustenance and refreshment; and that therefore, before the creatures were used for food, they were not brought to the altars. They go further, and conjecture from hence, that the original of sacrifices was human; men being prompted by reason to offer to God, by way of gratitude, part of those things for the use of which they were indebted to his bounty. I should rather think the contrary opinion true. God appointed the skins of beasts for clothing to our first parents; which could not be obtained without killing them; and this seems to intimate, that the creatures were at that time appointed for sacrifice. It seems unlikely that God should order the creatures to be slain merely for clothing, when mankind were already supplied with another sort of covering;[7] but very probable, that, if he appointed a creature to be offered in sacrifice, he might direct the offerer to use the skin for clothing. And perhaps from this institution was derived the appointment in Leviticus;[8] that the priest should have the

[9] Gen. ix, 3.

[1] The Hebrew word Minchah, here used, favours this notion; מנחה being the word which signifies a sacrifice where any blood is shed.

[2] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 9.

[3] Sophoclis Polyid.

[4] Pausanias de Cerere Phrygialensi.

[5] Plato de Legibus, l. vi.

[6] Lib. de antiquissimis temporibus.

[7] Gen. iii, 7.

[8] Lev. vii, 8.

skin of the burnt-offering. There are several considerations, which do, I think, very strongly intimate, both that sacrifices of living creatures were in use before mankind had leave to eat flesh; and also that the origin of sacrifices was at first by divine appointment. The Talmudists agree, that holocausts of the creatures were offered in the earliest times, and long before men had leave to eat flesh; and it is very plain, that Noah offered the creatures before GOD had granted leave to eat them;[9] for that grant is represented to be made after Noah's sacrifice, and not before it;[1] and it is evident that the distinction of clean and unclean beasts was before the flood;[2] and it cannot be conceived how there could be such a distinction, if the creatures were neither eaten, nor used for sacrifice. Abel's sacrifice seems rather to have been a burnt-offering of the firstlings of his flock, than an oblation of wool and cream.[3] The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews took it to be so; he supposed Abel's offering to be θυσια, a sacrifice of a creature killed, and not an oblation, which would have been called προσφορα, or δωρον.[4] And as to the origin of sacrifices, it is extremely hard to conceive them to be a human institution; because we cannot, this way, give any tolerable account of the reasons of them. If mankind had in the first ages no immediate revelation, but came to their knowledge of GOD by the exercise of their reason, it must be allowed, that such notions as they had of GOD, such would be their way and method of serving him; but then, how is it possible that they should go into such notions of GOD, as to make it seem proper for them to offer sacrifices, in order to make atonement for their sins? Reason, if it led to any, would lead men to a reasonable service; but the worship of GOD in the way of sacrifice, cannot, I think, appear to be of this sort, if we take away the reason that may be given for it from revelation. We sacrifice to the gods, said Porphyry,[5] for three reasons; either to pay them worship, or to return them thanks for their favours, or to desire them to give us good things, or to free us from evils: *Ad hæc autem votum animi satisfacit.* It can never be made out from any natural notions of GOD, that sacrifices are a reasonable method to obtain or return thanks for the favours of Heaven. The result of a true rational inquiry can only be this, that GOD *is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.* And though I cannot say, that any of the wise heathens did by the light of nature bring themselves to a fixed and clear conviction of this great

[9] Gen. viii, 20. [1] Gen. ix, 3. [2] Gen. vii, 2. [3] See Levit. vi, 12.

[4] Heb. xi, 4. Porphyry in Eusebius endeavours very fallaciously to derive the word θυσια, from θυμιαω, and would infer its derivation from θυω to be modern, and taken up to defend the doctrine of sacrificing living creatures.—See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 9. But we answer, he offers no reason for his opinion, nor can it possibly be defended; θυσια and θυμιασις are, according to all rules of etymology, words of very different derivation.

[5] In lib. de sacrific.

truth; yet it is remarkable that several of them made great advances towards it; and all the wise part of them saw clearly, that no rational or philosophical account could be given of their sacrifices. The institutors of them always pretended to have received particular directions from the gods about them,[6] or at least those that live in after ages chose to suppose so, not knowing how to support them otherwise. The more forward writers[7] strove to decry them; the more moderate pleaded a reverence for antiquity, and long and universal use in favour of them; and the best philosophers[8] qualified the use of them, by using them in a way and manner of their own; always supposing, that the disposition of the offerer, and not the oblation which was offered, was chiefly regarded by the Deity.[9]

The true account therefore of the origin of sacrifices must be this; GOD, having determined what should, in the fulness of time, be the true propitiation for the sins of the world, namely, CHRIST, who by his own blood obtained us eternal redemption, thought fit from the beginning to appoint the creatures to be offered by way of figure, for the times then present, to represent the true offering which was afterwards to be made for the sins of men. The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews very largely argues the sacrifices in the law to be grounded upon this reason;[1] and I should conceive that his reasoning may be equally applied to the sacrifices that were appointed before the law; because sacrifices were not a new institution at the giving of the law; for, says the Prophet,[2] *I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them, saying, obey my voice, and ye shall be my people, and walk ye in all my ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you.* There were no sacrifices appointed in the two tables delivered to Moses; and it is exceeding probable, that the rules which Moses gave about sacrifices and oblations were only a revival of the ancient institutions, with perhaps some few additions or improvements which GOD thought proper for the state and circumstances through which he designed to carry the Jewish nation; for, *the law was added because of transgressions,*[3] *until the seed should come,* and not to set up a new religion.

Our blessed Saviour, in his discourse with the woman of Samaria, John iv, plainly intimated, that the worship of GOD by sacrifices was a positive institution, founded upon the expecta-

[6] Thus Numa's institutions were appointed him by the goddess Egeria. Florus. Livy.

[7] See the verses of the Greek poet in Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. vii, p. 303.

[8] Many instances might be brought from the sacrifices of Pythagoras, vid Jamb. de vit. Pythag. et Porphyr. de vita ejusdem.

[9] See Jamb. de vit. Pythag. sect. 122.

[1] Chap. ix, and x. [2] Jer. vii, 22. [3] Gal. iii, 19.

tion of a promised Messiah; for he hints the Samaritans, who either used sacrifices, imagining them part of natural religion, or at least did not know the grounds of their being appointed; I say, he hints them to be blind and ignorant will-worshippers, men who worshipped *they knew not what*, ver. 22; or, rather it should be translated,[4] men that worshipped *they knew not how*, i. e. in a way and manner, the reason and grounds of which they knew nothing of. But the Jews knew how they worshipped, for *salvation was of the Jews;* the promise of a Messiah had been made to them, and they had a good reason to offer their sacrifices; for they were a method of worship appointed by God himself, to be used by them until the Messiah should come. The woman's answer, ver. 25, *I know that Messias cometh*, looks as if she apprehended our Saviour's true meaning.

The reason given in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, for Abel's sacrifice pleasing God better than Cain's, is another proof that sacrifices were appointed by some positive institution of God. *By faith Abel offered unto* God *a more excellent sacrifice than Cain.* The faith, of which several instances are given in this chapter, is the belief of something declared; and in consequence of such belief, the performance of some action enjoined by God. *By faith Noah, being warned of* God, *prepared an ark,* i. e. he believed the warning given him, and obediently made the ark, which he was ordered to make. *By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went*, i. e. he believed that God would give him what he had promised him, and in consequence of such belief did what God commanded him. All the other instances of faith mentioned in that chapter are of the same sort, and thus it was that *Abel by faith offered a better sacrifice than Cain.* He believed what God had then promised, that the *seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head;* and in consequence of such belief offered such a sacrifice for his sins, as God had appointed to be offered, *until the seed should come.* If God, at that time, had given no command about sacrificing, there could have been no more of the faith treated of in this chapter, in Abel's sacrifice, than in Cain's offering. Cloppenburgh[5] has given a very good account of Cain and Abel's offering.

[4] In the expressions, υμεις προσκυνειτε ο ουκ οιδατε——ημεις προσκυνουμεν ο οιδαμεν, the preposition κατα is understood, καθ' ο οιδατε, and καθ' ο οιδαμεν. The expression is frequent in all Greek writers. If the Being worshipped had been referred to, I think it would have been ον, and not ο.

[5] In Schol. Sacrific. p. 15. Etsi diversæ oblationi videatur occasionem præbuisse diversum vitæ institutum, ipsi tamen diversitati oblationis hoc videtur subesse; quod Abel pecudum oblatione cruenta ante curarit, το ιλασηριον δια της πιστεως εν τω αιματι, Propitiationem per fidem in sanguine quo necessario purificanda erant dona Deo oblata, Heb. ix, 22, 23. Cainus autem oblatione sola Eucharistica de fructu terræ defungens supine neglexerit sacrificium

The abettors of the other side of the question do indeed produce the authorities of some heathen writers and rabbins; and of some Christian fathers, and of some considerable authors, both papists and protestants; but a general answer may be given to what is offered from them. The heathens had, as I observed, no true notion of the origin of sacrifices. They were generally received and established in all countries as positive institutions; but the philosophers were willing to prove them to be a reasonable service; and therefore thinking they could give a better account of the inanimate oblations, than of the bloody sacrifices, they imagined these to be the most ancient, and that the others were in time added to them; but there is no heathen writer that I know of, who has gone so far as to assert expressly, that sacrifices were at first a human institution; or that has proved[6] that such a worship could be invented by the reason of man, or that it is agreeable to any notions we can have of God. The rabbins had a general notion that sacrifices were first appointed, or rather permitted by God, in compliance with the disposition which the Israelites had contracted in Egypt; but this opinion is very weakly grounded. I cannot question but that when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, the current opinion of the Jewish doctors were of another sort; for it is not to be supposed that the first preachers of Christianity argued upon such principles as they knew would not be admitted of by those whom they endeavoured to convert to their religion. It is certain that the Jewish rabbins, when they were pressed with the force of proofs in favour of Christ from their Scriptures, did depart from many of the sentiments of their ancestors; and went into new notions in several points, to evade the arguments which they could not answer. Some of the Christian fathers have taken the side in this question for which I am contending, especially Eusebius;[7] and if some others of them have thought otherwise, this is not a point in which we are to be determined by their authority. The popish writers[8] took up their notion of sacrifices in order to favour some of their opinions about

ιλαστικον, ut eo nomine Deo displicuerit, neque potuerit obtinere justitiæ Dei, quæ ex fide est, testimonium, quod non perhibebat Deus neglecto istoc externo symbolo supplicationis ex fide pro remissione peccatorum obtinenda. Quemadmodum ergo in cultu spirituali publicanus supplicans cum peccatorum ἐξομολογησει descendit in domum suam justificatus præ Pharisæo cum gratiarum actione Deo vovente decimas omnium, quæ possidebat, Luc. xviii, 12. Sic censemus hac parte potiorem fuisse Abelis oblationem præ oblatione Caini, quod ipse supplicationem suam pro impetranda peccatorum remissione testatus sit, per sacrificii propitiatorii cruentam oblationem, cum alter dona sua Eucharistico ritu offerret χαριτις αιματοχυσιας

6 Jamblichus says of sacrifices, that they were derived ex communi hominum ad homines consuetudine, neque convenire naturæ Deorum mores humanos supra modum exuperanti.—Lib. de Myster. Ægyp. in sect. de utilitate sacrificiorum.

7 Demonstrat. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

8 Greg. de Valentia de Missaæ Sacrific. l. i, c. 4; et Bellarm. de Missa, l. i, c. 20.

the mass; and as to the protestant writers, it is not difficult to see which of them offer the best reasons. One thing I would observe upon the whole: if it appears from history that sacrifices have been used all over the world, have spread as far, as universally amongst men, as the very notions of a Deity; if they were the first, the earliest way of worship in every nation; if we find them almost as early in the world as mankind upon the earth; and at the same time cannot find that mankind ever did, or could by the light of reason, invent such notions of a Deity as should lead them to imagine this way of worship to be a reasonable service; then we must necessarily suppose that sacrifices were appointed for some particular end and purpose; and agree to what we find in Moses's history, that there was a revealed religion in the beginning of the world.

But however writers have differed about what was offered before the Flood, it is agreed that mankind eat no flesh, until the leave here obtained by Noah for it. *Every herb bearing seed*, and *every tree, to you it shall be for meat*.[9] This was the whole allowance which GOD at first made them; and all writers, sacred and profane, do generally suppose that the early ages confined themselves very strictly within the limits of it.

If we rightly consider their condition, whilst they were under this restraint of diet, their lives must have been very laborious; the sentence against Adam, which denounced that *in the sweat of their brow they should eat bread*, must have been literally fulfilled. We must not imagine that *after the ground was cursed*, men received from it a full and plenteous product, without tilth or culture; for the earth was to bring forth of itself, only thorns and thistles; pains and labour were required to produce another sort of crop from it. The poets, in their accounts of the golden age, suppose the earth to have brought forth all its fruits spontaneously; but it is remarkable that the historians found no such halcyon days recorded in the antiquities of any nations. Adam and Eve are supposed to have had this happiness whilst they lived in Paradise; and the poets framed their accounts of the golden age, from the ancient notions of the Garden of Eden; but we do not find that the prose writers fell into them. Diodorus Siculus supposes the lives of the first men to have been far from abounding with ease and plenty; "Having houses to build,[1] clothes to make, and not having invented proper instruments to work with, they lived a hard and laborious life; and many of them not having made a due provision for their sustenance, perished with hunger and cold in winter." This was his account of the lives and condition of the first men. The art of husbandry is now so generally understood, and such plenty is produced by a due and proper tillage, that it may seem no hard matter

[9] Gen. i, 29.

[1] Lib. i, p. 6.

for any one, who has ground to work on, to produce an ample provision for life; but even still, should any family not used to husbandry, nor supplied with proper tools and instruments for their tillage, be obliged to raise from the ground as much of all sorts of grain as they should want, they would find their time taken up in a variety of labours. And this was the condition of the first men; they had not only to till the ground, but to try, and by several experiments to find out the best and most proper method of tilling it, and to invent and make all such instruments as they had occasion for; and we find them confessing the toil and labour that was laid upon them, in the words of Lamech at the birth of Noah, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed.*[2] Lamech was probably informed from God that his son Noah would obtain a grant of the creatures for the use of men; and knowing the labour and inconveniences they were then under, he rejoiced in foreseeing what ease and comfort they should have, when they should obtain a large supply of food from the creatures, besides what they could produce from the ground by tillage.

But, secondly, God restrained them from eating blood, *But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.*[3] What the design of this restraint was, or what the very restraint is, has been variously controverted. Mr. Selden in his book *De Jure Gentium juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum,*[4] has a very learned chapter upon this subject, in which he has given us the several opinions of the rabbins, though I think they give us but little true information about it. The injunction of not eating blood, has in the place before us no circumstances to explain its meaning; but if we look into the Jewish law, we find it there repeated, and such a reason given for it as seems very probable to have been the original reason for this prohibition. *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn amongst you, that eateth any manner of blood, I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people; for the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given you that upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls;*[5] (or it might be translated, *I have appointed you that to make an atonement upon the altar for your souls;* for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.) An ancient Jewish commentator upon the books of Moses,[6] paraphrases the words pretty justly: "The soul," says he, "of all flesh is in the blood, and for that reason I have chosen the blood of all the beasts, to make an atonement for the soul of man." This is by far the best account that can be given of the prohibition of blood. God appointed that the

[2] Gen. v, 29. [3] Chap. ix, ver. 4. [4] Lib. vii, c. 1. [5] Lev. xvii, 10, 11.
[6] Chauskunni: and Eusebius hints the same reason. Dem. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

blood of the creatures should be offered for the sins of men, and therefore required that it should be religiously set apart for that purpose. If we examine the Mosaical law, we shall find it strictly agreeable to this notion. In some places the blood is appointed to be offered on the altar, in others, to be poured on the ground as water; but these appointments are easily reconcileable, by considering the reason of each of them. Whilst the Jews were in the wilderness, and the tabernacle near at hand, they were ordered never to kill any thing to eat, without bringing it to be killed at the door of the tabernacle, in order to have the blood offered upon the altar.[7] But when they came into the land of Canaan, and were spread over the country, and had a temple at Jerusalem, and were commanded strictly to offer all their sacrifices there only, it was impossible to observe the injunction before named; they could not come from all parts to Jerusalem to kill their provision, and to offer the blood upon the altar. Against this difficulty Moses provided the book of Deuteronomy, which is an enlargement and explanation of the laws in Leviticus. The substance of what he has ordered in this matter is as follows:[8] That when they should come over to Jordan to dwell in Canaan, and there should be a place chosen by GOD, to cause his name to dwell there, they were to bring all their offerings to that place,[9] and to take heed not to offer any offerings elsewhere.[1] But if they lived so far from the temple, that they could not bring the creatures up thither which they killed to eat, they had leave to *kill and eat whatsoever they had a mind to*, only instead of offering the blood, they were *to pour it upon the earth as water, and to take care that they eat none of it*.[2] Thus the pouring out the blood upon the earth was appointed, where circumstances were such that an offering of it could not be made; and agreeably hereto, when they took any thing in hunting, which probably might be so wounded as not to live until they could bring it to the tabernacle to offer the blood upon the altar, they were to kill it, and pour out the blood, and cover it with dust.[3] And we may from hence see the reason for what David did, when his three warriors brought him water from the well of Bethlehem, at the extreme hazard of their lives;[4] looking upon the water as if it were their blood, which they hazarded to obtain it, he refused to drink it; and there being no rule or reason to offer such water upon the altar, he thought fit to do what was next to offering it, *he poured it out before the Lord.*

There is no foundation either in the reason of the thing, or in the prohibition, to support the opinion of some persons, who imagine the eating of blood to be an immoral thing. If it were so, GOD would not have permitted the Israelites[5] to

[7] Lev. xvii, 3, 4. [8] Deut. xii. [9] Ver. 11, 12. [1] Ver. 13.
[2] Ver. 21. [3] Lev. xvii, 13. [4] 1 Chron. xi, 18. [5] Deut. xiv, 21.

sell a creature which died in its blood, to an alien or stranger, that he might eat it. The Israelites were strictly obliged by their law to eat no flesh until they had poured out the blood, or offered it upon the altar, because God had appointed the blood to be an atonement for their sins; but the alien and stranger, who knew of no such orders for setting it apart for that use, might as freely eat it as any part of the creature. And I think this account of the prohibition of blood will fully answer all the scruples which some Christians have about it. The use of it upon the altar is now over, and therefore the reason for abstaining from it is ceased. And though the Apostles[6] at the council of Jerusalem, that offence might not be given to the Jews, advised the Gentiles at that season to abstain from it; yet, the eating it, or not eating it, is no part of our religion, but we are at perfect liberty in this matter.

In the third place, God set before them the dignity of human nature, and his abhorrence of any person's taking away the life of his brother: and commanded for the future, that murder should be punished with death. Then he promised Noah that mankind should never be destroyed by water any more; and lest he or his posterity should live in fear, from the frequent rains to which the world by its constitution was become subject, he appointed the rainbow[7] for a perpetual memorial, that he had made them this promise.

The ark, we said, touched upon mount Ararat. We do not find that it floated away from thence, but rather conclude that here they came ashore. But where this Ararat is has been variously conjectured. The common opinion is, that the ark rested on one of the Gordyæan hills, which separate Armenia from Mesopotamia; but there are some reasons for receding from this opinion.

First, the journeying of mankind from the place where the ark rested to Shinaar is said to be from the East;[8] but a journey from the Gordyæan hills to Shinaar would be from the North. Secondly, Noah is not once mentioned in the following part of Moses's history; a strong intimation that he neither came with these travellers to Shinaar, nor was settled in Armenia or Mesopotamia, or any of the adjacent countries. He was alive a great while after the confusion of Babel, for he lived three hundred years after the Flood. And surely if he had come to Babel, or lived in any of the nations into which mankind were dispersed from thence, a person of such eminence could not at once sink to nothing, and be no more men-

[6] Acts xv.

[7] Homer seems to have had a notion that the rainbow was at first (to use Moses's expression) set in the cloud to be a sign unto men; for he speaks to this purpose, Iliad λ. v, 28.

Ἐν νεφει στηριξε τερας μεροπων Ἀνθρωπων.

That τερας here signifies a sign is evident from the fourth verse of this Iliad.

[8] Gen. xi, 2.

tioned in the history and settlement of these nations, than if he had not been at all. Some authors, for these reasons, have attempted to find mount Ararat in another place, and suppose it to be some of the mountains north of India. They think that the ark rested in this country, and that Noah settled here after he came out of it; that only part of his descendants travelled into Shinaar, the other part of them settled where he did; and that the reason why Moses mentions neither him nor them was because they lived at a great distance from, and had no share in the actions of the nations round about Shinaar, to whom alone, from the dispersion of mankind, he confines his history. The reasons to be given for this opinion are, First, If Ararat be situate as far East as India the travellers might very justly be said to journey from the East to Shinaar. Secondly, this account is favoured by old heathen testimonies. "Two hundred and fifty years before Ninus," says Portius Cato, "the earth was overflowed with waters, and mankind began again in Saga Scythia." Now Saga Scythia is in the same latitude with Bactria, between the Caspian sea and Imaus, north of mount Paraponisus. And this agrees with the general notion that the Scythians[9] might contend for the primævity of original with the most ancient nations of the world. The later writers, unacquainted with the original history of this people, recur to philosophical reasons[1] to support their antiquity, and speak of them as seated near the Mæotis and Euxine Sea. But these Scythians so seated must be some later descendants or colonies from the original Scythians; so late, that Herodotus[2] imagined their first settlement, under Targitanus, to be not above a hundred years before Darius's repelling the Scythians, who had invaded his provinces, *i. e.* about A. M. 3400; so late,[3] that they thought themselves the most recent nation in the world. The original Scythians were situate,[4] as I said, near Bactria. Herodotus places them as far east as Persia;[5] and says that the Persians callen them Sacæ, and supposes them and the Bactrians to be near neighbours. Thirdly, the notion of Noah's settling in these parts, as also his living here, and not coming at all to Shinaar, is agreeable to the Chaldean traditions about the deluge; which informs us,[6] that Xisuthrus (for so they called Noah) came out of the ark with his wife and daughter, and the pilot of the ark, and offered sacrifice to God, and then both he and they disappeared, and were never seen again, and that afterwards, Xisuthrus's sons journeyed towards Babylonia, and built Babylon and several other cities. Fourthly, The language, learning and history of the Chinese, do all favour this account; their language seems not to have been altered in the

[9] Justin. lib. ii, c. 1. [1] Ibid. c. 1 et 2. [2] In Melpom.
[3] Σκυθαι λεγασι νεωτατον απαντων εθνεων ειναι το σφετερον. Herod. ibid. sec. 5.
[4] See Ptol. Asiæ Tab. [5] In Polyhymn. sec. 63.
[6] See Syncellus, p. 30, 31; and Eusebius in Chron. p. 10.

confusion of Babel: their learning is reported to have been full as ancient as the learning of the more western nations; their polity is of another sort; and their government established upon very different maxims and foundations; and their history reaches up indisputably to the times of Noah, not falling short, like the histories of other nations, such a number of years as ought to be allowed, for their inhabitants removing from Shinaar, to their place of settlement. The first king of China was Fohi; and as I have before observed that Fohi and Noah were contemporaries, at least, for there are many reasons, from the Chinese traditions concerning Fohi, to think him and Noah the same person. First, they say Fohi had no father,[7] *i. e.* Noah was the first man in the post-diluvian world; his ancestors perished in the Flood, and no tradition hereof being preserved in the Chinese annals, Noah, or Fohi, stands there as if he had no father at all. Secondly, Fohi's mother is said to have conceived him encompassed with a rainbow;[8] a conceit very probably arising from the rainbow's first appearing to Noah, and the Chinese being willing to give some account of his original. Thirdly, Fohi is said to have carefully bred seven sorts of creatures,[9] which he used to sacrifice to the Supreme Spirit of heaven and earth: and Moses tells us[1] that Noah took into the ark, of every clean beast by sevens, and of fowls of the air by sevens; and after the Flood Noah built an altar, and took of every clean beast, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings. Fourthly, the Chinese derive the name of Fohi from his oblation;[2] and Moses gives Noah his name upon account of the grant of the creatures for the use of men, which he obtained by his offering. Lastly, the Chinese history supposes Fohi to have settled in the province of Xeusi, which is the north-west province of China, and near to Ararat, where the ark rested. But, sixthly, the history we have of the world does necessarily suppose, that these eastern parts were as soon peopled, and as populous as the land of Shinaar. For in a few ages, in the days of Ninus and Semiramis, about three hundred years after the dispersion of mankind, the nations that came of that dispersion attacked the inhabitants of the East with their united force; but found the nations about Bactria, and the parts where we suppose Noah settled, fully able to resist and repel all their armies, as I shall observe hereafter in its proper place. Noah, therefore, came out of the ark near Saga Scythia on the hills beyond Bactria, north of India. Here he lived, and settled a numerous part of his posterity, by his counsels and advice. He himself planted a vineyard, lived a life of retirement, and after having seen his offspring spread around him died in a good old age. It were much to be wished that we

[7] Martinii Hist. Sinica, p. 11.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Le Compte, Mem. of China, p. 313.
[1] Gen. vii and viii.
[2] Couplet's Confucius, Procem. p. 38, 76.

could attain a thorough insight into the antiquities and records of these nations, if there be any extant. As they spread down to India south, and farther east into China; so it is probable they also peopled Scythia, and afterwards the more Northern continent; and if America be any where joined to it, perhaps all that part of the world came from these originals. But we must now speak of that part of Noah's descendants which travelled from the East.

At what time these men left Noah, we are nowhere informed; probably not until the number of mankind was increased. Seventy years might pass, before they had any thought of leaving their great ancestor; and by that time mankind might be multiplied to hundreds, and they might be too many to live together in one family, or to be united in any scheme of polity, which they were able to form or manage; and so a number of them might have a mind to form a separate society, and to journey and settle in some distant country.

From Ararat to Shinaar is about twelve hundred miles. We must not, therefore, suppose them to have got thither in an instant. The nature of the countries they passed over, nay, I might say, the condition the earth itself must then be in, full of undrained marshes and untracked mountains, overrun with trees and all sorts of rubbish of seventy or eighty years growth, without curb or culture, could not afford room for an open and easy passage to a company of travellers. Besides, such travellers as they, were not likely to press forwards with any great expedition; an undetermined multitude, looking for no particular place of habitation, were likely to fix in many, and to remove as they found inconveniences. Let us, therefore, suppose their movements to be such as Abraham made afterwards, short journeys and abodes here and there, until in ten or twelve years they might come to Shinaar, a place in all appearance likely to afford them an open and convenient country for their increasing families.

And thus about eighty years after the Flood, according to the Hebrew computation, A. M. 1736,[3] they might come to the plain of Shinaar. They were now out of the narrow passages and fastnesses of the mountains, had found an agreeable country to settle in, and thought here to fix themselves and their posterity. Ambition is a passion extremely incident to our first setting out in the world: no aims seem too great, no attempts above or beyond us. So it was with these unexperienced travellers, who had no sooner determined where to settle, but they resolved to make the place remarkable in all ages, to build a tower which should be the wonder of the world, and preserve their names to the end of it. They set all hands

[3] According to the fragment in Eusebius in Chron. they began to build their tower, A. M. 1736 αρξαμενοι (he says, p. 11) βφλς ετει οικοδομειν τον πυργον, in which number there is an evident mistake, β instead of α it should be αφλς.

to the work, and laboured in it, it is thought for some years; but, alas! the first attempt of their vanity and ambition became a monument of their folly and weakness. God confounded their language in the midst of their undertaking, and hereby obliged them to leave off their project, and to separate from one another. If we suppose them to spend nineteen or twenty years in settling and building, before their language was confounded; the division of the earth must be placed A. M. 1757, about one hundred and one years after the Flood, when Peleg the son of Eber was born; for the name Peleg was given him, because *in his time the earth was divided.*[4] And thus we have brought the history of mankind to a second great and remarkable period. I shall carry it no further in this book, but only add some account of the nature and origin of language in general, and of the confusion of it here spoken of.

First, it will, I think, be allowed me, that man is the only creature in the world who has the use of language. The fables we meet in some ancient writers, of the languages of beasts and birds, and particularly of elephants, are but fables.[5] The creatures are as much beneath speaking, as they are beneath reasoning. They may be able to make some faint imperfect attempts towards both; they may have a few simple ideas of the things which concern them; and they may be able to form a few sounds, which they may repeat over and over, without variation, to signify to one another what their natural instincts prompt them to; but what they can do of this sort is not enough for us to say they have the use of language. Man, therefore, is, properly speaking, the only conversible creature in the world. The next inquiry must be, how he came to have this ability?

There have been many writers who have attempted to account for the origin of language. Diodorus Siculus[6] and Vitruvius,[7] imagined that men at first lived like beasts, in woods and caves, forming only strange and uncouth noises, until their fears caused them to associate together; and that, upon growing acquainted with one another, they came to correspond about things, first by signs, then to make names for them, and in time to frame and perfect a language; and that the languages of the world are therefore diverse, because different companies of men, happening thus together, would in different places form different sounds or names for things, and thereby cause a different speech or language about them. It must be confessed that this is an ingenious conjecture, and might be received as probable, if we were to form our notions of the

[4] Gen. x, 25.

[5] The author of the latter Targum upon Esther reports, that Solomon understood the language of the birds, and sent a bird with a message to the Queen of Sheba; and Mahommed was silly enough to believe it, for we have much the same story in his Alcoran. See Walton. Prolegom. 1, sec. 5.

[6] Hist. lib. i. [7] Architec. lib. ii, c. 21.

origin of mankind, as these men did from our own, or other people's fancies. But since we have a history[8] which informs us that the beginning both of mankind and conversation were in fact otherwise; and since all that these writers have to offer about the origin of things are but very trifling and inconsistent conjectures; we have great reason with Eusebius,[9] to reject this their notion of the origin of language, as a mere guess, which has no manner of authority to support it.

Other writers, who receive Moses's history, and would seem to follow him, imagine, that the first man was created not only a reasonable, but a speaking creature; and so Onkelos[1] paraphrases the words, which we render, *man was made a living soul*, and, says he, was made *ruah memallela*, a speaking animal. And some have carried this opinion so far, as not only to think that Adam had a particular language, as innate to him as a power of thinking, or faculty of reasoning; but that all his descendants have it too, and would of themselves come to speak this very language, if they were not put out of it in their infancy by being taught another. We have no reason to think the first part of this opinion to be true. Adam had no need of an innate set of words; for he was capable of learning the names of things from his Creator, or of making names for the things by his own powers, for his own use. And as to the latter part of it, that children would of course speak an innate and original language, if not prevented by education, it is a very wild and extravagant fancy. An innate language would be common to all the world, we should have it over[2] and above any adventitious language we could learn; no education could obliterate it; we could[3] no more be without it, than without our natural sense or passions. But we find nothing of this sort among men. We may learn (perhaps with equal ease) any language which in our early years is put to us; or if we learn no one, we shall have no articulate way of speaking at all; as Psammiticus[4] king of Egypt, and Melabdin Echbar,[5] in the Indies, convinced themselves by experiments upon infants, whom they took care to have brought up without being taught to speak, and found to be no better than mute creatures. For the sound which Psammiticus[6] imagined to be a Phrygian word, and which the children on whom he tried his experiment were supposed after two years nursing to utter, was a mere sound of no signification; and no more a word, than the noises which dumb people[7] often make, by a pressure and opening of their lips; and sometimes accidentally children make it, of but three months old.

[8] Viz. that of Moses.
[1] See Targum in loc.
[3] See Mr. Locke's Essay, b. i.
[5] Purchas. b. i, c. 8.
[6] The sound was Bec, supposed to be like the Phrygian word for bread.
[7] Postellus de Origin. p. 2.
[9] Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 7.
[2] Franc. Vales. de Sacra Philos. c. 3.
[4] Herod, lib. ii.

Other writers have come much nearer the truth, who say, that the first man was instructed to speak by GOD who made him; and that his descendants learned to speak by imitation from their predecessors; and this I think is the very truth, if we do not take it too strictly. The origin of our speaking was from GOD; not that GOD put into Adam's mouth the very sounds which he designed he should use as the names of things; but GOD made Adam with the powers of a man.[8] He had the use of an understanding, to form notions in his mind of the things about him; and he had a power to utter sounds, which should be to himself the names of things, according as he might think fit to call them. These he might teach Eve, and in time both of them teach their children; and thus begin and spread the first language of the world. The account which Moses gives of Adam's first use of speech is entirely agreeable to this; *And out of the ground the* LORD GOD *formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle.*[9] GOD is not here said to have put the words into Adam's mouth; but only to have set the creatures before him, to put him upon using the power he had, of making sounds to stand for their names. It was Adam who gave the names, and he had only to fix to himself what sound was to stand for the name of each creature, and what he so fixed, that was its name.

Our next inquiry shall be, of what sort, and what was this first language thus made. But, before we can determine this matter, it will be proper to mention the qualities which, very probably, belonged to the first language.

1. The original language must consist of very simple and uncompounded sounds. If we attend to a child in its first essays towards speech, we may observe its noises to be a sort of monosyllables, uttered by one expression of the voice, without variation or repetition; and such were, probably, the first original words of mankind. We do not think the first man laboured under the imperfection of a child, in uttering the sounds he might aim at; but it is most natural to imagine, that he should express himself in monosyllables. The modelling the voice, into words of various lengths and disjointed sounds, seems to have been the effect of contrivance and improvement; and was probably begun, when a language of monosyllables was found too scanty to express the several things which men in time began to want to communicate to one another. If we take a view of the several languages in the world, we shall allow those to have been least polished and enriched, which abound most in short and single words;

[8] In this sense the author of Ecclesiasticus conceived man to be endued with speech from GOD.—Chap. xvii, ver. 5.

[9] Gen. ii. 19, 20.

and this alone would almost lead us to imagine, that the first language of mankind, before it had the advantage of any refinement, was entirely of this sort.

2. The first language consisted chiefly of a few names for the creatures and things that mankind had to do with. Adam is introduced as making a language, by his naming the creatures which were about him. The chief occasion he had for language was perhaps to distinguish them in his speech from one another; and when he had provided for this, by giving each a name, as this was all he had a present occasion for; so this might be all the language he took care to provide for the use of life: or if he went further, yet,

3. The first language had but one part of speech. All that the first men could have occasion to express to one another, must be a few of the names and qualities and actions of the creatures or things about them; and they might probably endeavour to express these by one and the same word. The Hebrew language has but few adjectives; so that it is easy to see how the invention of a few names of things may express things and their qualities. The name *man*, joined with the name of some fierce beast, as *lion-man*, might be the first way of expressing a fierce man. Many instances of the same sort might be named; and it is remarkable that this particular is extremely agreeable to the Hebrew idiom. In the same manner the actions of men or creatures might be described; the adding to a person's name, the name of a creature, remarkable for some action, might be the first way of expressing a person's doing such an action; our English language will afford one instance, if not more of this matter. The observing and following a person wherever he goes is called *dogging*, from some sort of dogs performing that action with great exactness; and therefore Cain Dog Abel may give the reader some idea of the original method of expressing Cain's seeking an opportunity to kill his brother, when the names of persons and things were used to express the actions which were done, without observing any variation of mood and tense, or number, or person, for verbs, or of case for nouns.

4. For all these were improvements of art and study, and not the first essay and original production. Time and observation taught men to distinguish language into nouns and verbs; and afterwards made adjectives, and other parts of speech. Time and contrivance gave to nouns their numbers; and in some languages, a variety of cases, which varied verbs by mood, tense, number, person, and voice: in a word, which found out proper variation for the words in use, and made men thereby able to express more things by them, and in a better manner, and added to the words in use new and different ones, to express new things, as a further acquaintance with the things of the world gave occasion. And this will be sufficient to give the reader some ground to form a judgment

about the languages; and to determine which is the most likely to have been the first and original one of mankind. Let us now see how far we can determine this question.

The writers, who have treated this subject, bring into competition the Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian, or Arabian; some one or other of these is commonly thought the original language. But the arguments for the Syrian and Arabian are few and trifling. The Chaldean tongue is indeed contended for by very learned writers: Camden[1] calls it the mother of all languages; and Theodoret, amongst the fathers, was of the same opinion. Amira[2] has made a collection of arguments, not inconsiderable, in favour of it; and Myricæus[3] after him did the same. Erpenius[4] in his oration for the Hebrew tongue, thought the arguments for the Hebrew and Chaldean to be so equal, that he gave his opinion no way, but left the dispute about the antiquity of these languages as he found it.

I am inclined to think, that if any one would take the pains to examine strictly these two languages, and take from each what may reasonably be supposed to have been improvements made since their original; he will find the Chaldean and Hebrew tongue to have been at first the very same. There are evidently, even still, in the Chaldean tongue, great numbers of words the same with the Hebrew; perhaps as many as mankind had for their use before the confusion of Babel; and there are many words in these two tongues, which are very different, but their import or signification is very often such as may occasion us to conjecture that they were invented at, or since that confusion. The first words of mankind were, doubtless, as I have before said, the names of the common things and creatures, and of their most obvious qualities and actions, which men could not live without observing, nor converse without speaking of. As they grew more acquainted with the world, more knowledge was acquired, and more words became necessary. In time they observed their own minds and thoughts, and wanted words to express these too; but it is natural to imagine that words of this sort were not so early as those of the other. And in these latter sort of words, namely, such as a large acquaintance with the things of the world, or a reflection upon our thoughts might occasion; in these the Chaldean and Hebrew language do chiefly differ, and, perhaps, few of these were in use before the confusion of tongues. If this observation be true, it would be to little purpose to consider at large the dispute for the priority of the Hebrew or Chaldean tongue. We may take either and endeavour to strip it of all its improvements; and see whether in its first infant state, it has any real marks of an original language. I shall choose the

[1] Brittan. 204. [2] In Præf. ad Grammat. suam Syriacam.
[3] In Præf. ad Grammaticam suam Chaldaicam.
[4] Erpenius, in Orat. de ling. Heb. ait adhuc sub judice lis est.

Hebrew, and leave the learned reader to consider how far what I offer may be equally true of the Chaldean tongue.

And if we consider the Hebrew tongue in this view, we must not take it as Moses wrote it, much less with the improvements or additions it may have since received; but we must strip it of every thing which looks like an addition of art, and reduce it, as far as may be, to a true original simplicity. And 1, all its vowels and punctuations, which could never be imagined until it came to be written, and which are in no wise necessary in writing it, are too modern to be mentioned. 2. All the prefixed and affixed letters were added in time, to express persons in a better manner than could be done without them. 3. The various voices, moods, tenses, numbers and persons of verbs, were not original; but invented as men found occasion, for a greater clearness and copiousness of expression. 4. In the same manner the few adjectives they have, and the numbers and regimen of nouns were not from the beginning. By these means we may reduce the whole language to the single theme of the verbs, and to the nouns or names of things and men; and of these I would observe, 1, That the Hebrew nouns are commonly derived from the verbs; and this is agreeable to the account which Moses gives of the first inventing the names of things. When Cain was to be named, his mother observed, that she had gotten a man from the LORD; and therefore called him Cain, from the verb, which signifies *to get*. So when Seth was to be named, she considered that GOD had appointed her another, and called his name Seth, from the verb which signifies *to appoint*. When Noah was to be named, his father foresaw that he would comfort them, and so named him Noah, from the verb, which signifies *to comfort*. And probably this was the manner in which Adam named the creatures: he observed and considered some particular action in each of them, fixed a name for that action, and from that named the creature according to it. 2. All the verbs of the Hebrew tongue, at least all that originally belong to it, consist uniformly of three letters, and were perhaps at first pronounced as monosyllables; for it may be the vowels were afterwards invented, which dissolved some of the words into more syllables than one. I am the more inclined to think this possible, because in many instances the same letter dissolves a word, or keeps it a monosyllable, according as the vowel differs, which is put to it. אן, *Aven*, is of two syllables, אור, *Aour*, and אוה, *Aouth*, are words of one: and many Hebrew words, now pronounced with two vowels, might originally have but one: ברך, *Barak*, *to bless*, might at first be read, ברך, *Brak*, with many other words of the same sort. There are indeed several words in this language, which are not so easily reducible to monosyllables; but these seem to have been compounded of two words put together, as shall be observed hereafter. 3. Many of the

nouns, which are derived from the verbs, consist of the very same letters with the verbs themselves; probably all the nouns did so at first, and the difference there now is, in some of them, is owing to improvements made in the language. If we look into the Hebrew tongue in this manner, we shall reduce it to a very great simplicity; we shall bring it to a few names of things, men, and actions; we shall make all its words monosyllables, and give it the true marks of an original language. And if we consider how few the radical words are, about five hundred, such a paucity is another argument in its favour.

But there are learned writers, who offer another argument for the primævity of the Hebrew tongue, namely, that the names of the persons mentioned before the confusion of Babel, as expressed in the Hebrew, bear a just relation to the words from whence they were derived; but all this etymology is lost, if you take them in any other language into which you may translate them. Thus the man was called Adam, because he was taken from the ground: now the Hebrew word אדם, Adam, is, they say, derived from אדמה, *Admah*, the ground. So again, Eve had her name because she was the mother of all living; and agreeably hereto הוה *Hevah*, is derived from the verb היה *Hajah*, to live. The name of Cain was so called, because his mother thought him gotten from the LORD; and agreeably to this reason, for his name קין, *Kain*, is derivable from קנה, *Kanah*, to get. The same might be said of Seth, Noah, and several other words; but all this etymology is destroyed and lost, if we take the names in any other language, besides the original one in which they are given. Thus for instance, if we call the man in Greek, Ἀνηρ, or Ανθρωπος, the etymology is none between either of these words, and γη, the earth, out of which he was taken. If we call Eve, Eva, it will bear no relation to ζην, *to live;* and Καιν bears little or no relation to any Greek word, signifying *to get*. To all this Grotius answers,[5] that Moses took an exact care, not to use the original proper names in his Hebrew book; but to make such Hebrew ones, as might bear the due relation to a Hebrew word of the same sense with the original word from whence these names were at first derived. Thus in Latin, *Homo* bears as good a relation to *Humus*, the ground, as Adam, in Hebrew does to *Admah;* and therefore if Adam were translated *Homo*, in the Latin, the propriety of the etymology would be preserved, though the Latin tongue was not the language in which the first man had his name given. But how far this may be allowed to be a good answer, is submitted to the reader.

There is indeed another language in the world, which seems to have some marks of its being the original language

[5] In Gen. xi. et not. ad lib. i, de Verit. n. 16.

of mankind, namely, the Chinese: the words of which are even now very few, not above twelve hundred; the nouns are but three hundred and twenty-six, and all its words are confessedly monosyllables. Noah, as has been observed, very probably, settled in these parts; and if the great father and restorer of mankind came out of the ark and settled here, it is very probable that he left here the one universal language of the world. It might be an entertaining subject for any one who understands this language, to compare it with the Hebrew, to examine both the tongues, and strip each of all additions and improvements they may possibly have received; and try whether they may not be reduced to a pretty great agreement with one another. But how far this can be done, I cannot say. However, this I think looks pretty clear; that whatever was the original of the Chinese tongue, it seems to be the first that ever was in those parts. All changes and alterations of language are commonly for the better; but the Chinese language is so like a first and uncultivated essay, that it is hard to conceive any other tongue to have been prior to it. And since I have mentioned it, I may add, that whether this be the first language or not, the circumstance of this language's consisting of monosyllables is a very considerable argument that the first language was in this respect like it. For, though it is natural to think that mankind might begin to form single sounds first, and afterwards come to enlarge their speech by doubling and redoubling them; yet it can in no wise be conceived that if men had at first known the plenty of expression, arising from words of more syllables than one, any person or people would have been so stupid as to have reduced their language to words of but one.

We have still to treat of the confusion of the one language of the world. Before the confusion of Babel, we are told that the *whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.* Hitherto the original language of mankind has been preserved with little or no variation, for near two thousand years together; and now, in a little space of time, a set of men, associated and engaged in one and the same undertaking, came to be so divided in this matter, as not to understand one another's expressions. Their language was confounded, that they did not understand one another's speech, and so were obliged to leave off building their city, and were by degrees scattered over the face of the earth.

Several writers have attempted to account for this confusion of language; but they have had little success in their endeavours. What they offer as the general causes of the mutability of language, does in no wise come up to the matter before us; it is not sufficient to account for this first and great variation. The general causes[6] of the mutability of language

[6] Bodinus in Method. Hist. c. 9.

are commonly reduced to these three. 1. The difference of climates. 2. An intercourse or commerce with different nations; or, 3. The unsettled temper or disposition of mankind.

1. The difference of climates will insensibly cause a variation of language; because it will occasion a difference of pronunciation. It is easy to be observed, that there is a pronunciation peculiar to almost every country in the world; and according to the climate, the language will abound in aspirates, or lenes, guttural sounds or pectorals, labials or dentals; a circumstance which would make the very same language sound different from itself, by a different expression or pronunciation. The Ephraimites,[7] we find, could not pronounce the letter *Schin*, as their neighbours did. There is a pronunciation peculiar to almost every province; so that if we were to suppose a number of men of the same nation and language dispersed into different parts of the world; the several climates in which their children would be born, would so affect their pronunciation, as in a few ages to make their language very different from one another.

2. A commerce or intercourse with foreign nations does often cause an alteration of language. Two nations, by trading with one another, shall insensibly borrow words from each other's language, and intermix them in their own; and it is possible, if the trade be of large extent, and continued for a long time, the number of words so borrowed shall increase and spread far into each country, and both languages in an age or two be pretty much altered by the mixture of them. In like manner, a plantation of foreigners may by degrees communicate words to the nation where they come to live. A nation's being conquered, and in some parts peopled by colonies of the conquerors, may produce the same consequence; as may also the receiving the religion of another people. In all these cases, many words of the sojourners, or conquerors, or instructors, will insensibly be introduced; and the language of the country which received them by degrees be altered and corrupted by them.

3. The third and last cause of mutability of language is the unsettled temper and disposition of mankind. The very minds and manners of men are continually changing; and since they are so, it is not likely that their idioms and words should be fixed and stable. An uniformity of speech depends upon an entire consent of a number of people in their manner of expression; but a lasting consent of a large number of people is hardly ever to be obtained, or long to be kept up in any one thing; and unless we could by law prescribe words to the multitude, we shall never find it in diction and expression. Ateius Capito would have flattered Cæsar into a belief, that he could make the Roman language what he pleased; but Pomponius very

[7] Judges xii, 6.

honestly assured him he had no such power.[8] Men of learning and observation may think and speak accurately, and may lay down rules for the direction and regulation of other people's language; but the generality of mankind will still express themselves as their fancies lead them; and the expression of the generality, though supported by no rules, will be the current language; and hence it will come to pass, that we shall be always so far from fixing any stability of speech, that we shall continually find the observation of the poet verified:

> Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
> Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
> Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.

Language will be always in a fluctuating condition, subject to a variety of new words and new expressions, according as the humour of the age, and the fancies of men shall happen to introduce them.

These are the general reasons of the mutability of language; and it is apparently true, that some or other of these have, ever since the confusion of Babel, kept the languages of the world in a continual variation. The Jews mixing with the Babylonians, when they were carried into captivity,[9] quickly altered and corrupted their language, by introducing many Syriacisms and Chaldeisms into it. And afterwards, when they became subject to the Greeks and Romans,[1] their language became not only altered, but as it were lost, as any one will allow, who considers how vastly the old Hebrew differs from the rabinnical diction, and the language of the Talmuds. The Greek tongue in time suffered the same fate; and part of it may be ascribed to the Turks over-running their country, and part of it to the translation of the Roman empire to Constantinople. But some part of the change came from themselves; for, as Brecrwood has observed, they had changed many of their ancient words, long before the Turks broke in upon them; of which he gives several instances out of the books of Cedrenus, Nicetas, and other Greek writers.[2]

The numerous changes which the Latin tongue[3] has undergone, may be all accounted for by the same reasons. They had in a series of years so diversified their language, that the Salian verses composed by Numa were scarcely understood by the priests in Quintilian's time; and there were but few antiquaries within about three hundred and fifty years, who could read and give the sense of the articles of treaty between Rome and Carthage, made a little after the expulsion of the kings. The laws of the twelve tables, collected by Fulvius Ursinus,

[8] For this reason, the great orator observes, "usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reservavi." Cic. de Oratore.

[9] Walton Prolegom.

[1] Id. ibid.

[2] Walton in Prolegom. de Linguarum Natura, &c.

[3] Id. ibid.

and published in the words of the kings and decemviri who made them, are a specimen of the very great alteration which time introduced into the Latin tongue. Nay, the pillar in the capital, erected in honour of Drusillus, about one hundred and fifty years before Cicero, shows, that even so small a space of time as a century and a half caused great variations. After the Roman tongue attained the height of its purity, it quickly declined again and became corrupted; partly from the number of servants kept at Rome, who could not be supposed to speak accurately, and with judgment; and partly from the great concourse of strangers, who came from the remote provinces, so that the purity of it was in a great degree worn off and gone, before the barbarisms of the Goths quite extinguished it.

And what has thus happened in the learned languages is equally observable in all the other languages of the world: time and age varies every tongue on earth. Our English, the German, French, or any other, differs so much in three or four hundred years, that we find it difficult to understand the language of our forefathers; and our posterity will think ours as obsolete, as we do the speech of those who lived ages ago. And all these alterations of the tongues may, I think, be sufficiently accounted for by some or other of the causes before assigned; but none of them shows how or by what means the confusion at Babel could be occasioned. Our builders had travelled from their ancestors many hundred miles, from Ararat to Shinaar; the climates may differ, and suppose we should imagine the country to effect the pronunciation of the children born in it, yet still it will be hard to say that this should cause confusion; for since they were all born in or near the same place, they would be all equally affected, and speak all alike. Besides, a difference of pronunciation causes difficulties only where persons come to converse, after living at a distance from one another. An imperfection in our children's speech, bred up under our wing, would be observed from its beginning, grow familiar to us as they grew up, and the confusion occasioned by it would be very little. And as to any commerce with other nations, they had none; they were neither conquered nor mingled with foreigners; so that they could not learn any strange words this way. And though there have been many changes of language from the variation of men's tempers, these we find have been frequent since this first confusion; but how or why they should arise at this time is the question. Language was fixed and stable, uniformly the same for almost two thousand years together; it was now some way or other unfixed, and has been so ever since. Some considerable writers seem to acknowledge themselves puzzled at this extraordinary accident. The confusion of tongues could not come from men, says St. Ambrose;[4] for why should they

[4] Thes. Ambros. de Causis Mutationis Linguarum.

incline to do such mischief to themselves, or how could they invent so many languages as are in the world? It could not be occasioned by angels, good or bad, says Origen,[5] and the Rabbins,[6] and other writers,[7] for they have not power enough to do it. The express words of Moses, *Go to, let us go down and confound their language;* and again, *the Lord did confound the language of the earth*, says Bishop Walton,[8] imply a deliberate purpose of GOD himself to cause this confusion, and an actual execution of it. And the way in which it was performed, says the learned Bochart,[9] immediately, and without delay, proves it the immediate work of GOD, who alone can instantly effect the greatest purposes and designs. Several of the Rabbins have inquired more curiously into the affair; but I fear the account they have given of it is poor and trifling. Buxtorf has collected all their opinions; but they seem to have put him out of humour with the subject, and to occasion him to conclude in the words of Mercerus, "There is no reason to inquire too curiously into this matter: it was effected instantly in a way and manner of which we can give no account; we know many things were done; but how they were done, we cannot say. It is a matter of faith."

The builders of Babel were evidently projectors; of which their designed tower is a proof; and if they had one project, and that an idle one, why might they not have others; Language was but one, until they came to multiply the tongues; but that one was without doubt scanty, fit only to express the early thoughts of mankind, who had not yet subdued the world, nor arrived at a large and comprehensive acquaintance with the things in it. There had passed but eight or nine generations to the building of Babel; and all of them led a plain uncultivated method of living. But men now began to build towers, to open to themselves more extensive views, and consequently greater scenes of action than their ancestors had pursued. And why may not the thoughts of finding new names for those things which their enlarged notions offered to their consideration, have now arisen? GOD is said to have sent down, and confounded their language; but it is usual to meet with things spoken of as immediately done by GOD, which were effected, not by an extraordinary miracle, but by the course of things permitted by him, to work out what he would have done in the world. Language was without doubt enlarged at some particular time; and if a great deal of it was attempted at once, a confusion would naturally arise from it. When Adam gave the first names to things, he had no one to contradict him; and so what he named things, that was the name of them; for how should his children refuse to call things, what he taught them from their infancy to be the

[5] Origen. Hom. 11. in Num. cap. xviii. [6] Jonath. et al. in Gen. xi, 7, 8.
[7] See Luther in Gen. xi. Corn. a Lapide in Gen. xi. [8] Prolegom.
[9] Geograph. Sac. p. i, lib. i, c. 15.

names of them? And indeed Adam's life, and the lives of his immediate children, reached over so great a part of the first world, that it is hard to conceive men could vary their speech much, whilst under the immediate influence of those who taught them the first use of it. But the men of Shinaar had got away from their ancestors, and their heads were full of innovations; and the projectors being many, the projects might be different, and the leading men might make up several parties amongst them. If we suppose the whole number of them to be no more than a thousand; twenty or thirty persons endeavouring to invent new words, and spreading them amongst their companions, might in time cause much confusion. It does, indeed, look more like a miracle, to suppose the confusion of tongues effected instantly—in a moment; but the text does not oblige us to think it so sudden a production. From the beginning of Babel to the dispersion of the nations, might be several years; and perhaps all this time a difference of speech was increasing, until at length it came to such a height, as to cause them to form different companies, and so to separate. The argument of St. Ambrose, that men would not do themselves such a mischief, is not a good one: for, First, Experience does not show us, that the fear of doing mischief has ever restrained the projects of ambitious men. Secondly, We often see the enterprises of men run to greater lengths than they at first designed; and in time spreading so far, as to be out of the power and reach of their first authors to check and manage them. This is a method by which God often defeats the counsels, and controls the actions of men. Their own projects take unexpected turns, and they are often unable to manage the designs which they themselves first set on foot; nay, they are many times defeated and confounded by them. And, thirdly, I do not see any mischief which arose, even from the confusion of language. It would have been inconvenient for men to be always bound up within the narrow limits of the first scanty and confined language; and though the enlarging speech happened to scatter men over the face of the earth; it tended to the public good that they should be so scattered.

If I may be indulged in one conjecture more, I would offer, that at this time the use of words of more syllables than one began amongst men; for we find that the languages which most probably arose about this time, do remarkably differ from the most ancient Hebrew, in words of a greater length than the original Hebrew words seem to have been. The Chaldean words are many times made different from the Hebrew, by some final additions; and the words in that language, which differ from the Hebrew, are generally of more syllables than the old Hebrew radicals. The Syrian, Egyptian, and Arabian tongues do, I think, afford instances of the same sort; and the more modern tongues, as the Greek and Latin, which

probably arose by some refinements of these, have carried the improvement further, and run into more in number, and more compounded polysyllables. Whereas on the contrary, the languages of a more barbarous and less cultivated original, keep a nearer resemblance to the peculiar quality of the first tongue, and consist chiefly of short and single words. Our English language is now smoothed and enriched to a great degree, since the studies of polite literature have spread amongst us: but it is easy to observe, that our tongue was originally full of monosyllables; so full, that if one were to take pains to do it, we may speak most things we have to speak of, and at the same time scarce use a word of more syllables than one. But I pretend to hint at these things only as conjectures. The reader has my full consent to receive or reject them as he pleases.

There is one inquiry more about the languages of the world, which I would just mention, that is, how many arose from the confusion of Babel? Some writers think Moses has determined this question, by giving us the names of the leading men in this affair. He has given us a catalogue of the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and told us, that by them was the earth divided, *after their families, lands, tongues, and nations.* But I think there is some difficulty in conceiving all the persons there mentioned to have headed companies from Babel; for it is remarkable that they differ from one another in age, by several descents; and it is not likely that many of them could be at that time old enough to be leaders; nay, and certain from history, that some of them were not so, whilst their fathers were alive. Other writers therefore have endeavoured to reduce the number to seventy, and think that there were seventy different nations thus planted in the world,[1] from the dispersion at Babel; and this notion they think is supported by the express words of Moses in another place. *When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel:*[2] i. e. say they, he divided them into seventy nations, which was the number of the children of Israel when they came into Egypt. The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uziel very plainly favours this interpretation of the words of Moses; but the Jerusalem Targum differs from it. According to this, the number of nations were but twelve, answering to the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. But I should think that neither of the Targums express Moses's meaning. The people in the text are not the whole dispersed number that were at Babel,

[1] Many writers have been of this opinion, but the Greek fathers make the numbers seventy-two. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i; Eusebius in Chron. l. i, p. 11; Epiphanius adver. Hæres. l. i, sec. 5. And the Latin fathers have followed them. Aug. de Civit. Dei. Proper de Vocat. Gentium, l. i, c. 4; et alii.

[2] Deut. xxxii, 8.

but the inhabitants of Canaan; and the true meaning of the words of Moses is this, that when God divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of THE PEOPLE (*i. e.* which had Canaan, the designed inheritance of Jacob) according to the number of the children of Israel; *i. e.* he gave the Canaanites such a tract of land as he knew would be a sufficient inheritance for the children of Israel. And thus this text will in nowise lead us to the number of the nations that arose at Babel. That question is most likely to be determined by considering how many persons were heads of companies immediately at the time of the dispersion. One thing I would observe, that how few or how many soever the languages were now become; yet many of them, for some time, did not differ much from one another. For Abraham, a Hebrew, lived amongst the Chaldeans, travelled amongst the Canaanites, sojourned with the Philistines, and lived some time in Egypt; yet we do not find he had any remarkable difficulty in conversing with them. But though the difference of the tongues was small at first, yet every language, after the stability of speech was lost, varying in time from itself, the language of different nations in a few ages became vastly different, and unintelligible to one another. And thus in the time of Joseph, when his brethren came to buy corn in Egypt, we find the Hebrew and Egyptian tongues so diverse, that they used an interpreter in their conversation. The gradual decline of men's lives, from longer to shorter periods, without doubt contributed a great deal to daily alterations; for when men's lives were long, and several generations lived together in the world, and men, who learned to speak when children, continued to speak to their children for several ages, they must have transmitted their language through many generations with little variation. But when the succession of mankind came on quicker, the language of ancestors was more liable to grow obsolete; and there was an easier opportunity for novelty and innovation to spread amongst mankind. Thus the speech of the world confounded first at Babel received in every age new and many alterations; until the languages of different nations came to be so very various and distinct from one another, as we now find them.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK III.

THE people at Shinaar, upon the confusion of their language, in a little time found it necessary to separate; and accordingly divided themselves under the conduct of the leading men amongst them. Some writers imagine, that they formed as many societies as Moses has given us names of the sons of Noah, Gen. x, for, say they, in the words of Moses, *These were the sons of Noah after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations; and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the Flood.* But, I think, this opinion cannot be admitted, for several reasons.

1. The dispersion of mankind happening about the time of Peleg's birth; and it is very plain that all the persons named by Moses, who must appear younger, or not much older than Peleg, could not be heads of nations, or leaders of companies at this time; for they were but infants, or children; therefore the sons of Jocktan, who dwelt from Mesha to Sephar, had no hand in this dispersion; they were perhaps not born, or at most very young men. They must therefore be supposed to have settled at first under their fathers; in time each of them might remove with a little company, and so have a kingdom or nation descend from him.

2. None of the persons named by Moses, as concerned in the dispersion, both in the families of Japhet and Ham, were lower in descent than the third generation; they are either sons or grandsons of Japhet or Ham; as Gomer, and the sons of Gomer; Javan, and the sons of Javan; Cush, and the sons of Cush; Mizraim, and the sons of Mizraim. The descendants of these made a figure afterwards, as appears from the manner of mentioning Casluhim, *out of whom came Philistim;* plainly intimating, that the person so named was a descendant of Casluhim, later than these days. And if this observation may be

allowed in the family of Arphaxad, neither Shala nor Eber were leaders of companies at the confusion of tongues.

3. Not all the persons here mentioned, even of the third generation, were immediately heads of different nations, at the time of the dispersion; for Canaan had eleven sons, yet they did not immediately set up eleven nations, but *afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad.*[1] They at first lived together under their father, then afterwards separated, and in time became eleven nations in the land of Canaan. In the same manner, very probably, the sons of Aram lived under their father in Syria; and it is evident from the history of Egypt, that Mizraim's[2] children set up no kingdoms there during his life.

4. The same observation may be made in other families; and we may also consider, that sometimes some one of the children was the leader; and the father of the family, as well as the rest, lived in the society erected by him. Thus, for instance, we do not find that Cush was a king in any country; all the countries into which his children separated came in time to be called after his name, as shall be observed hereafter: but the place where he himself lived was encompassed by the river Gihon,[3] and therefore most probably within the compass of his son Nimrod's dominions. The names of places do not always prove the persons whose names they bear, to have been kings in them, or to have first peopled them; for sometimes rulers named places after the names of their ancestors, and sometimes after the names of their children. The children of Dan, named Leshem Dan, after the name of Dan their father;[4] Kirjath-Arba was by Caleb called Hebron, after the name of Hebron, his grandson.[5]

5. The numbers of mankind at this time is a good proof, that all the persons named by Moses could not be leaders of companies, and planters of nations, at the dispersion from Babel; for at the birth of Peleg, the men, women, and children at Shinaar could not be more in number than one thousand five hundred; and not above five hundred of them of the age of thirty years. Such a body cannot be conceived sufficient to afford people for sixty or seventy kings to plant nations with, in several distant parts of the world; they would not, at this rate, have had above one or two and twenty men, women, and children, in a kingdom.

6. But the manner in which mankind were dispersed is a farther proof that they did not go forth at first in many companies, to plant different nations; for if we consider the situation of the nations which were named after these men, we

[1] Gen. x, 18.

[2] The word Mizraim is of the plural number, as are several other names here used by Moses; however, that I might not vary from the words of Moses, I have used them as singulars.

[3] Gen. ii, 13.

[4] Joshua xix, 47.

[5] Judges i, 10. 1 Chron. ii, 42.

shall find, that notwithstanding all the confusion of tongues, and diversity of their language, yet it so happened in their dispersion from one another, that, except three or four instances only, the sons of Japhet peopled one part of the world, the sons of Shem another, and the sons of Ham a third. Their families were not scattered here and there, and intermingled with one another; as would very probably have happened, if sixty or seventy different languages had immediately arisen amongst them, and caused them to separate in so many companies, in order to plant each a country, to be inhabited by as many as agreed in the same expression. If, at the first confusion of tongues, the sons of Shem had differed from the sons of Shem; and the sons of Ham from the sons of Ham; and the children of Japhet from their brethren; each one speaking a language of his own; the dispersion would in nowise have been so regular as we shall find it. Each leading man must have taken his own way, and the several branches of each family must have been scattered here and there; as the accidental travels of their leaders might happen to have carried them. Nothing less than a very extraordinary miracle could have sorted them, as it were, and caused the children of each family to sit down round about and near to one another.[6]

From all these considerations, therefore, I imagine that the common opinion about the dispersion of mankind is a very wrong one. The confusion of tongues arose at first from small beginnings, increased gradually, and in time grew to such a height as to scatter mankind over the face of the earth. When these men came first to Babel, they were but few; and very probably lived together in three families, sons of Shem, sons of Ham, and sons of Japhet; and the confusion arising from some leading men in each family inventing new words, and endeavouring to teach them to those under their direction, this in a little time divided the three families from one another. For the sons of Japhet affecting the novel inventions of a son of Japhet; the sons of Ham affecting those of a son of Ham; and the sons of Shem speaking the new words of a son of Shem; a confusion would necessarily arise, and the three families would part; the instructors leading off all such as were initiated in their peculiarities of speech. This might be the first step taken in the dispersion of mankind: they might at first break into three companies only; and when this was done, new differences of speech still arising, each of the families continued to divide and subdivide amongst themselves,

[6] The writers upon this subject generally suppose this particular to have been the effect of a miracle; but I think it may be better accounted for in a natural way; and the advice of the poet to the writers of his times, is not impertinent to the readers even of the inspired books:—

Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.

time after time, as their numbers increased, and new and different occasions arose, and opportunities offered; until at length there were planted in the world, from each family, several nations called after the names of the persons of whom Moses has given us a catalogue. This I think is the only notion we can form of the confusion and division of mankind, which can give a probable account of their being so dispersed into the world, as to be generally settled according to their families; and the tenth chapter of Genesis, if rightly considered, implies no more. For the design of Moses in that chapter was, not to determine who were the leading men at the confusion of tongues; but only to give a catalogue or general account of the names of the several persons descended from each of Noah's children, who became famous in their generations; not designing to pursue more minutely their several histories. Such accounts of families as this, are frequent in the Old Testament. We meet another of them,[7] where Moses mentions Esau's family. He gives a catalogue of their names, and adds, *these be the dukes of Edom according to their habitations in the land of their possession.*[8] Not that the descendants of Esau were thus settled in these habitations at the time of Isaac's death, which is the place where Moses inserts his account of them; for at that time *Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob, and he went and dwelt in Mount Seir.*[9] They lived all together in the family of Esau, during the term of his life: when he died, then they might separate, and in time become dukes and governors, according to their families, after their places, and by their names mentioned in this catalogue; and this probably not all at once, immediately upon Esau's death. For it seems most reasonable to imagine that at his death they might divide into no greater number of families, than he had children; though afterwards his grandsons set up each a family of his own, when they came to separate from their father's house. In this manner the earth was divided by the several sons of Noah, mentioned Genesis x, *After their families, after their tongues, in their lands, and after their nations.* Not that the persons there mentioned were all at one time planters of nations; but only, that there were so many persons of figure descended from the sons of Noah, who, some at one time, and some at another, became heads of nations, or had nations called by their names, by their descendants; and so, by them *the nations were divided,*[1] i. e. the people were broken into different nations on the earth; not at once, or immediately upon the confusion, but at several times, as their families increased and separated after the Flood. This account will reconcile what I before observed, that the dispersion of mankind happened

[7] Gen. xxxvi. [8] Ver. 43. [9] Ver. 6, and 8. [1] Gen. x, 32.

about the time of the birth of Peleg, with the fragment in Eusebius, which seems to place it thirty years after. For, according to Eusebius, they continued building their tower for forty years;[2] but the birth of Peleg was about ten years after their beginning it. The confusion of language, therefore, and the dispersion of mankind, were not effected all at once; they began at the birth of Peleg, but were not completed until thirty years after; some companies separating and going away one year, and some another; and thus Ashur did not go away at first, but lived some time under Nimrod.[3]

The authors who have treated of this subject endeavour to determine, what particular countries were planted by these men; and the substance of what they offer is as follows.

Noah had three sons,[4] Shem, Ham, and Japhet: the eldest of the three was Japhet. For, first, Ham, or Canaan, *i. e.* the father of Canaan, was his youngest son, for so he is called by Moses.[5] *And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him, and he said—Cursed be Canaan:* i. e. considering the disrespect which his younger son Ham, or Canaan, had shown him, he cursed him.* Secondly, Shem was Noah's second son; for Shem[6] was a hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the Flood. Now Noah was five hundred years old at the birth of his eldest son;[7] but if Shem was no more than a hundred years old two years after the Flood, it is evident that Noah was five hundred and two years old at Shem's birth; and consequently that Shem was not his eldest son. Thirdly, It remains, therefore, that Japhet was the eldest son of Noah, and so he is called by Moses, Gen. x, 21.

Japhet is supposed not to have been present at the confusion of Babel. Moses gives no account of his life or death; makes no mention at all of his name in the history of the nations which arose from Babel. So that, probably, he lived and died where his father Noah settled after the Flood. The descendants of Japhet who came to Shinaar, and were heads of nations, at, or some time after the dispersion of mankind, were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Mesech, Tubal, Tiras, Askanez, Riphath, Togarmah, Elisha, Tarshish, Kittim, Dodanim. The countries which they fixed in were as follows:—

Gomer, Tubal, Togarmah, Magog, and Mesech, settled in and near the north parts of Syria. The prophet Ezekiel, foretelling the troubles which foreign princes should endeavour to bring upon the Israelites, calls the nations he speaks of by their ancient original names, taken from their first founders or ancestors. Thus Gog, the king of Magog, is said to be the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal.[8] So that wherever these

[2] Εμειναν οικοδομουντες επι ετη μ. Euseb. in Chron.
[3] Gen. x, 11. [4] Chap. v, ver. 32. [5] Chap. ix, 24, 25.
* He only pronounced the curse prophetically. EDIT.
[6] Gen. xi, 10. [7] Chap. v, 32. [8] Ezek. xxxviii, 2.

countries were, I think we may conclude, that the lands of Mesech, Tubal, and Magog, were near to one another; united in time under the dominion of a prince, called by the prophet Gog. And as we learn from Ezekiel, that these countries were contiguous; so if we consider that Hierapolis, or the present Aleppo, was anciently called Magog, this will intimate to us the situation of these nations. The name by which Lucian calls this city, is its common one ιερα πολις, or, the Sacred City; but he says[9] expressly, that anciently it was called by another name. And Pliny[1] tells us what that ancient name was; the Syrians, he says, called it Magog. Maimonides[2] places Magog in Syria; and Bochart himself, though he would willingly plant Magog in Scythia,[3] acknowledges that Hierapolis had been named from him. We have therefore reason to think Magog the country, of which Aleppo was chief city, and the land of Mesech and of Tubal were adjacent to it. In these parts, therefore, Tubal, Mesech, and Magog fixed, and their lands were called after their names. The house of Togarmah is, in the same chapter of Ezekiel,[4] said to be of the north quarters. There were two remarkable powers prophesied of, who were to afflict the Israelites; and they are described in Scripture by *the kings of the North*, and *the kings of the South*. By the kings of the South, are meant the kings of Egypt; by the kings of the North, the kings of Syria. Togarmah of the north quarters, therefore, is a country, part of Syria, very probably bordering upon Magog, which gives it a situation very fit for trading in the fairs of Tyre, with horses and mules, according to what the prophet[5] says of the Togarmians. Gomer and his bands seem[6] to be joined by the same prophet to Togarmah. We may therefore suppose his country to be adjacent.

Askanez planted himself near Armenia; for the prophet Jeremiah,[7] speaking of the nations that should be called to the destruction or taking of Babylon, by the Medes under Cyrus, mentions Ararat, Minni, and Askanez. It is probable these three nations, thus joined together by the prophet, bordered upon one another; and since Minni is Armenia the Less, called Aram-minni; and Ararat the country in which the mountains of Ararat, or Taurus, take their rise; Askanez must be some neighbouring and adjacent nation. It is observable from profane history, that Cyrus, before he shut up Babylon in the siege in which he took it, after the conquest of Crœsus, king of Lydia,[8] by his captains subdued Asia Minor; and with part of his army under his own conduct,[9] reduced the nations of Upper Asia, and having settled them under his obedience,

[9] Lucian de Deâ Syriâ.
[1] Lib. v. cap. 23.
[2] In Halicoth therumoth, c. i, sec. 9.
[3] Phaleg. l. i, c. 2.
[4] Ezek. xxxviii, 6.
[5] Ezek. xxvii, 14.
[6] Ezek. xxxviii, 6.
[7] Jer. li, 27.
[8] Xenophon Cyropæd. lvii, c. 4; Herodot. l. i.
[9] Herod. l. i.

and very probably strengthened his army by levies of new soldiers[1] made amongst them, he entered Assyria, and besieged Babylon; and this was the calling Ararat, Minni, and Askanez, to assist the Medes against Babylon, of which the prophet speaks.

Tarshish planted Cilicia; for the prophet Isaiah calls a country of this name to join in lamentation for the destruction of Tyre (Isaiah xxiii.) And the country which the prophet thus calls upon, seems to lie over sea from Tyre,[2] and to be a frequent trader to Tyre,[3] and therefore not vastly distant, and to be a place of considerable shipping;[4] all which marks belonged, at the time of these descriptions, more evidently to Cilicia, than to any other nation of the world.

Kittim was the father of the Macedonians; for the destruction of Tyre, effected by Alexander of Macedon, is said to be of Kittim;[5] and Alexander himself is described, Alexander the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Kittim;[6] and the navy of Alexander is prophesied of, and called[7] *Ships that should come from Kittim;* and Perseus, the king of Macedon, who was conquered by the Romans, is called, *the king of the Kittims;*[8] and the Macedonian, or Greek shipping, which brought the Roman ambassadors to Egypt, are called *the ships of Kittim.*[9] Bochart[1] thinks that the ships here spoken of were ships of Italy; and from this text, and another or two, of which he evidently mistakes the true meaning, he would infer the land of Kittim to be Italy. But if we consider the words of Daniel[2] we shall find the meaning of them to be this; that at the time appointed, the king of the North, *i. e.* Antiochus,[3] should return and come towards the South, *i. e.* towards Egypt; but it should not be as the former, or as the latter, *i. e.* his coming should not be successful, as it had once before been, and as it was again afterwards; for the ships of Kittim should come against him; the Roman ambassadors in ships of or from Macedonia should come against him, and oblige him to return home without ravaging or seizing upon Egypt. And it is remarkable,[4] that the circumstances

[1] Bochart, in Phaleg. lib. iii, c. 9, endeavours to prove Askanez to be Phrygia, from some particular levies which Hystaspes made there for the increase of Cyrus's army; but as Cyrus made use of these for the conquest of many other nations, before he went back to Babylon, these levies cannot properly be said to have been raised for the siege of that city. It is more probable, that he strengthened his army in all countries he subdued; and as his last conquests before he went to Babylon were in Armenia, and the parts adjacent, it was these nations he took with him to subdue Assyria.

[2] Isaiah xxiii, 6. [3] Ezekiel xxvii, 12.

[4] Isaiah xxi, 1, and 14. And the heathen writers represent the Cilicians as the ancient masters of the seas. See Strab. l. xiv, p. 678, and Solin. 41.

[5] Isaiah xxiii, 1. [6] 1 Maccab. i, 1. [7] Numb xxiv, 24.

[8] 1 Maccab. viii, 5. [9] Dan. xi, 30.

[1] Bochart would render the Isles of Kittim (Ezek. xxvii, 6,) Isles of Italy; but it is more probably rendered, Isles of Greece, or Macedon, *i. e.* Isles near Macedon, in the Ægean Sea. [2] Dan. xi. 29, 30.

[3] See Dean Prideaux's Connection, b. iii. [4] See Livy, l. xiv.

of C. Popilius's voyage, who was the Roman ambassador here spoken of, give a reason for calling the ships he sailed in, ships of or from Kittim, or Macedonia; for his voyage from Rome was in this manner. He sailed into the Ægean sea, and designed before his embassy to have gone to Macedonia, where the consul was then engaged in war with Perseus; but the enemy having some small vessels cruising on those seas, he was induced for his safety to put in at Delos, and sent his ships with some message to the consul in Macedonia. He intended at first not to have waited the return of his ships, but to have pursued his embassy by the assistance of the Athenians, who furnished him with ships for the voyage; but before he set sail, his ships came back again, and brought news of Æmilius's conquest of Macedon; upon this he dismissed the Athenian ships, and set sail towards Egypt. And thus the ships which carried him to the finishing this embassy, came from Kittim, or Macedonia.

Elisha is thought to have planted some of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea; for the Cyclades are called by his name, by Ezekiel.[5] Blue and purple are said to be brought to Tyre, from the Isles of Elisha. In after-ages the best blue and purple were of the Tyrian dye; but in the earlier times it was brought to Tyre to be sold, from the Cyclades; and agreeably hereto, several authors, both poets and prose-writers, speak of a dye for purple, found in the Grecian seas, and particularly among the Cyclades.[6] Javan is thought to have planted Greece; the LXX were of this mind, and constantly translate the Hebrew word Javan, into Ελλας, or Greece. And the prophet Ezekiel represents the inhabitants of Javan to be considerable dealers or traders in persons of men.[7] And this agrees very remarkably with the Heathen accounts of Greece; for the generality of writers speak of the most elegant and best slaves as coming out of the several countries of Greece. Heliodorus[8] mentions two Ionian servants sent as presents to Theagenes and Chariclea. And in another place,[9] makes Cybele's cup-bearer to be a lass of Ionia. Ælian[1] supposes the cause of Darius's making war upon the Greeks, to be his wife Atossa's desire to have some Grecian maidens to attend her. And Herodotus reports the same fact,[2] and adds, that she persuaded her husband to turn his arms from the Scy-

[5] Ezek. xxvii, 7. Homer, Iliad 4, mentions the Carians and Mæonians as the ancient dyers in purple; and perhaps here the family of Elisha might be first settled. Caria and Mæonia are two countries, on the coasts of Asia, near the Ægean Sea. The ancients often called such countries, Isles, as bordered upon the sea, though they were really part of the continent, especially if they usually sailed to them.

[6] Plin. l. ix, c. 36. Pausan. in Laconicis. id. in Phocicis. Horat. lib. ii, od. 18. Stat. l. i, Sylv. 2. Juvenal. Satyr. 8. l. 101. Horat. lib. iv, Od. 13. Vitruv. l. vii. c. 13.

[7] Ezek. xxvii, 13. [8] Heliodor. l. vii, par. 1619, p. 338. [9] Id. l. viii.

[1] Ælian de Animal. l. xi, c. 27. [2] Herodot. in Thalia. p. 134.

thians upon the Greeks in order to get her some servants out of some particular parts of Greece, where she heard there were very famous ones.—Claudian alludes to this request of Atossa.[3] And Martial[4] many times speaks in commendation of the Greek slaves.

Madai was very probably the father of the Medes; for the Medes are always called by this name.[5]

Tiras was the father of the Thracians.[6]

Riphath settled near the borders of Paphlagonia.

Where Dodanim settled is very uncertain. His name is also written Rhodanim.[7] And it is thought he planted Rhodes; though the arguments to support this opinion are very slender.

Shem was the second son of Noah. Moses has told us[8] how long he lived, and when he died; so that probably he lived amongst some of these nations. It is nowhere said where he lived; but some writers[9] have imagined him to be Melchisedec, the king of Salem, to whom Abraham paid tithes (Gen. xiv, 20.) Shem was, indeed, alive at that time,[1] and lived many years after; but there is no proof of his being king of Salem. It is not likely that he should reign king over the children of Ham. And Abraham's tithes were not paid to Shem, the ancestor and head of Abraham's family, but (according to Heb. vii, 6,) to one of a different and distinct family, to one that was, says the sacred writer, ο μη γενεαλογημενος εξ αυτων, not of their descent or genealogy. The sons of Shem, were Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, Aram.

Elam led his associates into Persia, and became the planter of that country; and agreeably hereto, the Persians are constantly called in Scripture Elamites.[2] Elam could at first people but a small tract of ground; but it seems as if he fixed himself near the place where the kings of Persia afterwards had their residence; for when the empire, which began at Elam, came to be extended over other countries, and to take a new name, and to be divided into many provinces, the head province retained the name of Elam; thus the palace of Susa, or Shusan, was in the province of Elam.[3]

Ashur for some time lived under Nimrod, in the land of Shinaar; but afterwards removed with his company into As-

[3] Claudian, lib. ii, in Eutrop. [4] Epig. lib. iv, 66; and lib. vii, 79.

[5] Dan. v. 28, chap. vi, ver. 8, 12, 15, chap. viii, ver. 20; and Esther i, 3, 14, 18, 19, chap. x, ver. 2.

[6] Abrah. Zacuth. in lib. Jachusin f. 145. Joseph. Antiq. l. i, c. 7. Euseb. in Chron. Eustath. in Hexaem. et al. [7] 1 Chron. i, 7. [8] Gen. xi.

[9] Targ. Jonathan et Targ. Hierosolym. et Mydras Agada quam citat B. Selomo, et Cabbalistæ in Baalhatturim.

[1] For Shem, who lived to be six hundred years old, lived thirteen years after the death of Sarah, and till Abraham was one hundred and fifty-one years old.

[2] Isaiah xxi, 2; Jerem. xxv, 25; Acts ii, 9; and in al. loc.

[3] Dan. viii, 2.

syria, and built in time some cities there, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen.[4]

Arphaxad lived at Ur of the Chaldees, which (according to St. Stephen,[5] who supposed Abraham to live in Mesopotamia, before he lived at Haran) was near to Shinaar and Assyria; but over the rivers, so as to be in Mesopotamia. Eber, the grandson of Arphaxad, had two sons, Peleg and Jocktan. Peleg was born about the time of the confusion;[6] and when Jocktan came to be of years to head a company, he led away part of this family to seek a new habitation. Jocktan had thirteen sons,[7] Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmeveh, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Dicklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, Jobab. These and their families spread, in time, from mount Mesha to mount Sephar, two mountains in the East.[8] There were nations in India, which took the names of some of these sons of Jocktan; namely, Ophir, whither Solomon sent for gold: and Havilah, on the bank of the river Ganges; and the Sabeans mentioned by Dionysius in his Periegesis. And some writers have imagined, that Sheba, Havilah, and Ophir, inhabited India; but it is much more probable that, as the sons of Jocktan spread from Mesha to Sephar, so their descendants might, in time, in after-ages, people the countries from Sephar, until they reached to Ganges, and spread over into India. And the countries there planted might be called by the names of the ancestors of those who planted them; though the persons by whose names they were called never lived in them.

The other branch of Arphaxad's family continued at Ur for three generations. In the days of Terah the father of Abraham, the Chaldeans expelled them their country, because they would not worship their gods.[9] Upon this they removed over Mesopotamia to Haran,[1] and here they continued until Terah died; and then Abraham, and Lot, and all that belonged to them, left the rest of their brethren at Haran, and travelled into Canaan.[2]

Lud is generally supposed to be the father of the Lydians in Lesser Asia.

Aram. The name of Aram is constantly, in Scripture, the name of Syria; thus Naaman the Syrian is called the Aramean;[3] thus the Syrian language is called the Aramean;[4] and the Syrians are called by this name in all places of Scripture wherever they are mentioned.[5] And they were known by this name to the ancient heathen writers. Syria, says Eusebius from Josephus, was called Aram; until in after ages it took another name, from one Syrus. And Strabo expressly

4 Gen. x, 11, 12. 5 Acts vii, 2. 6 Gen. x, 25.
7 Gen. x, 26—29. 8 Ver. 30. 9 Judith v, 8.
1 Gen. xi, 31. 2 Gen. xii, 5. 3 2 Kings v. 1.
4 Ezra iv, 7; and Isaiah xxvi, 11.
5 See 2 Sam. viii, 5; and x, 6; 1 Kings xx, 20; 2 Kings v, 2; 1 Chron. xix, 10; et in mille al. loc.

says, that the people we now call Syrians, were anciently called by the Syrians Aramenians, and Arameans. And agreeably hereto the adjoining countries into which the posterity of Aram might spread, took the name of Aram, only with some other additional name joined to it. Thus Armenia the Less came to be called Aramminni, or the little Aram. Mesopotamia was named Padan-Aram, or the field of Aram; and sometimes Aram-Naharaim, or Aram of the rivers. And we find Bethuel and Laban,[6] the sons of Nahor, the descendant of Arphaxad, and not of Aram, are called Syrians, or Arameans, from their coming to live in this country. In what particular part of Syria Aram settled himself is uncertain; nor have we any reason to imagine that his sons Hul, Mesh, or Gether, ever separated from him. Nor is it certain that the land of Uz, which the prophet Jeremiah[7] makes part of the land of Edom, and which was the land in which Job lived, seated near the Ishmaelites and Sabeans who robbed him, had its name from Uz the son of Aram.

Ham was the youngest son of Noah. It is thought that he was at the confusion of Babel: and that after mankind was dispersed, he lived in Canaan, says Jurieu,[8] and was king of Salem; or, say other writers, he went into Egypt. Both these opinions are at best uncertain. The reasons for the latter, that Egypt is often called the land of Ham,[9] and that Ham, or Jupiter Ammon, was there worshipped, are not conclusive arguments that Ham himself ever lived there. The descendants of Ham might call the land of Egypt, when they came to dwell in it, after the name of their ancestor, in remembrance of him; as the children of Terah called the country they travelled into, when they left Ur, by the name of Haran.[1] Haran himself died in Ur of the Chaldees,[2] the land of his nativity; and, perhaps, his being dead occasioned his kindred to call that part of Mesopotamia, where they settled, the land of Haran, in remembrance of him. In like manner the descendants of Ham, when they came to look back to their ancestors, and to pay honours to the memory of such of them as had been of old famous in their generations, might place their great ancestor Ham at the head of their deities, though he had never lived among them. The sons of Ham were Cush, Mizraim, Phul, and Canaan.

Cush does not appear to have been a leader or a governor of any particular company. He had so much respect paid him, as to have a country called by his name, the land of Cush; but its situation was where his son Nimrod bore rule; for the land of Cush was at first within the compass of the river Gihon: for that river, says Moses,[3] compassed the whole land of Cush.

[6] Gen. xxv, 20. [7] Lam. iv, 21. [8] Critical Hist.
[9] Psal. cv, 23, 27; Psal. lxxviii, 51, &c.
[1] Gen. xi, 31. [2] Gen. xi, 28. [3] Gen. ii, 13.

Perhaps somewhere hereabouts Cush lived and died,[4] honoured by his sons, who were fond of calling their countries after his name; for we find the name Cush, though at first confined to a small tract of ground, was in time made the name of several countries. The children of Cush spread in time into several parts of Arabia, over the borders of the land of Edom, into Arabia Felix, up to Midian and Egypt; and we find instances in Scripture of all these countries being called by the name of the land of Cush.

I may here take notice of a very gross mistake, which runs through our English translation of the Bible. We constantly render the land of Cush, the land of Ethiopia; but there is not any one place in Scripture, where the land of Cush should be so rendered. By the land of Cush is always meant some part of Arabia; for there are some texts which cannot possibly have any meaning, if we render Cush Ethiopia. But the sense of all is clear and easy, if we translate it Arabia. Thus, for instance, Ezekiel[5] prophesying of a desolation which GOD would bring upon all Egypt, says, that it should be utterly waste and desolate, *from the tower of Syene, even unto the border of Cush.* Now the tower of Syene stood upon the borders of Egypt, next to Ethiopia; Cush, therefore, must be the opposite country on the other side of Egypt; for this only can make the Prophet intelligible, who meant from one side of Egypt to the other. Syene and Ethiopia join and are contiguous, and therefore, from Syene to Ethiopia, are words of no meaning, or at most can be no description of Egypt; but must be an evident blunder and mistake of our translators.[6] And as this particular passage does clearly evidence Arabia to be the land of Cush, so all other places accord very well to this interpretation. We are told[7] that the Arabians near the Cushites joined with the Philistines against Jehoram. Now if these Cushites are the Ethiopians, Ethiopia, being situate on the other side of Egypt, no Arabians could possibly live near them. The Cushites, therefore, here spoken of, are the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, where Dedan and Sheba, descendants of Cush, fixed themselves; and the Arabians bordering upon them, who joined with the Philistines, were the Edomites

[4] According to the Persian and Arabian traditions, Cush lived at Erech, one of his son Nimrod's cities. Cush (id est Cutha) fuit rex territorii Babel et residebat in erac. Tabari. in cap. de morte Saræ. apud Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 40.

[5] Ezek. xxix, 10.

[6] A very learned writer would correct this mistake in the following manner. The Hebrew word *migdol*, he says, which is translated *tower*, is the name of the city Magdolum, which was at the other entrance of Egypt from Palestine; and Syene was at the other end, and upon the borders of Ethiopia; but this correction, I think, cannot be admitted, for the Hebrew words are not עד־סונה ממגדל from Migdol to Seveneh, but ממגדל סונה ועד־גבול כוש i. e. from Migdol Seveneh, or of Seveneh, even to the border of Cush.

[7] 2 Chron. ii, 16.

who had revolted lately from Jehoram, and who lay between the Philistines and these Cushites.

So again when Sennacherib king of Assyria was laying siege to Libnah, upon hearing that Tirhakah a king of Cush[8] came out against him, he sent a threatening message to Hezekiah, and prepared to meet this new enemy. Our translation makes Tirhakah a king of Ethiopia; but how unlikely is it, that a king living on the other side of Egypt should cross all that country, and march an army four or five hundred miles to assist the Jews! The seat of the war lies too distant for the king of Ethiopia to be so suddenly engaged in it. Some neighbouring prince, whose country bordered upon the nations attacked by Sennacherib, might think it advisable to raise an army on his back, to check his conquests, lest himself in time should suffer from him. And such a neighbouring prince was this king of Cush, a king of Arabia, whose country lay near to Ezion-Geber, and not far from the borders of Judea. The learned Dr. Prideaux[9] makes Tirhakah an Ethiopian kinsman to the king of Egypt; and to make it probable that the Ethiopian might be concerned in the war, he imagines Tirhakah's army to march against Sennacherib, when he was besieging Pelusium, a city of Egypt. But this seems contrary to the history.[1] Sennacherib had been warring against Lachish, and was at Libnah when the rumour of Tirhakah's expedition reached him. Sennacherib's war with Egypt was over before this, and he had *done to Egypt all that his heart could desire;* had overrun the country, carried away captive all the inhabitants of No-Amon, a great and strong city of Egypt; according to what the Prophet Isaiah had foretold,[2] and the Prophet Nahum observed[3] to the Ninevites. That Sennacherib's conquest of Egypt was over before he came to Lachish and Libnah is evident, if we consider that after this he undertook no expedition. Upon hearing the rumour of Tirhakah, he decamped; and soon after GOD sent the blast upon him,[4] and destroyed his army; and then he was obliged to return home to his own land, and was there, some time after, murdered. And agreeably hereto, Rabshakeh represents the king of Egypt as a bruised reed;[5] but a reed in his greatest strength, easy to be broken by the king of Assyria; and a bruised reed, already brought into a very distressed condition, by the victories his master had obtained over him.

Josephus[6] mentions this Tirhakah by the name of Tharsices, and supposes him to assist Egypt, and not the Jews, and to march his army when Sennacherib was engaged at Pelusium. But this is one instance where Josephus did not copy carefully from the sacred pages. He was misled in this particular by

[8] 2 Kings xix, 9.
[2] Isaiah xx, 4.
[5] 2 Kings xviii, 21.
[9] Connect. vol. i, b. i.
[3] Nahum iii, 8.
[6] Joseph. Antiq. l. 10, c. 1.
[1] See 2 Kings xix.
[4] 2 Kings xix, 7.

Herodotus, whom he quotes in his relation of this story: however, the description which Josephus gives of Tirhakah's march through the desert of Arabia, into the territories of the king of Assyria, shews evidently that he was a king of Arabia, and not of Ethiopia. The king of Cush, therefore, was a king of Arabia. I may add further, that Egypt is described to lie beyond the rivers of Cush.[7] Now if Cush signifies Ethiopia, Ethiopia might possibly be said to lie beyond the rivers of Egypt; but Egypt cannot possibly be described to lie beyond the rivers of Ethiopia. But Cush here signifies Arabia; and the rivers of Arabia, beyond which Egypt is said to lie, are that which runs into the lake Sirbonis, commonly called the river of Egypt; and the river Sihor, mentioned Joshua xiii, 3. Again,[8] we are told that *Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Cushite woman whom he had married; for he had married a Cushite woman.* We must not here render Cushite, Ethiopian, as our English translators do; for Moses never married one of that country: rather the Cushite woman was Zipporah the Arabian, the daughter of Jethro the priest of Midian.[9] I might bring several other passages of Scripture to prove the land of Cush to be some or other of the parts of Arabia, where the descendants of Cush settled. In the later writings of the Scriptures, the name of Cush is given only to the parts remote and distant from Babylon; the reason whereof was probably this: when the Babylonian empire began to flourish, the parts near Babylon acquired new names, and lost the old ones, in the great turns and revolutions of the empire; but the changes of names and places near Babylon, not affecting the countries that lay at a distance, the Prophets in after ages might properly enough give these the name of Cush, long after the places, near which Cush first settled, had lost all name and remembrance of him.

The sons of Cush were Seba, Havilah, Sabta, Raama, Sabtecha, Sheba, Dedan, and Nimrod.

Nimrod reigned king at Babel, and built round him several cities, Erech, Accad, and Calneh.[1]

Havilah lived within the branch of the river Pison, which ran out of the Euphrates into the bay of Persia; for the country of the Ishmaelites, which extended itself from Egypt in a direct line towards Babylonia, or Shinaar, is described to lie from Shur, which is before Egypt, to Havilah.[2]

Seba, Sabta, Raama, Sabtecha, and their descendants and associates, peopled Arabia Felix. There are but slender proofs of the particular places where Seba, Sabta, and Sabtecha first settled. Pliny says, the Sabeans, inhabitants of Arabia, famous for their spicery, are a number of nations which reach from sea to sea, *i. e.* from the Persian gulph to the Red Sea. It

[7] Isaiah xviii, 1.
[8] Numb. xii, 1.
[9] Exod. ii, 21.
[1] Gen. x, 10.
[2] Chap. xxv, 18.

is probable they entered the country near Havilah and Shinaar, and their first little companies took different paths in it; and whilst they were infant nations, they might live distinct and separate from one another; time and increase made them sufficient to fill and replenish it, and so to mingle with and unite to one another.

Raama, and his two sons Sheba and Dedan, peopled the parts adjacent to the Red Sea. Sheba lived on the borders of the land of Midian; and hence it happened, that in after ages a queen of this country, hearing of the renown of king Solomon, probably from his famous shipping at Ezion Geber, on the borders of her kingdom, went to visit him.[3] Raama was near to Sheba, for they are mentioned as joint traders to Tyre in spicery, the noted product of those countries.[4] Dedan fixed on the borders of the land of Edom; for Ezekiel, prophesying of the land of Edom, and the parts adjacent, joins Dedan to it.[5]

Mizraim was second son of Ham. His descendants were Ludim, Ananim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, Philistim, Caphtorim.

Mizraim became king of Egypt, which after his death was divided into three kingdoms, by three of his sons. His sons names who settled here were Ananim, who was king of Tanis, or Lower Egypt, called afterwards Delta. Naphtuhim, who was king of Naph, Memphis, or Upper Egypt; and Pathrusim, who set up the kingdom of Pathros, or Thebes, in Thebais.

Ludim and Lehabim peopled Libya. The prophet Ezekiel,[6] speaking of the Libyans, whom he calls by their original name Lud, calls them a mingled people; perhaps hinting their rise from two origins. Libya seems rather derived from Lehabim than Ludim, but we rarely find them called otherwise than Lud; they are, I think once named from Lehabim, 2 Chron. xii, 3. *People came out of Egypt, the Lubims.*

Casluhim, another son of Mizraim, fixed himself at Cashiotis, in the entrance of Egypt from Palestine. He had two sons, Philistim and Caphtorim. Caphtorim succeeded him at Cashiotis. Philistim planted the country of the Philistines, between the border of Canaan and the Mediterranean Sea. Cashiotis was called Caphtor, from Caphtorim, the second prince of it; and the Philistines are said to have been of Caphtor,[7] because the place of their parent Casluhim was so called.

Phut was the third son of Ham. He was, I believe, planted somewhere in Arabia, near to Cush, not far from Shinaar, probably in the land of Havilah; for the prophet Ezekiel, as the northern enemies of the Jews were put together, so also joins those that were to come from Babylon,[8] and makes them

[3] 1 Kings x. [4] Ezek. xxvii, 22. [5] Ibid. xxv, 13.
[6] Ibid. xxv, 5. [7] Amos ix, 7. [8] Ezek. xxxviii, 5.

to be Persia, Cush, and Phut. Some writers have imagined that Phut planted Mauritania; but how then could he be neighbour to Cush or Persia? The Prophet Jeremiah, speaking of some nations that should overrun Egypt, calls them Cush, Lud, and Phut.[9] Now the nations which fulfilled this prophecy were, 1, Nebuchadnezzar with his army of Cushites and descendants of Phut, who were both then subject to the Babylonian empire, greatly ravaged and laid waste the land; and when he had executed his mind, then Apries,[1] with some forces out of Libya, killed the king of Egypt, and finished the desolation. Agreeably therefore to what was before said, the Babylonians are called Cush and Phut, the descendants of Cush and Phut being part of their army; and Apries and his Libyan army are the men of Lud.

The fourth son of Ham was Canaan. His sons were Sidon, Heth, Jebusi, Emori, Gergasi, Hivi, Arki, Sini, Arvadi, Zemari, Hamathi: these peopled the land of Canaan.[2]

Sidon fixed in Phœnicia, one of whose chief towns was called by his name.

Arvad was neighbour to Sidon.[3]

Heth lived near Gerar towards Egypt.[4]

Where the other sons of Canaan settled in this country, cannot be determined with any certainty and exactness; only we must place them somewhere between Sidon and Gerar, and Admah, and Zeboim, and Lashah; for these places were, according to Moses,[5] the boundaries of their land.

This is the substance of what is offered by the best writers, about the first settlements after the dispersion of mankind. We must not pretend to affirm it in every tittle true; but the reader will observe that it is countenanced by arguments more favourable than any one, who never considered the subject, would expect to meet with for a fact, which happened so long ago, and but imperfectly described by the earliest writers. Josephus disperses these men and their families all over the world, into Spain and Italy; but we cannot possibly conceive mankind so numerous within one hundred and thirty years after the Flood, as to send out colonies enough to spread into nations so distant from the place where they dispersed. We see by all the mention we have of the names of any of these men in the books of the Old Testament, that they appear to have been first seated nearer to the land of Shinaar; and the utmost that can be proved from the arguments which some writers offer in favour of Josephus's remote plantations, will amount to no more than this, that the companies which at the first dispersing settled nearer home, did afterwards increase, and in time send forth colonies, which planted the more remote countries. I believe if an exact view was taken of all

[9] Jer. xlvi, 9. [1] Prideaux. Connect. b. ii. Herodot. l. ii, sect. 169.
[2] Gen. x, 18. [3] Ezek. xxvii, 8. [4] 2 Kings vii, 6. [5] Gen. x, 19.

the several schemes offered upon this subject, all that are supported with any show of argument, might be reduced to a pretty good agreement with one another. For though there is not a full and absolute proof of any one scheme; yet all that can be offered in this matter has the same tendency to prove, that the several parts of the world, except those only where we have supposed Noah to settle, and the plantations proceeding from them, were inhabited, and the inhabitants of them cultivated the use of letters, and other arts, sooner or later, in such a proportion of time as answers to their distance from the place which Moses calls the land of Shinaar. On the other hand, there are no broken stories, nor pieces of antiquity, in all the monuments of learning, sacred or profane, which either are, or are said ever to have been in the world, which make it seem probable, that mankind were first seated in any other place.

The account of the division of the earth, given us in the Chronicon of Eusebius, is founded upon the supposition that Noah, some time before his death, sat down by divine appointment, and parted the world amongst his three children, ordering what regions the descendants of each of them should inhabit; but this being a mere fiction, no great regard can be paid to it. Noah never came into these parts of the world at all, as has been observed already from several very probable arguments for his settling in a far distant place; and will be further evidenced hereafter, when I come to consider the maxims and polity upon which kingdoms were founded in the eastern parts, very different from those which the travellers from Shinaar adhered to, in their appointments of kings and governors.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK IV.

AFTER the separation of mankind, Nimrod became the head of those who remained at Shinaar. *Nimrod was a mighty hunter before the* LORD.[1] He taught the people to make up companies, and to chase and kill the wild beasts abounding in those parts; and from his gathering them together, and exercising them in bands for this purpose, he by degrees led them on to a social defence of one another, and laid the foundation of his authority and dominion.[2] His kingdom began at Babel; and in time, as his people multiplied, he extended it further. Perhaps he found it inconvenient to have too large a number dwell together; a populous city would not be so easily influenced as a small neighbourhood; for we cannot imagine that the first kings were able either to make, or execute laws, with that strictness and rigour, which is necessary in a body of men so large as to afford numerous offenders. For this reason it seems to have been a prudent institution of Nimrod, when his city Babel began to be too populous to be regulated by his inspection, and governed by his influence, to lay the foundations of other cities, Erech, Accad, and Calneh. By this means he disposed of numbers of his people, and put them under the directions of such proper deputies as he might appoint over them; or perhaps, they, with his consent,[3] might choose for themselves. And thus by degrees, he brought their minds to a sense of government; until the use of it came to be experienced, and thereby the

[1] Gen. x, 9.

[2] In this manner the Persians fitted their kings for war, and for government, by hunting. See Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1.

[3] Cush, the father of Nimrod, is thought to have been governor at Erech. Hyde. Rel. vet. Pers. p. 40.

force and power of laws settled and confirmed. Many of the fathers, and some later writers after them, represent Nimrod as a most wicked and insolent tyrant; and St. Austin in particular says, he was a mighty hunter, not as we translate it, *before* or *in the presence* of the LORD, but *against* the LORD. It is very likely that Nimrod exercised his companions into some sort of skill in war; and having a mind to sit down with them at Shinaar, he obliged his brethren who would not come into his society to remove, and provide other habitations for themselves. This might cause them to go away with ill notions of him, and occasion them to spread amongst their descendants the worst accounts they could give of his hunting, by which they were thus chased from their first dwellings. However, we do not find he waged any wars to enlarge his empire. Ninus, according to Justin, was the first that used an army with this view. Nimrod's government was extended no farther than the necessities or conveniences of his people required. His country was probably no more than the province of Babylonia. He began his reign A. M. 1757, and it is thought he reigned about one hundred and forty-eight years, and so died A. M. 1905.

Some time in Nimrod's reign,[4] Ashur, one of the descendants of Shem, led a number of men from Babel, who travelled under his conduct up the Tigris, and settled in Assyria, and laid the first foundation of Nineveh. Ashur governed them as Nimrod did the Babylonians; and as they increased, dispersed them in the country, and set them to build some little adjacent cities, Rehoboth, Resen, and Calah.

Belus succeeded Nimrod, and was the second king of Babylon. We are not told of what family he was; and perhaps he was not at all akin to his predecessor. Nimrod himself was no way by birth entitled to be king of Shinaar; nor have we any reason to imagine that mankind, when they first formed larger societies than those of families, were directed by any thing in the choice of their kings, but the expectation of some public good to be promoted by them. The first civil polity was that of kings, according to Justin;[5] and the persons advanced to that dignity, were promoted to it not by a giddy ambition, but were chosen for their known abilities of wisdom and virtue. Nimrod had convinced the people of the advantages of forming a larger society than they had ever thought of before; and so the people, under a sense of the weight and wisdom of what he proposed, chose him, though a young man in comparison of many alive at that time, to rule and govern

[4] Gen. x, 11; Joseph. l. i, c. 7.

[5] Justin. l. i, c. 1; and Diodorus Siculus was of the same opinion: his words are, Διο και το παλαιον παραδιδοσθαι τας βασιλειας μη τοις εκγονοις των αρξαντων, αλλα τοις ωλεισα και μεγισα το πληθος ευεργετησιν, ειτε παρασκαλεσεων των ανθρωπων τες εφ εαυτων βασιλεις επι την κοινην ευεργεσιαν, ειτε και κατ αληθειαν εν ταις ιεραις αναγραφαις ατω παρειληφοτων. Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i, p. 28.

them, for the ends which he proposed to them; and when he died, Belus appeared to be the most proper person, and for that reason was appointed to succeed him. Belus was a prince of study; the inventor of the Chaldean astronomy, says Pliny.[6] He is thought to have spent his time in cultivating his country, and improving his people. He reigned sixty years, and died A. M. 1965.

Ashur, king of Nineveh, dying much about this time, Ninus became the second king of Assyria. Ninus was of an enterprising and ambitious spirit. He began the first wars, and broke[7] the peace of the world. Babylonia was an adjacent country, too near him to lie out of his view and desires. He coveted to enlarge his empire; and having prepared his people for it, he easily overran his neighbours, who were employed in cultivating other arts, but were inexpert at war. He in a little time subdued the Babylonians. Diodorus Siculus[8] makes particular mention of this conquest of Babylonia, in words very agreeable to the circumstances of these times. "Ninus," says he, "the king of Assyria, assisted by a king of the Arabians, invaded the Babylonians with a powerful army. The present Babylon was not then built, but there were in the country of Babylonia other cities of figure. He easily reduced these his neighbours, who had no great skill in war, and laid them under tribute." After Ninus had subdued the Babylonians, he began to think of conquering other nations; and in a few years overran many of the infant states of Asia; and so by uniting kingdom to kingdom, he laid the foundation of the Assyrian empire. He was for ever restless and aspiring; the subduing one people led him on to attempt another; and the passions of men being then of the same sort they now are, every new victory carried him still forwards without end, till he died. His last attempt was upon Oxyartes, or Zoroastres, king of Bactria. Here he met a more powerful resistance than he had before experienced. After several fruitless attempts upon the chief city of Bactria, he at last conquered it, by the contrivance and conduct of Semiramis, a woman, wife of Menon, a captain in his army. The spirit and bravery of Semiramis so charmed him, that he fell in love with her, and forced her husband to consent to his having her for his wife, offering him, in lieu of Semiramis, his own daughter. Ninus had a son by Semiramis, named Ninyas; and after a reign of two and fifty years, died A. M. 2017.

When Ninus was dead, Semiramis expressed in her actions such a conduct, as made her appear the fittest person to command the new but large empire. Her son was but a minor, and during the latter part of Ninus's life, she had had so great a share in the administration, and always acquitted herself to

[6] Plin. l. vi, c. 26. [7] Justin. l. i, c. 1. [8] Diodorus Siculus, l. ii.

the public satisfaction,[9] that there seems no need of the contrivance of personating her son, to obtain her the empire. Her advancement to it was easy and natural. When she took upon her to be queen, the public affairs were put in the hands into which Ninus when alive used generally to put them; and it is not likely that the people should be uneasy at her governing, who had for several years together, by a series of actions, gained herself great credit and ascendancy over them; especially if we consider, that when she took up the sovereignty, she still pressed forward in a course of action, which continually exceeded the expectations of her people, and left no room for any to be willing to dispute her authority. Her first care was to settle and establish her empire. She removed her court from Nineveh to Babylon, and added much to that city; encompassed it with a wall, and built several public and magnificent buildings in it. And after she had finished the seat of her empire, and settled all the neighbouring kingdoms under her authority, she raised an army, and attempted to conquer India; but here again, as Ninus had before experienced, she found these eastern countries able to oppose her. After a long and dangerous war, tired out with defeats, she was obliged with the small remainder of her forces to return home. Some authors report that she was killed on the banks of Indus; but if she was not, her fruitless attempts there so consumed her forces, and impaired her credit, that soon after she came home, she found herself out of repute with her people, and so resigned her crown and authority to her son,[1] and soon after died. Thus lived and died the famous Semiramis, an early instance of what seems very natural, that an ambitious but defeated prince should grow sick of empire. Charles the Fifth, emperor of Germany, resigned his dominions in much the same manner, and grew disgusted with the pomp and greatness of the world, when his fortune turned, his designs were blasted, and he could not command his triumphs to wait on him any longer. Justin has accused Semiramis of lewdness and immodesty; and Diodorus Siculus is not favourable to her character, though he does not charge her with the same particulars as Justin does. It is not possible for us to determine whether she was guilty or innocent; however, we may observe, that whilst her enterprises were crowned with fortune and success, she maintained herself in great credit and glory with her people; but she lived to find that a character so supported is at fatal uncertainties; an unhappy turn of affairs may quickly blast it, and make it difficult to go down with credit to the grave. Semiramis resigned her empire after she had reigned forty-two years, A. M. 2059.

[9] Justin from Trogus Pompeius supposes her to have made use of this stratagem; but Diodorus Siculus, with more probability, ascribes her advancement to her conduct, bravery, and success in her undertakings.

[1] Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii.

Ninyas was the next king of the empire[2] of Assyria. He began his reign full of a sense of the errors of his mother's administration, and engaged in none of the wars and dangerous expeditions with which Semiramis seems to have tired out her people. Most writers represent him as a feeble and effeminate prince; but perhaps all these accounts of him arose from the disposition there is in writers, to think a turbulent and warlike reign, if victorious, a glorious one; and to overlook an administration employed in the silent, but more happy arts of peace and good government. Ninyas made no wars, nor used any endeavours to enlarge his empire; but he took a due care to regulate and settle,[3] upon a good foundation, the extensive dominions which his parents had left him; and by a wise contrivance of annual deputies over his provinces, he prevented the many revolts of distant countries, which might otherwise have happened. He is said to have begun that state which the eastern kings improved afterwards; was of difficult access, in order to raise himself a veneration from his subjects. We do not find but he had a happy reign. He transmitted his empire to his successors, so well ordered and constituted, as to last in the hands of a series of kings of no extraordinary fame, above a thousand years. This I take to be the history of the Babylonian or Assyrian empire, for about three hundred years. It may be proper, before I proceed further, to make some remarks upon the affairs of the times we have gone over. And,

I. Let us consider and settle the chronology. Nimrod, we say, began his reign A. M. 1757, *i. e.* a hundred and one years after the Flood, at the birth of Peleg, the time at which the men of Shinaar were first separated. At that time *Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth,*[4] *and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel.*[5] It is probable that he was not forthwith made a king; he might raise himself by steps, and in time. And if we could say how long he might be forming the people, before he could set up his authority, and rule them, perhaps we might begin his reign a few years later. But however that may be, we are in no great mistake in dating it from the first confusion of tongues, for then he *began to be a mighty one.* The foundations of his sovereignty were then laid, which he proceeded to build up and establish as fast as he could; and from this time, therefore, we date the rise of his kingdom. Nimrod at this time could be but a young man, in comparison of many others then alive; for suppose his father Cush, the son of Ham, was born as early as Arphaxad, the son of Shem,[6] two years after the Flood; and that Nimrod, who seems to be the sixth son of Cush, was born when his father Cush was about thirty-eight years old, Nimrod would,

[2] Justin. Diodorus Siculus.
[3] Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii, p. 77.
[4] Gen. x, 8.
[5] Gen. x, 10.
[6] Gen. xi. 10.

according to this account, be about the age of sixty-one years; old enough, indeed, to have many sons, and perhaps a grandson; but not advanced enough in years to be the *father of a nation of people,* or to have a vast number of persons descending from him. He could not have any paternal right to be a king, nor claim it fairly as due to the ripeness of his years, and the seniority of his age. But to return to the settling the chronology of his reign. He began it at Babel, A. M. 1757. But why do we suppose that he reigned one hundred and forty-eight years, and no more? To this I answer, His reign may easily be allowed to be so long; for if he began to reign at the age of sixty-one, and lived one hundred and forty-eight years after, we shall extend his life only to two hundred and nine years; and the sons of Shem, his contemporaries, lived much longer. So that the real difficulty will be to give a reason for our ending his reign A. M. 1905, not supposing it to be longer. To this I think we are determined by the reigns of his successors Belus and Ninus. Eusebius has placed the birth of Abraham in the forty-third year of Ninus, and the reign of Belus is commonly computed to be sixty years; so that it is evident, that the space of time between the death of Nimrod and the birth of Abraham is one hundred and three years. And since it will appear hereafter very clearly by the Hebrew chronology, that Abraham was born A. M. 2008, the one hundred and three years belonging to the reigns of Belus and Ninus, which are the space of time between the death of Nimrod and the birth of Abraham, will carry us back to A. M. 1905, and fix the death of Nimrod, as we do, in that year. I might observe, that the beginning of Nimrod's reign in this year agrees perfectly well with the account which was afterwards given of some astronomical observations made at Babylon. When Alexander the Great took possession of that city, Callisthenes the philosopher, who accompanied him,[7] upon searching into the treasures of the Babylonian learning, found that the Chaldeans had a series of astronomical observations for one thousand nine hundred and three years backward from that time. The year in which Alexander came to Babylon[8] was A, M. 3674; from which, if we trace upwards one thousand nine hundred and three years, we shall be brought back to A. M. 1771. So that in this year began the astronomy of the Chaldeans, *i. e.* fourteen years after the first beginning of Nimrod's reign. And it is very likely that so many years must be spent before the hurry arising from the first confusion of tongues could be over, before we can conceive that a settlement of the people, or the new kingdom could be brought into a state quiet and composed enough for the culture of arts and sciences to appear, and draw the public attention to them.

But, secondly, it is thought by many persons that Nimrod,

[7] Simplicius de cœlo l. ii, com. 46, p. 123. [8] Archbishop Usher's Annals.

Belus, and Ninus, were all but one person; and that the first year of Ninus was the first year of this empire, or at least that Nimrod and Belus were the same man, and that there was but one king before Ninus, namely Belus. To this I answer, The beginning of the Assyrian empire is very justly computed from the reign of Ninus; for he was king of Nineveh, and was the first who attempted to enlarge his dominions. The kingdom was inconsiderable when he first began his reign, but his conquests soon enlarged it, and from small beginnings laid the foundation of a mighty empire; yet still Ninus cannot possibly be as ancient as Nimrod, for all authors agree, that the continuance of this empire, from its rise to Sardanapalus, was no more than one thousand three hundred years. The death of Sardanapalus happened A. M. 3257, from which year if we reckon backwards one thousand three hundred years, we shall come back to A. M. 1957, the year in which I have placed the beginning of Ninus's reign; but then this year falling two hundred years later than the confusion of mankind, at which time Nimrod *began to be a mighty one*, Nimrod and Ninus cannot possibly be the same person.

That the empire of the Assyrians continued no more than one thousand three hundred years, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, is the unanimous opinion of all the ancient writers. Castor Rhodius makes it not quite so much, who computed it, as Syncellus informs us, only one thousand two hundred and eighty;[9] but none of them make it more; for the two passages of Diodorus Siculus, in one of which[1] the continuance of this empire is supposed to be one thousand three hundred and sixty years, and in the other above one thousand four hundred, are both esteemed by the learned to have been corrupted. The former is twice quoted by Syncellus, not one thousand three hundred and sixty, but somewhat above one thousand three hundred years, *i. e.* according to Agathias,[2] one thousand three hundred and six years, for so he cites this passage; and the other passage contradicts Eusebius and Clemens Alexandrinus, both of whom quoted Diodorus, and thought him to know of no other number of years for the continuance of this empire than the one thousand three hundred.[3]

As to Belus being the same person with Nimrod, there are no good authors, that I know, who directly make them so. Nimrod is, indeed, nowhere mentioned but in Scripture, or in writers who have copied from the sacred pages; yet still all the writers who have mentioned Belus, assigning to his reign only about sixty years, he must begin his reign A. M. 1905.

[9] Syncellus, p. 168.

[1] Diodor. Sic. l. ii, p. 77, and p. 81. Edit. Rhodoman. [2] Lib. ii, p. 63.

[3] Eusebius seems by his own computations to have followed Castor's opinion; for he computes, from the first year of Ninus to the last of Sardanapalus, only one thousand two hundred and forty years; yet he quotes Diodorus, asserting it to be one thousand three hundred years, Chron. p. 32.

and so could not be Nimrod, who began to be a mighty one near a century and a half before this time, namely, at the dispersion of mankind, A. M. 1757. Belus, reigning only sixty years, must have been an old man when he was advanced to the throne. He might be of equal years, nay, older than Nimrod himself, live sixty years after Nimrod's decease, and yet not live to above the age of two hundred and seventy years, an age which his contemporaries in the family of Arphaxad far exceeded. I should therefore imagine Belus to have been of much riper years, and a greater age than Nimrod himself. The enterprising spirit of Nimrod, and the heat of the times, might put the unsettled affairs of this part of mankind at first into the hands of a young man, who did very evidently lead them into schemes effectually conducing to the public good; but when he happened to be taken off, whom should they next look to for counsel and direction, but to some venerable person of authority, wisdom, and years? If Belus was the student whom Pliny supposes; if he first invented the Chaldean astronomy, it is observable that he had advanced his studies to some degree of perfection, in the early years of Nimrod's reign; for the observations, as we said, began A. M. 1771. Chronology was very imperfect in those days; for the civil or computed year consisting of but three hundred and sixty days, and that being almost five days and a quarter less than the solar year, the seasons did not return at the times, and months, and days of the month on which they were expected. For every year being five days and a quarter longer than the computations in use had calculated, it is plain that the seasons of the year must be carried forward five days and a quarter in every year; and that in about seventeen years the first day of the winter quarter would happen on the day of the month that belonged to the spring; and so on, till, in about sixty-eight years, the seasons would go almost round, through the whole year, and come about near to their true place again.

Now this confusion and variety of the seasons must have happened twice, about the time of the dispersion of mankind, and was the cause of such disorders in their affairs, that in time it became a part of the priest's office to observe the heavens, and to make public declarations when the seasons began for tillage and harvest; which the people had no way to find out by any diaries, or tables of Chronology then made. Perhaps Belus was the first who became skilful in this matter. If we consider how slow this sort of science was advanced, and that near a thousand years passed before they came to form any tolerable notion of the true length of the year; we may imagine that Belus might pursue these studies for several years together, without bringing them to any great perfection. He might begin his studies years before the dispersion of mankind; might have made such a progress before the fourteenth year of Nimrod, as to be able to give some, though per-

haps not a very accurate account of the weather and seasons, of the seed-time and harvest, and a science of such use to the public, however imperfect, must have attracted the regard of the people, and procured great honours to the master of it. A continued progress through a course of these studies must have every year more and more raised Belus in the esteem of the people, and by the time of Nimrod's death, have procured him such a veneration, as to make way for his being king. There is a passage of Eupolemus[4] which seems to make Belus to be Ham the son of Noah; for he describes him to be father of Canaan, of Mizraim, of Cous or Cush, and of another son, *i. e.* of Phut: and these were the children whom Moses ascribes to Ham. But if any one thinks all this not probable, and will have it that Belus was a son of Nimrod; that when he came to be king, he only made a settlement and provision for the Chaldean astronomers, and so obtained the name of their founder, I cannot dispute it; we can only guess in these matters.

II. But many authors have imagined that Nineveh was not built by Ashur, but by Nimrod himself; and they interpret the eleventh verse of the tenth chapter of Genesis thus; *Out of that land,* he (i. e. Nimrod, before spoken of) *went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh, and the cities Rehoboth and Calah,* &c. The reasons they give for this opinion are, 1. They say, it does not seem likely that Moses should give any account of the settlement of one of the sons of Shem, under the head where he is discoursing of Ham's family; when we see he reserves a distinct head for each family, and afterwards mentions Ashur in his place, ver. 22. 2. Ashur, the son of Shem (says Sir W. Raleigh,) did not build Nineveh, but settled in another place. He built Ur of the Chaldees, where the children of Shem settled, until the removal of Abraham out of that country. That Ashur built Ur of the Chaldees, he collects from Isaiah,[5] *Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people was not until Ashur founded it for the inhabitants of the wilderness.* 3. They say, if Ashur was the founder of Nineveh, what became of him? It is strange the founder of so great an empire should be but once mentioned, and that by the bye; and that we should have no further accounts of him. But to all this it may be answered, 1. Moses is not so exactly methodical, but that upon mentioning Nimrod and his people, he may be conceived to hint at a colony that departed from under his government, though it

[4] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 17. It must be confessed that the ancient writers have very much confounded these ancient names with one another; as Belus seems by this passage to be Ham; so we shall find from another passage which I have cited in its place, that Phut, one of the sons of Ham, was probably called by this name; and, perhaps, the words Chronus and Belus were both, like Pharaoh, a name, or title, given to several kings.

[5] Isaiah xxiii, 13.

happened to be led by a person of another family. 2. If Ur of the Chaldees was indeed built by Ashur, as is conjectured from the passage of Isaiah before mentioned; that is in no wise inconsistent with Ashur's going into Assyria, but rather agreeable to it; for Ur was not situate where Sir Walter Raleigh imagines, but in Mesopotamia, probably near the Tigris; and might therefore be built by the Assyrian, who bordered upon it. That Ur was in Mesopotamia is evident from St. Stephen's supposing Abraham to dwell in Mesopotamia, before he went to Haran;[6] whereas he removed from this Ur of the Chaldees, or, as the same St. Stephen expresses it, from the land of the Chaldeans, directly to Haran.[7] 3. As to the silence of history about Assur, neither Nineveh, nor the kingdom of Assyria, were raised to any remarkable grandeur under Assur the first founder of it. The glory of Nineveh, and the increase of the empire was the work of after kings. Assur only planted a few people in that country, and took care to have habitations for them; however the country was, in succeeding ages, called by his name, which is in reality a greater mention of him, than we have of several other planters, who made perhaps more considerable plantations than Assur did. 4. But, it is probable that Assur built Nineveh, from the conquest of Babylonia by the Assyrians under Ninus. If Nimrod had built Nineveh, and planted Assyria, Babylon and Assyria would have been only one empire; and it would be an inconsistence to talk of a succeeding king of one of them conquering the other. That the Assyrian conquered the Babylonians is very particularly recorded by Diodorus;[8] and therefore, before Ninus united them, Babylonia and Assyria were two distinct kingdoms, and not the plantation of one and the same founder. 5. The land of Ashur, and the land of Nimrod, are mentioned as two distinct countries, Micah v, 6.

III. Another remarkable thing, in the transactions of this time, is the opposition which Ninus met at Bactria, and Semiramis after him, when she endeavoured to penetrate farther, and to conquer India. When Ninus had instructed his people for war, he overran the infant kingdoms of Asia, by his own force and power, with much ease, and without meeting any considerable opposition; but when he came to attempt Bactria, though with an army very probably strengthened and increased with supplies from the conquered nations; yet he met a power here equal to his own, and able to defend itself against repeated attacks made by him. Bactria is about a thousand miles from Shinaar, and India two or three hundred miles further. Now if we suppose that the whole race of mankind, Noah and all his children, were dispersed from Shinaar, how is it possible that any one plantation of them could, in so few ages, reach and plant these distant countries, and increase

[6] Acts vii, 2. [7] Ver. 4. [8] Loc. sup. cit.

and multiply to a number able to defend themselves against the united force of so many companies of their brethren? I dare say, had Ninus extended his arms as far West, North, and South, as he did East, he would have found not powerful armies, or considerable nations, but uninhabited countries. At the separation of mankind, the only company who travelled this way from Shinaar, was Jocktan and his sons. We are told they lived from Mesha to Sephar. And if we consider them, we must suppose them a younger branch, and their numbers not so great as those of some other planters, born a descent or two before them. But if we should allow them to be as potent as any other single people in the then world, able to defend themselves against the Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes, or any other particular society of their brethren; yet how is it possible that they should travel to such distant habitations, and settle themselves into a firm and well ordered government, and to be able to bring into the field sufficient forces to repel the attacks of Medes, Persians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and most of the other colonies united together. The fact therefore here related confirms to me the settlement we before allotted to Noah at his coming out of the ark. Bactria and India are not very far from the Ararat we mentioned; and if so, it is easy to say how the inhabitants of Shinaar might meet here as numerous and as potent armies as their own. Noah, and those who remained with him, were settled sooner than the travellers to Shinaar; and their descendants, without doubt, were as many, as wise, as well instructed in all arts, if not better; as potent in arms, and every way as well prepared to support and maintain their kingdoms. This therefore, I think, is the reason why Ninus and Semiramis so easily overran the kingdoms of Asia, but met so considerable an opposition at Bactria and India. Amongst the former they found only the young and inexperienced states, that arose from the divided travellers to Shinaar; but when they came to Bactria and India, they had to engage with nations who were as soon, or sooner settled than themselves, descended from their great ancestor Noah, and those who continued with him, and had been growing and increasing as much as they, from the time that their fathers had left their first seats, to travel to Shinaar.

IV. Justin[9] mentions some wars between Sesostris king of Egypt and Tanais king of Scythia, which, he says, were long before Ninus, and prior to all dates and computations of time. It is something difficult to guess when these wars happened. Some writers think that Justin made a mistake, and supposed these wars so early, when in truth they did not happen until many ages after. Tanais and Sesostris are modern names; in these I do not question but he was mistaken; there were

[9] Lib. i, c. 1.

no such kings before Ninus. Eusebius takes notice,[1] from Abydenus, that much about the time of, or soon after the confusion of tongues, there broke out a war between Chronus and Titan; and it is most probable that the Chronus here spoken of was Mizraim, the first king of Egypt. If so, Titan probably was Nimrod, and the wars here hinted at were skirmishes that might happen upon Nimrod's attempting to drive Mizraim, and all others who would not come into his society, from Babel, the place where he erected his kingdom. These wars may justly be supposed a great while before Ninus, about two hundred years at least. That Chronus was Mizraim, may be hence conjectured; Eupolemus[2] makes Chronus to be one of the names of Ham; for he records the person so named to be the father of the same children, whom Moses affirms to be the sons of Ham, namely, of Belus, of Canaan, of Cous, and of Mestraim. Canaan and Mestraim are evidently the same with two of Ham's sons mentioned by Moses; and Cous may easily be supposed to be Cush, and then Belus must be Phut. Chronus therefore was Ham, and these were his sons; but then it is remarkable, that one of Ham's children was also called Chronus; and this second Chronus was the Mizraim of whom we are speaking. That Chronus, or Ham, had a son also called Chronus, we are informed by Eusebius;[3] and the same author assures us, that this Chronus was Mizraim, by informing us, that he left his kingdom of Egypt to Taautus,[4] whom all writers acknowledge to be the son of Menes, or Mizraim, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom. This induces me to imagine that the wars ascribed by Justin to Tanais and Sesostris, were some skirmishes which might happen between Nimrod and Mizraim. Other writers besides Abydenus have mentioned these wars; we have some hints of them both in Plutarch[5] and Diodorus,[6] but with a small change of the names of the warriors. According to them, these wars happened between Typhon and Osiris; but Typhon and Titan may be easily conceived, by the accounts the Greeks give of them, to be the same person; and there is good reason to think Osiris the same person with Mizraim; if we consider the name,[7] and what is affirmed of him.[8] Plutarch, in his account of these wars, gives us some things historically false, and others fabulous; but that is no wonder. The Greeks have been observed to augment all the ancient stories, which they brought from Egypt with various additions. His account, that Typhon had the aid of Aso, a famous queen of Æthiopia,[9] against Osiris,

[1] In Chron. and in Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 14.
[2] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 17. [3] Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 37.
[4] Id. ibid. p. 25. [5] Lib. de Isid. and Osirid. [6] Hist. lib. i.
[7] Mizraim in the singular number is Misor; and Osiris is often written Isiris, or Isor.
[8] Isiris is affirmed to be the brother of Cuan, which was the ancient pronunciation of כנען or Canaan. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 10, p. 25. Moses makes Mizraim the brother of Canaan. [9] Æthiopia is the land of Cush.

seems as if these wars had been imagined to have been carried on in the times of Semiramis; but Mizraim died before Belus, the second king of Assyria. Upon the whole, all we can offer about these wars must be imperfect and uncertain. We can only pretend to show, that the best accounts of them do not contradict, but rather agree with the history of these times. Mizraim and his sons were in after ages worshipped as gods in Egypt; and the story of this war of Titan,[1] or Typhon against them, gave occasion to the Greek fables about the war of the giants with the gods. But to return to our history.

Whilst Nimrod was settling his people at Babel, Mizraim, with those who adhered to him, took his way towards Egypt, and arrived there, it is thought, about the fifteenth year of Nimrod, A. M. 1772. He seated himself near the entrance of Egypt, and perhaps built the city Zoan, which Bochart proves to have been the seat of the kings of Egypt in the first ages. The time of Mizraim's settling in Egypt, fifteen years later than Nimrod at Shinaar, is very probable. From Shinaar to the entrance of Egypt is near seven hundred miles, and we cannot suppose that he went directly thither. Hebron in Canaan was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,[2] and it seems by its situation to have stood in the midway between Shinaar and Egypt. Whether Mizraim was at the building of Hebron we cannot say: he very probably made many stops in several places; for we cannot think that he knew any thing of Egypt at his first setting out, but he travelled in search of a country where he should like to settle; and after many journeys, and, perhaps, some short abodes in several places, where some inconveniences or other dissuaded him from settling, at length he came to the banks of the Nile. Here he found a plentiful and well-watered country, and therefore here he determined to fix, and move no further; and he may well be supposed to have spent fifteen years in travelling thus far in this manner.

The person whom Moses calls Mizraim is by Diodorus and the other heathen writers commonly called Menes, by Syncellus Mestraim. Menes is supposed to be the first king of Egypt, by Herodotus,[3] Diodorus,[4] Eratosthenes, Africanus from Manetho, Eusebius, and Syncellus;[5] and the times of their Menes coincides very well with those of the Mizraim of Moses, as Sir John Marsham has pretty clearly evidenced in the following manner.[6]

1. He observes from Diodorus,[7] that Menes was succeeded by fifty-two kings, whose reigns, all together, took up the space of above one thousand four hundred years; in all which time the Egyptians had done nothing worth recording in his-

[1] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 10, p. 25.
[2] Numb. xiii, 22.
[3] Lib. ii, sect. 4.
[4] Lib. i, p. 14.
[5] In Chron. Euseb. p. 29.
[6] Can. Chron. p. 22.
[7] Lib. i, p. 29.

tory. 2. He supposes these one thousand four hundred years to end at Sesostris; for Herodotus is express,[8] that the first illustrious actions were done in Egypt, in the time of Sesostris. Before Sesostris, says he,[9] they had nothing famous; and Diodorus says,[1] that Sesostris performed the most illustrious actions, far exceeding all before him. 3. He supposes with Josephus,[2] that this Sesostris was Sesac, who besieged Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam king of Judah, about A. M. 3033. The only difficulty in this argumentation will be, that it places Menes, or Mizraïm, above a century earlier than the true age; for if we reckon backward one thousand four hundred years, from the year before named, in which Sesac besieged Jerusalem, we shall place Mizraim A. M. 1633, *i. e.* twenty-three years before the Flood, and one hundred and thirty-nine years earlier than the true time of his reign, which began, as we before said, at least fifteen years later than that of Nimrod, A. M. 1772. But this difficulty may be easily cleared; the number, one thousand four hundred years is a mistake; Diodorus says expressly, that there were but fifty-two kings from Menes to the time when Sesostris is supposed to begin his reign: and according to Sir John Marsham's tables of the Theban kings, from Menes to Sesostris is but one thousand three hundred and seventy years; though we suppose Sesostris the fifty-fifth king from Menes; and even this number is too great, if, as Diodorus computes, there were only fifty-two kings. The ancients generally allowed about thirty-six years and a half to the reign of a king; therefore if we deduct from one thousand three hundred and seventy the number of years between Menes and Sesostris, according to Sir John Marsham's tables, I say, if we deduct three times thirty-six years and a half, or about one hundred and ten years, supposing those tables to have the names of three kings too many, the number of kings being, according to Diodorus, fifty-two and not fifty-five, we shall then make the space of time between Menes and Sesostris about one thousand two hundred and sixty years; and so it really is, according to the Hebrew chronology, Menes beginning his reign, as we said before, A. M. 1772; and Sesostris, or Sesac, besieging Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam, A. M. 3033. It is remarkable, that the marginal note in Rhodomannus's edition of Diodorus Siculus supposes the number one thousand four hundred years to be a mistake; but the annotator was not happy in his emendation; for if we should read, one thousand and forty, as he would correct it,

[8] Lib. ii, sect. 101.

[9] Sir John Marsham thus quotes Herodotus; but the words of Herodotus are, in loc. supr. cit. Των δε αλλων Βασιλεων, ὁ γαρ ελεγον ἐδεμιαν ἐργων ἀποδειξιν, κατ' ἐδεν εἰναι λαμπροτητος πλην ἑνος του ἐπι τοῦ ἐπιτατου αὐτων Μοιριος. Mœris was the immediate predecessor of Sesostris.

[1] Lib. i, p. 34.

[2] Antiq. lib. viii, c. 4, p. 368, edit. Huds.

that would fall as short of the true age of Menes, as the other exceeds it.

There is a quotation from Dicæarchus, the scholar of Aristotle, a more ancient historian than either Eratosthenes or Manetho; and a writer of the best character with the learned,[3] which may also determine the age of Menes. The passage is preserved by the scholiast upon the Argonautics of Apollonius. Dicæarchus there affirms, that the reign of Nilus was four hundred and thirty-six years before the first Olympiad.[4] Now, according to archbishop Usher, the first Olympiad began A. M. 3228; the reign of Nilus therefore began A. M. 2792. And by the canon of Eratosthenes, Nilus was the thirty-sixth king from Menes, or Mizraim, and Mizraim's reign began nine hundred and eighty-seven years before Nilus, and consequently began A. M. 1805. The difference between this and the first year of Menes, according to the other computation, is but thirty-three-years; we cannot say which of them, or whether either of them, be the exact truth, but their agreeing so nearly is an evidence that neither of them vary much from it.

Menes, though he at first seated himself in the land of Zoan, at the entrance of Egypt, yet did not settle here for life. He afterwards removed further into the country, into the parts afterwards called Thebais, and built the city of Thebes; he is also said by Herodotus to have built the city of Memphis;[5] and by Plato[6] he is said to have reigned king over all Egypt. His removal into the south parts of Egypt, namely the country of Thebais, is particularly noticed by Eusebius;[7] and the time of this his migration is fixed by Apollodorus,[8] and said to be one hundred and twenty-four years after the dispersion of mankind, *i. e.* A. M. 1881. Menes is supposed to have lived sixty-two years after his planting Thebais, and so to have died A. M. 1943. Menes cannot be supposed to have been born much earlier than Arphaxad, *i. e.* not before two years after the Flood; at the dispersion of mankind, therefore, he could be but ninety-nine; at his entrance into Egypt but fifteen years older, *i. e.* one hundred and fourteen: at his removal to Thebais, one hundred and twenty-four years; after the dispersion of mankind, he might be two hundred and thirty-eight; and if he reigned sixty-two years after this, he died in the three hundredth year of his age. We find that Arphaxad his contemporary, descendant of Shem, lived to be four hundred and thirty-eight. So might

[3] Marsham Can. Chronic.
[4] Lib. iv, ver. 272.
[5] Herod. l. ii, sec. 99.
[6] In Phædro. p. 1240. Plato calls him Timaus.
[7] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, p. 39. Eusebius calls him Κρονος: but it is observed, that Κρονος, the father of Taautus, was the son of Κρονος, or Ham, for so was Mizraim; and thus he is recorded to have been by Eusebius, p. 37.
[8] In Euseb. Chron. p. 18.

Mizraim have been, but the ancients were of opinion that he was killed.

Diodorus Siculus informs us, that he was killed by Typhon.[9] The Egyptian[1] records give the account of his death more obscurely; they say Υπο Ιπποποταμω ηρπασθη, *that he was pulled in pieces by the crocodile.* Eusebius[2] explains this by observing, that the Egyptians, when these facts afterwards came to be turned into fable and allegory, represented Typhon by the figure of a crocodile. Plutarch[3] informs us, that there was such a representation of Typhon at Hermopolis; and Ælian remarks,[4] that the reason for the aversion which the inhabitants of Apollinopolis had to a crocodile, arose from a tradition that Typhon was turned into a creature of that shape.

As Mizraim came afterwards to be worshipped, so his death was commemorated with great solemnity; and Sir John Marsham[5] was of opinion, that the ceremony of the women sitting at the north gate of the temple,[6] weeping for Tammuz, was an imitation of some Egyptian rites on this occasion.

After the death of Mizraim, each of his seven sons governed a little kingdom; and these I take to be the Cabiri of the ancients. There were seven of the Cabiri, sons of one person called Sydec;[7] and there was an eighth person, added to them, concerning whose name they differed a little; some of them, according to Eusebius, calling him Æsculapius; others, according to Damascius, in his life of Isidore in Photius,[8] naming him Esmunus. It is impossible to reduce the numerous, but fabulous, stories we have of these Cabiri, to any tolerable consistency; for they were all the inventions of later ages, and when the fabulous accounts of later ages were intermixed with the ancient traditions, it often happened, as it is observed in Eusebius,[9] that the truth was very much obscured by them. Diodorus Siculus very justly observes,[1] that the Greeks worshipped for their gods some heroes and great men, who had formerly been famous in Egypt, whose lives at first, or at least short memoirs of them, had been written in a plain and simple manner; but after-writers[2] embellished the accounts given of them, by adding to them various fictions. Of this sort I take to be the accounts we have of Chronus building[3] Byblus and Berytus, and of the Cabiri dwelling there. This story looks like an invention of Philo, to do honour to his own country, or to raise the reputation of Sanchoniathon's writings. Mizraim and his sons settled in, or near to Egypt; and it does not seem probable that they built cities in Phœnicia, or could travel all over the world, as Diodorus Siculus re-

9 Lib. i, p. 56.
2 Præp. Evang. lib. iii, c. 12.
4 Var. Hist. l. xiv, c. 26.
6 Ezek. viii, 14.
8 Bibliothec. p. 1074
1 Euseb. Chronic. Syncellus, p. 54.
3 Lib. de Iside and Osiride, p. 371.
5 Can. Chronic. p. 31.
7 Euseb. Præp. Evang. c. x, p. 39.
9 Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 9, and 10.

1 Lib. i, p. 14. 2 Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 10, p. 39. 3 Ibid. p. 38

lates. They travelled from Shinaar to Egypt, and up and down Egypt, and backwards and forwards in the countries near it; as Abraham did afterwards up and down Mesopotamia, Canaan, and Egypt. This was enough to give a handle to writers to represent them in after-ages as travelling from one end of the earth to the other. Taautus, one of the Cabiri, is said to have made representations of the deities;[4] but this story confutes itself. Such representations could not be made until the mythologic times, *i. e.* not till many years after Thyoth or Taautus was dead and buried. The word Cabiri, according to the explanation given of it by Varro[5] and Macrobius,[6] signifies powerful deities; and such the idolatrous nations thought their ancient heroes, when they came to worship them. The Cabiri were, as I observed, eight in number; seven, sons of one man; and so many, according to Moses, were the sons of Mizraim. The eighth person added to them might be the father of the Philistines whom Moses mentions[7] with the sons of Mizraim.

Three of the sons of Mizraim became kings in Egypt, Ananim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim. Ananim, or rather Anan, was king of the Lower Egypt, or Delta; Naphtuhim, or Napth, of the parts near and about Memphis; Pathrusim, or Pathrus, of the country of Thebais. Agreeably hereto, the countries of which they were kings took their ancient names from these men; Lower Egypt was called Zoan, or Zanan, or more properly Tanan, according to the Latin word in Argo Taneos;[8] the kingdom of Memphis was called the land of Noph, or Naph;[9] and the kingdom of Thebais, the land of Pathrus, or Pathros.[1]

Ananim was also called Curudes. We have little of this first king of Lower Egypt, except his name and term of life; according to Syncellus, he reigned sixty-three years, and so died A. M. 2006.

Naphtuhim was the king of Naph, or land of Memphis; his Egyptian name was Tosorthrus, and the Latins afterwards called him Æsculapius. He was of greater eminence than his brother Ananim; but not so famous as his other brother, who was king of Thebes. Pathrusim is supposed to have first invented the use of letters; but Naphtuhim is said[2] to have learned both them and several other useful arts from him, and to have instructed his people in them. He is said to have been the author of the architecture of these ages,[3] and to have

[4] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 10, p. 39.
[5] Varro. l. iv.
[6] Saturnal. l. iii, c. 4.
[7] Gen. x, 14.
[8] Psalm lxxviii, 12, and 43; Isaiah xix, 11, and 13, chap. xxx, 4.
[9] Isaiah xix, 13; Jer. ii, 16, chap. xliv, ver. 1, chap. xlvi. ver. 14, ibid. 19; Ezek. xxx, 13, 16.
[1] Jer. xliv, 1.
[2] Syncell. p. 56. Γραφης επεμελησθη. Id quidem non de illarum inventione intelligi debet, sed de curâ secundariâ, operâque ex præcepto Mercurii navatâ. Marsham Can. Chron. p. 40.
[3] Syncell. ibid.

had some useful knowledge in physic and anatomy.[4] The Egyptians,[5] indeed, generally ascribe all their sciences to the other brother, but it is easy to conceive how this might happen. Pathrusim, whom they called Tyoth, was a person so extraordinary, that it might be difficult for any other name beside his to obtain any considerable share of reputation in that age. Letters, indeed, are said to have come into use in these days, and men began to minute down in characters upon pieces of stone, or lumps of burnt earth, some hints of things, in order to transmit them to future ages; but as few persons only were skilled in this art, and indeed the names of the inventors of arts were very few, it is probable their names were not always recorded with their inventions. The age they lived in knew them and honoured them, and tradition preserved their characters for some generations; but tradition becomes in time a very uncertain register of past transactions, and so it happened in this case: what was recorded was handed down to posterity; but after ages grew more and more uncertain respecting the authors of what was transmitted to them; and men ascribed things more or less to particular persons, according as they had their names in honour and esteem. The most ancient fragments of the Egyptian learning[6] were some inscriptions upon lumps of burnt earth, called στηλαι, or pillars; and these were, some ages after these times, found hid in some caves near Thebes, or Diospolis.[7] Agathodæmon, called the second Mercury, decyphered them. They were two and forty in number;[8] six and thirty being written upon philosophical subjects, *i. e.* upon the origin of the world, and history of mankind, which was the philosophy of these times; and the other six related to medicine. It is probable none of these pillars had any author's name set on them, and the humour then being to ascribe all sciences to Tyoth, the decypherer might take them all for his; whereas six and thirty of them only might be Tyoth's, and the other six Tosorthrus's, who is said to have been more skilful than other men upon this subject. How long Tosorthrus lived is uncertain.

Pathrusim was king of Thebais, his Egyptian name was Tyoth, or, according to the Alexandrian dialect, Thoth. He was called Athothes. His Greek name was Hermes; and afterwards the Latins named him Mercurius. He is said to have been a person of a very happy genius, for all inventions of common use and service to mankind.[9] And while Mizraim was alive,[1] he is supposed to have been his secretary, and great assistant in all his undertakings; and when his father Mizraim died, he is said to have instructed his brothers in the arts and

[4] Syncell. p. 54.
[5] Jamblich. de Myster. Ægypt.
[6] Syncell. p. 40.
[7] Pausan. l. i, p 78.
[8] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi, sec. 4, p. 758.
[9] Diodor. l. i, p. 10.
[1] Euseb. Præp. Evang. c. x, p. 36; Diodor. ut supr.

sciences of which he was master. Eusebius relates,[2] that Mizraim (whom he mentions by the name of Chronus) when he died, left his kingdom wholly to this Tyoth, or Taautus, and so perhaps he might; and Taautus having instructed his brothers, might send each of them out to plant a nation. He made laws; enriched his language, by teaching his people names for many things, for which they had no words before; and he corrected and made the language more expressive than had been used amongst them. He is said to have settled their religion, and method of worship; to have made some astronomical observations, and to have taught the use of letters. His success in these and other attempts was so great, and obtained him so much honour, that posterity thought him the sole author of all their arts and sciences whatsoever. This is the best account which can be given of the nations, that inhabited Egypt in the ages next after the dispersion of mankind.

There is no doubt but other nations were settled in these times, though we have not any hints of their history. It is certain that Canaan was inhabited even sooner than Egypt; for, according to Moses,[3] Hebron in Canaan was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt; and it is generally thought that about the fifteenth year of Belus, *i. e.* one hundred and sixty-five years after the first year of Nimrod's kingdom, and one hundred and fifty years after Mizraim's settlement in Egypt, A. M. 1922,[4] Egialeus began a kingdom at Sicyon, in Greece; so that mankind was before this time dispersed over a considerable part of the world. But it does not appear that any of these nations made a great figure in the first ages. The few men of extraordinary eminence, who were then in the world, lived in Egypt and Assyria. For this reason we find little or no mention of any other countries, until one of these two nations came to send out colonies, by whom the people they travelled to were by degrees polished and instructed in arts and sciences, made to appear with credit in their own age, and some accounts of them transmitted to those who should come after. As Assyria has the credit of the first attempts in astronomy, so some authors imagine that letters were first invented in Egypt. There are other writers who ascribe them to other nations. The use of letters was certainly very early, otherwise we could not have had the short memoirs we have of the first ages of the world; and though the learned have not agreed about the first author of them, and the place where they were invented, yet it is remarkable, that, by a review of what has been written about them, we may trace them backward from nation to nation, as we have reason to think the use and knowledge of them has been propagated, and find them most early used in those parts from whence mankind dispersed at the confusion of tongues.

[2] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i, p. 39.
[3] Numb. xiii, 22.
[4] Euseb. Chron. p. 19.

For, to begin with the Europeans. As we are settled far from the first seats of mankind, far from the places which the descendants of Noah first planted; so the use of letters appears to have been in the world much earlier than mankind can be reasonably supposed to have inhabited these countries. It is remarkably evident, that many of the European nations came to the knowledge of letters in late ages. Ælian[5] makes particular mention of the ignorance of the Thracians, which was so great and universal, that he quotes Androtion, affirming, that many of the ancients rejected the accounts they had of Orpheus, thinking them to be fabulous, because he was a Thracian, which they thought argument sufficient to prove him illiterate. None of the ancient Thracians, says he, knew any thing of letters; nay, the Europeans thought it disreputable to learn them, though in Asia they were more in request. The Goths had their letters and writings from Ulphila, who was their bishop, so late as three hundred and seventy years after our Saviour, according to the express testimony of Socrates.[6] So that the opinion of Olaus, concerning the antiquity of their letters, is very groundless. The Slavonians received their letters from Methodius,[7] a philosopher, about the time of the emperor Lewis II, successor to Lotharius, *i. e.* about 856; and it is but a fiction, that the ancient Franks,[8] who set up Pharamond, the first king of France, had letters like the old Greeks,[9] as Cornelius Agrippa imagined. St. Jerome[1] translated the Bible into the Dalmatian tongue, in letters something like the Greek ones; and taught the people of that country how to read it. St. Cyril did the same for the Illyrici; and the people of these countries have books written in these letters, and call them after the names[2] of St. Jerome and St. Cyril to this day. The Greeks were certainly the only people of Europe who had the use of letters very early. Let us now see how they came by their knowledge of them.

As to the Latins, all writers agree, that they received their letters from the Greeks, being first taught the use of them by some of the followers of Pelasgus, who came into Italy about one hundred and fifty years after Cadmus came into Greece; or by the Arcadians, whom Evander led into these parts about sixty years after Pelasgus. Pliny and Solinus imagined that the Pelasgi[3] were the first authors of the Latin letters; but Tacitus was of opinion that the first Italians[4] were taught letters by the Arcadians; and Dionysius Halicarnasseus[5] expressly affirms the same thing. In this point, indeed, there is a difference among writers; still the Pelasgi and Arcadians

[5] Var. Hist. l. viii, c. 6.
[6] Soc. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv, c. 33.
[7] Aventin. Annal. lib. iv.
[8] Vossius de Arte Gram. lib. i, c. 9.
[9] Corn. Agrip. de vanit. Scientiar. lib. i, c. 11. Walton Prolegom. ii, sec. 13.
[1] Id. ibid. [2] Id. ibid. [3] Plin. lib. vii, c. 56.
[4] Lib. xi, sec. 14. [5] Dion. Halicar. lib. ii.

being both of them Grecian colonies who removed to seek new habitations, it remains, uncontroverted, that the Latins received their letters from the Greeks, whichsoever of these were the authors of them. The Pelasgi probably might first introduce the use of them; and the Arcadians, who came soon after them, might bring with them the same arts as the Pelasgi had before taught, and letters in particular; and some parts of Italy might be instructed by one, and some by the other; and this is exactly agreeable to Pliny.[6] That the Latin letters were derived from the Greek seems very probable, from the similitude the ancient letters of each nation bear to one another. Tacitus[7] observes that the shape of the Latin letters was like that of the most ancient Greek ones; and the same observation was made by Pliny,[8] and confirmed from an ancient table of brass inscribed to Minerva. Scaliger[9] has endeavoured to prove the same point, from an inscription on a pillar which stood formerly in the Via Appia to Old Rome, and was afterwards removed into the gardens of Farnese. Vossius is of the same opinion, and has shown[1] at large how the old Latin letters were formed from the ancient Greek, with a very small variation.

Let us now come to the Greeks, who confess that they were taught their letters. The Ionians[2] were the first who had knowledge of them, and they learned them from the Phœnicians. The Ionians did not form their letters exactly according to the Phœnician alphabet; yet they varied them but little, and were so just as to acknowledge whence they received them, by always calling their letters Phœnician. And the followers of Cadmus[3] are supposed to be the persons who taught the Ionians the first use of their letters. This is the substance of what is most probable about the origin of the Greek letters. There are, indeed, other opinions of writers to be met with; for some have imagined that Palamedes was the author of the Greek letters, others Linus, and others Simonides: but these persons were not the first authors but only the improvers of the Greek alphabet. The long vowels η and ω were the invention of Simonides; for at first ε and o were used promiscuously, as long or short vowels; ϕ, χ, and θ, were letters added to the alphabet by Palamedes; and ξ and ψ, though we are not certain who was the author of them, did not belong to the original alphabet. Yet still, though these letters were the inventions of Palamedes, Linus, or Simonides, they cannot be said to be the authors of the Greek letters

[6] Lib. vii, c. 56.
[7] Tacit. Annal. lib. xi, sec. 14.
[8] Lib. vii, c. 58.
[9] Digress. ad Annum Euseb. 1617.
[1] Voss. lib. i, c. 11, 12, &c.
[2] Herod. in Terpsichor.
[3] See Plut. Sympos. lib. ix, prob. 2; Philostrat. lib. ii, de vit. Sophist. Critias apud Athenæum, lib. i, c. 23; Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i; Voss. de art. Gram. lib. i, c. 10; Scaliger in Not. ad Euseb. 1617; Grot. in Not. ad lib. de veritat. Rel. lib. i, sec. 15, n; Bochart. Geog. Sacrâ, lib. i, c. 15.

in general, because the Greeks had an alphabet of letters before these particular ones came into use; as might be shown from several testimonies of ancient writers, and some specimens of ancient inscriptions, several copies of which have been taken by the curious.

Vossius[4] was of opinion that Cecrops was the first author of the Greek letters; and it must be confessed that he has given some, not improbable reasons for his conjecture. Cecrops was an Egyptian, much older than Cadmus, and was remarkable for understanding both the Egyptian and Greek tongues; but the arguments for Cadmus are more in number, and more conclusive than for Cecrops. If Cecrops did teach the Greeks any letters, the characters he taught are entirely lost; for the most ancient Greek letters of which we have any specimen were brought into Greece by Cadmus or his followers. Herodotus[5] expressly affirms that he himself had seen the very oldest inscriptions in Greece; and that they were written in the letters which the Ionians first used, and learned from Cadmus, or the Phœnicians. The inscriptions he speaks of were upon the tripods at Thebes in Bœotia, in the temple of Apollo. There were three of these tripods: the first of them was given to the temple by Amphitrion, the descendant of Cadmus; the second by Laius, the son of Hippocoon; the third by Laodamas, the son of Eteocles. Scaliger[6] has given a copy of these inscriptions, as he says, in the old Ionian letters; but I doubt he is in this point mistaken, as he is also in another piece[7] of antiquity which he has copied; namely, the inscription on Herod's pillar, which stood formerly in the Via Appia, but was afterwards removed into the gardens of Farnese. The letters on this pillar do not seem to be the old Ionian, as may be seen by comparing them with Chishull's Sigean inscription; or with the letters on the pedestal of the colossus at Delos, of which Montfaucon gives a copy; but they are either (as Dr. Chishull imagines) such an imitation of the Ionian, as Herod, a good antiquary, knew how to make; or they are the character to which the Ionian letters were in a little time changed, for they do not differ very much from them. But, to return; It is, I say, agreed by the best writers, that the Greeks received their letters from the Phœnicians; and that the ancient Ionian letters were the first in use amongst them. And thus we have traced letters into Phœnicia. We have now to inquire whether the Phœnicians were the inventors of them, or whether they received them from some other nation.

We must confess that many writers have supposed the Phœnicians to be the inventors of letters. Pliny[8] and Cur-

[4] Loc. supr. cit.
[5] Loc. supr. cit.
[6] Digress. ad ann. Euseb. 1617.
[7] Ad Num. Euseb. 1702.
[8] Plin. lib. v, c. 12, et lib. vii, c. 56.

tius[9] both hint this opinion; and agreeable hereto are the words of the poet,[1]

> Phœnices primi, famæ si credimus, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

And Cretias:[2]

> Φοινικες δ' ευρον γραμματ αλεξιλογα.

And so Hesychius makes εκφοινιξαι and αναγνωσαι, to act the Phœnician, and to read, to be synonymous terms. But other authors with better reason are of another opinion. Diodorus[3] says expressly, that the Syrians were the inventors of letters; and that the Phœnicians learned them from them, and afterwards sailed with Cadmus into Europe, and taught them to the Greeks. Eusebius assents to this,[4] and thinks the Syrians, who first invented letters, were the Hebrews; though this is not certain. It is indeed true,[5] that the ancient Hebrews had the same tongue and characters, or letters with the Canaanites or Phœnicians, as might be evidenced from the concurrent testimonies of many authors; nay, all the nations in these parts, Phœnicians, Canaanites, Samaritans, and probably the Assyrians, for some ages, spake and wrote alike.

Athanasius Kircher[6] imagined that the Phœnicians learned their letters from the Egyptians; and endeavoured to prove that the first letters, which Cadmus brought into Greece, were Egyptian. He decribes the figures of these Cadmean letters, and endeavours to prove, that they were the very same which were used at that time in Egypt; but his arguments for this opinion are not conclusive. The letters he produces are the present Coptic, and the very names and figures of them evidently show it; not that the Greek letters were derived from them, but rather that the Egyptians learned them from the ancient Greeks. "I believe," says Bishop Walton, "whoever shall read the Coptic books, will find such a mixture of Greek words in them, that he cannot doubt but Ptolemy, after his conquests in Greece, brought their letters, and much of their language into Egypt." Kircher endeavours to show by their form and shape, that the Greek letters were formed from the Egyptian description of their sacred animals; which he thinks were the letters which the Egyptians at first used in their common writing, as well as in their hieroglyphical mysteries. These letters, he says, Cadmus communicated to the Greeks, with only this difference, that he did not take care to keep up to the precise form of them, but made them in a looser manner.

[9] Lib. iv, sec. 4.
[1] Lucan. Pharsal. l. iii.
[2] Apud Athenæum, lib. i.
[3] Lib. v.
[4] Præp. Evang. lib. x.
[5] Lucian. Chæril. de Solymis. Scal. Digress. ad Ann. Euseb. 1617.
[6] Œdip. Egypt. tom. iii, diatr. prælusor. 3.

He pretends to confirm his opinion from Herodotus; and lastly affirms from St. Jerome, that Cadmus, and his brother Phœnix, were Egyptians; that Phœnix, in their travels from Egypt, stayed at Phœnicia, which took its name from him; that Cadmus went into Greece, but could not possibly teach the Grecians any other letters, than what himself had learned when he lived in Egypt. But to all this there are many objections. 1. The hieroglyphical writing was not the most ancient way of writing in Egypt, nor that which Cadmus taught the Greeks. 2. Herodotus, in the passage cited[7], does not affirm that Cadmus brought Egyptian letters into Greece, but expressly calls them Phœnician letters; and, as we said before, the Phœnician letters were the same as the Hebrew, Canaanitish, or Syrian, as Scaliger, Vossius, and Bochart have proved beyond contradiction. 3. St. Jerome does not say whether Cadmus's letters were Phœnician or Egyptian, so that his authority is of no service in the point before us; and as to Cadmus and Phœnix's being Egyptians, that is much questioned; it is more probable they were Canaanites, as shall be proved hereafter.

Many considerable writers have given the Egyptians the credit of inventing letters; and they all agree that Mercury or Thyoth was the inventor of them. Pliny,[8] in the very place where he says that some ascribed the invention of letters to the Syrians, confesses that others thought the Egyptians the inventors of them, and Mercury their first author. Diodorus[9] expressly ascribes the invention of them to the same person; and so does Plutarah,[1] and Cicero.[2] Tertullian[3] adopted the same opinion; and we also find it in Plato. Kircher[4] describes the shape of the very letters which this Thyoth invented. And Philo-Biblius, the translator of Sanchoniathon's history, quoted by Eusebius and Porphyry, mentions the Commentaries of Taautus, or Thyoth, and the sacred letters in which he wrote his books; and Jamblichus[5] speaks of an incredible number of books by this Taautus.[6] All antiquity agrees, that the use of letters was very early in Egypt; and that Thyoth or Mercury was the first who used them there, and taught others the use of them; but though he is by many writers, for this reason, called the inventor of letters, yet I cannot think that he really was so; considering that mankind was not planted first in Egypt after the Flood, but travelled thither from other countries. We have already shewn that the use of letters was in Greece first, then in Italy, and afterwards spread into other

[7] In Terpsich. Φοινικα τα Καδμα γραμματα.
[8] Hist. l. vii, c. 56.
[9] Diodor. l. i, sec. 16, p. 10.
[1] Sympos. l. ix, c. 3.
[2] Lib. de Natur. Deorum, iii, sec. 22.
[3] Lib. de coronâ Militis. c. 8; et de Testim. Animæ, c. 5.
[4] Œdip. Ægypt. tom. iii, 2.
[5] Lib. de Mysteriis, cap. Deo atque Diis.
[6] By the books of Taautus, I suppose are meant pillars, or lumps of earth with inscriptions on them, books not being invented in these early ages.

parts of Europe. We have also considered how they came into Greece, namely, from Phœnicia: and they were most probably introduced into Phœnicia from Syria; and the Syrians, Canaanites, and Assyrians, used originally the same letters. So that in all probability they were introduced into all these nations from one to another, and were earliest at the place where mankind separated at the confusion of tongues; and from this place it is also likely they were propagated into Egypt and into all other countries into which any companies dispersed from Shinaar.

I always thought letters to be of an Assyrian original, said Pliny;[7] and this was his opinion after duly considering what all other writers had offered about them. It is highly reasonable to think that all arts and sciences flourished here as much earlier than in other parts, as the inhabitants of these parts were settled sooner than those who went from them. We have a sufficient account of the first kings, and of the ancient history of this part of the world, to induce us to believe that they began their annals very early. We are sure from the astronomical observations found at Babylon in the time of Alexander the Great, which were before mentioned, that they studied here, and recorded such observations as they made, very few years after the dispersion of mankind; a plain indication that they had at this time the use of letters; but we have no proofs that they had the use of them thus early in Egypt, or in any other of the nations derived from the dispersion of mankind. Taautus is by all writers held to be the first who used letters in Egypt; and if we suppose him to have used them before he came to be king, when he was secretary to his father Mizraim; yet still the use of them must be later in Egypt than in Assyria; for they were probably used in the astronomical records at Babylon, even before Mizraim entered Egypt. One thing is here remarkable, namely, that in these parts, where the early use of letters is so capable of being proved, there is no mention of any particular person's being the author of them; for the opinion of Suidas, who imagined Abraham to be the author of the Assyrian letters, like that of Eupolemus[8] and Isidorus,[9] who thought Moses the inventor of the Hebrew letters, and of the Egyptian, deserve no confutation. Letters were used in Assyria long before Abraham was born, and in Egypt, much longer before Moses; and the ancient Hebrew and Assyrian letters were the same. The true reason why we meet with no supposed author of the Assyrian letters is, I believe, this; antiquity agreed that letters were not invented in Assyria. Mankind had lived above one thousand six hundred years before the Flood; and it is not probable they lived without the use of letters; for if they had, how

[7] Hist. Nat. lib. vii, c. 56.
[8] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 26.
[9] Origines, lib. 1, c. 3.

should we have had the short annals which we have of the first world? If they had letters, it is likely that Noah was skilled in them, and taught them to his children.

In the early ages, when mankind were but few, and those few employed in all manner of contrivances for life, there could be but here and there one who had leisure or perhaps inclination to study letters; and yet it is probable that there were too many who understood them among the people who remained at Shinaar, to prevent any rumour of a single person's inventing them. The companies who removed from Shinaar into other parts of the world were but rude and uncultivated people, who followed some persons of figure and eminence, who had gained an ascendant over them; and hence it might come to pass, that when they had separated their people from the rest of mankind, and came to teach them those arts of which they were masters, all they taught them passed for inventions of their own, because they knew no other persons skilled in them. But at Shinaar there were several eminent persons who lived subjects to Nimrod, and who understood and were masters of the several arts and sciences which mankind enjoyed together, before some of the great and leading men made parties for themselves, and separated in order to disperse over the world. Therefore, though we here meet with a reported author, when any new science was invented, as Belus was supposed to be author of their astronomy; yet in the case of letters, in which there was nothing new, nothing but what several among them, who had gone from them were very well skilled in, there could arise no account of any one person being the author or inventor of them.

There is one consideration more which makes it very probable that the use of letters came from Noah, and out of the first world, and that is the account which the Chinese give of their letters. They assert that their first emperor, whom they call Fohi, was the inventor of them; before Fohi they have no records, and their Fohi and Noah were the same person. Noah came out of the ark in these parts of the world, and the letters used here were derived from him; and it happened here, as it afterwards did in other parts of the world, Noah being the sole instructor of his descendants, what he taught them was by after ages reported to be his own invention, though he himself had learned it from those who lived before him. Bishop Walton offers arguments to prove that the Chinese had not the earliest use of letters; but all his arguments arise from his supposing that the ark rested in Armenia, and that mankind lived in Assyria soon after the Flood, and before they came to China, which I have proved not likely to be true.

We can carry our inquiry into the origin of letters no higher. Pliny in one place hints that they have been supposed to be

eternal; but that opinion must[1] either be founded upon the erroneous notion of the world's being eternal, or can mean no more than that the first men invented them. Some of the rabbins ascribe them to Adam, and some to Abel; but they have nothing to offer that can be depended on. But surprisingly odd is the whim of some of the Jewish doctors, who affirm ten things to have been created on the evening of the first sabbath; namely, the rain-bow; the hole of the rock, out of which the water flowed; the pillar of the cloud and of fire, which afterwards went before the Israelites; the two tables on which the law was written; Aaron's rod; and letters: but this sort of trash needs no confutation,

> Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,
> Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.

If we consider the nature of letters, it must appear something strange, that an invention so surprising as that of writing should have been found out in ages so near the beginning of the world. Nature may easily be supposed to have prompted men to speak, to try to express their thoughts to one another by sounds and noises; but that the wit of man should, amongst its first attempts, find out a way to express words in figures, or letters; and to form a method, by which they might expose to view all that can be said or thought, and that within the compass of sixteen, or twenty, or four and twenty, characters, variously placed, so as to form syllables and words; I say, to think that any man could immediately and directly fall upon a project of this nature, exceeds the highest notion we can have of the capacity with which we are endued. We have great and extraordinary abilities of mind, and we experience that by steps and degrees we can advance our knowledge, and make almost all parts and creatures of the world of use and service to us; but still all these things are done by steps and degrees. A first attempt has never yet perfected any science or invention whatever. The mind of man began to exert itself as soon as ever it was set on thinking; and we find, the first men attempted many of the arts, which ages carried forwards to perfection; but they only attempted them, and attained no further than to leave imperfect essays to those who came after. The first men, though they had formed a language to be understood by, yet certainly never attained to an elegancy of speaking. Tubal Cain was the first artificer in brass work and iron; but without doubt his best performances were very ordinary, in comparison of what has been done by later artists. The arts of building, painting, carving, and many others, were attempted very early: but the first trials were only attempts; and men arrived at perfection by

[1] Pliny hints it only from the supposition of some very ancient persons having used them. Lib. vii, c. 56.

degrees. Time and experience led them on from one thing to another, until having tried many ways, as their different fancies at different times happened to lead them, they came to form better methods of executing what they aimed at, than they had at first thought of. And thus, without doubt, it has happened in the affair of letters, men did not at first hit upon a method extremely artificial, but began with something easy and plain, simple, and of no great contrivance, such as nature might very readily suggest.

And, if I may be allowed to make some conjectures upon this subject, it seems not very probable, that the first inventors of letters had any alphabet, or set number of letters, or any notion of describing a word by such letters as should spell, and thereby express the sound thereof. The first letters were, more likely, strokes, or dashes, by which the writers marked down, as their fancies led them, the things they had a mind to record; and one stroke, or dash, without any notion of expressing a sound or word by it, was the mark of a whole action, or perhaps of a sentence. When the first man began to speak, he had only, as I before hinted, to fix to himself, and to teach others to know by what particular sounds he had a mind to express the things which he had to speak of. In the same manner, whenever mankind formed the first thoughts of writing, he who formed them had only to determine by what particular marks he would express the things or actions he had a mind to mark down; and all this he might do, without having any notion of expressing a sound, or word, by the characters he made. We have amongst us, in frequent use, characters which are as significant as letters, and yet have no tendency to express this or that particular sound; for instance, our numeral letters, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c., express, as clearly as the words themselves could do, the numbers intended by them, and they no more spell one, two, three, four, five, than they do *unum*, *duo*, *tria*, *quatuor;* or, the Greek words for them εν, δυο, τρια, τεσσαρα, &c. Our astronomical characters are of the same sort, ☉, ☽, ☿, ♀, ♁, ♂, ♃ ; with many others which might be named, and are at sight intelligible to persons of different nations, and who would read them into words of different sounds, as each of their languages would direct. Such as these probably were the letters of the first men ; they had no notion of spelling, and expressing the sound of words, but made a few marks to be the signs of the things which they had a mind to write down, and which might be easily understood by those who made them, and by as many others as would take the pains to learn their character. This is what nature would directly lead to, in the first attempts of writing. There could be no notion of spelling, nor any thought of a set number of letters; for men could hardly have a thought of these, until language came to be considerably improved; until they had viewed on all sides the nature of their words,

and found out how many sorts of sounds were required to express them. If we look amongst the ignorant persons, who are now in the world, we may see enough to show us what the first attempts of nature would be, and what is owing to improvement. There are many persons in the world, who, not having been taught either to write or read, have no notion of spelling, and yet can by their natural parts, form themselves a character, and with a piece of chalk record, for their own use, all that they have occasion to mark down in their affairs. I have been told of a country farmer, of very considerable dealings, who was able to keep no other book, and yet carried on a variety of business in buying and selling, without disorder or confusion. He chalked upon the walls of a large room set apart for that purpose, what he was obliged to remember of his affairs with divers persons; and if we but suppose, that some of his family were instructed in his marks, there is no difficulty in conceiving, that he might this way, if he had died, have left a very clear state of his concerns to them. Something of this sort is like the first essay of nature, and thus, without doubt, the first men wrote. It was time and improvement which led them to consider the nature of words, to divide them into syllables, and to form a method of spelling them by a set of letters.

If we look among the Chinese,[2] we find in fact what I have been treating of. They have no notion of alphabetical letters, but make use of characters to express their meaning. Their characters are not designed to express words, for they are used by several neighbouring nations who differ in language; nor are there any set number or collection of them, as one would imagine art and contrivance would, at one time or other, have reduced them to; but the Chinese still write in a manner as far from art, as one can conceive the first writer to have invented. They have a mark for every thing or action they have to write of; and not having contrived to use the same mark for the same thing, with some common distinctions for the accidental circumstances that may belong to it, every little difference of time, manner, place, or any other circumstance, causes a new mark; so that though their words are but few, their letters are innumerable.[3] We have, in Europe, as I before hinted, characters to express numbers, which are not designed for any particular sounds, or words; but then, we have artificially reduced them to a small number; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and the cypher 0, will express all numbers that can possibly be conceived. Without doubt the Chinese character might be contracted by a proper method, but the writing of this people, as well as their language, has

[2] Alvar. Seved. Walton. Prolegom. ii, 21.

[3] Their letters are 60, 80, or 120,000 says Walton; 54,409 say other writers; and Le Comte says, that he is no learned man amongst them who does not understand 15 or 20,000 of their letters.

little improvement. When mankind began first to make their marks for things, having but few things to mark down, they easily found marks enough for them. As they grew further acquainted with the world, and wanted more characters, they invented them, and the number increasing by degrees, it might cause no great trouble to persons who were skilled in the received characters, and had only to learn the new ones as they were invented. But it is strange, that a nation should go on in this method for thousands of years, as the Chinese have really done; one would think, that it must easily be foreseen to what a troublesome number their letters must in time grow, and that a sense of the common convenience should, at one time or other, have put them upon trying to reduce them; but we find, in fact, they have not done it. The Chinese report that their letters were invented by Fohi, or Noah; and in reality, both their letters and their language seem so odd, that they might well pass for the invention of the early and uncultivated ages of mankind. Without doubt the Chinese have added to the number of their letters since the time of their emperor Fohi, and probably altered the sound of their old words, and made some new ones; but they differ so remarkably, both in writing and language, from the rest of mankind, that I think they are the descendants of men, who never came to Shinaar, and who had no concern or communication with those who were thence dispersed, by the confusion of Babel, over the face of the Earth.

We have no remains, nor so much as any hints in ancient writers, to induce us to think, that this sort of writing was ever used by any of the nations that were dispersed from Babel. We read of no letters on this side of India truly ancient, but what were designed to express the words of the people who wrote them. Laertius[4] indeed seems to hint that the Babylonians had anciently a sacred character, different from the letters in common use: and Eusebius,[5] from Philo Biblius, represents Sanchoniathon to have searched records written in a character of this sort. The sacred letters of Egypt are frequently mentioned: there were two pillars inscribed in this sort of letters, at the tomb of Isis and Osiris; and Strabo speaks of a pillar in memory of Sesostris,[6] which had these characters cut upon it; and the remains of Thyoth were, without doubt, written in this character.[7] If we consider that Herodotus and Diodorus mention only two sorts of letters, the sacred and common;[8] and that Clemens Alexandrinus, and Porphyry, and the later writers, who take in the hieroglyphics, mention three sorts;[9] it will perhaps induce us to think with Dr. Burnet,[1] that the sacred letters of the Egyp-

[4] Burnet. Archæolog. l. i, c. 8. [5] Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 9. [6] Lib. xvi.
[7] Euseb. Chron. [8] Herod. in Euterpe. Diod. lib. i.
[9] Strom. l. v; Porph. de Vita Pythag. p. 185. [1] Archæolog.

tians were different from their hieroglyphics, and that the hieroglyphics were not in use in the first times. It is true, Diodorus,[2] by his description of the sacred letters makes them to be hieroglyphics; but I imagine that he happened to do so, because hieroglyphics being in use before his time, and the sacred letters, which were distinct from them, being then wholly laid aside, he knew but of two sorts, the hieroglyphics and the common letters; and so took the sacred letters, which he found mentioned by those who wrote before him, to be the hieroglyphics. But Porphyry very evidently distinguishes them one from the other: he calls the sacred letters ιερογλυφικα κοινολογημενα κατα μιμησιν· and the common hieroglyphics, συμβολικα αλληγορημενα κατα τινας αινιγμους. It is, indeed, something difficult to apprehend how letters can be said to imitate the things designed by them; however, we find this was an ancient notion. Plato puts it into the mouth of Socrates.[3] But though, for these reasons, I think there was an ancient character in Egypt, distinct from both the vulgar letters and common hieroglyphics; yet I cannot agree with Dr. Burnet, that it was like the letters used in China. The Chinese letters express no words, or particular sounds whatsoever; but the old Egyptian letters did, as appears plainly from the account we have[4] of Agathodæmon's translating them. The remains of Thyoth were *inscriptions on pillars*—στηλων ιερα διαλεκτω και ιερογραφικοις γραμμασι κεχαραγμενων—*written upon, in sacred language, and in sacred characters:* and Agathodæmon translated them, εκ της ιερας διαλεκτου εις την Ελληνιδα φωνην γραμμασιν Ιερογλυφικοις, *out of the sacred language into the Greek tongue, in sacred letters*, i. e. he changed the language, but he used the same letters in which Thyoth wrote.[5] Here, therefore, we see, that the sacred letters were capable of being used to express the words of different languages, and were therefore not like the Chinese, or of the same sort with the first letters of mankind, which expressed no words at all. Plato[6] says, that Thyoth was the first who distinguished letters by vowels and consonants, mutes and liquids, and was the author of the art of grammar. I doubt these improvements are more modern than the times of Thyoth. However, Plato's opinion in this matter is an evidence that there was no

[2] Lib. iii, p. 101. [3] In Cratylo. [4] Euseb. in Chron. p. 6.

[5] Bishop Stillingfleet, and several other writers, translate ιερογλυφικις γραμμασιν *hieroglyphic characters;* and the learned Bishop remarks upon the passage as follows: "It is well still, that this history should be translated into hieroglyphic characters; what kind of translation is that? We had thought hieroglyphics had been representations of things, and not of sounds and letters, or words. How could this history at first have been written in any tongue, when it was in hieroglyphics? Do hieroglyphics speak in several languages? And are they capable of changing their tongues?" The reader will easily observe from this remark, that ιερογλυφικοις γραμμασιν, in the passage before us, should be translated not *hieroglyphics*, but *sacred letters*, and then the sense will be clear and easy.

[6] In Philebo. p. 374.

notion in his days of Thyoth's using any other than alphabetical letters.

The use of alphabetical letters, therefore, began very early in the second world, probably not long after the dispersion of mankind; for the records of the Chaldean astronomy reach almost up to this time, and Thyoth's inscribing pillars was not above two centuries later. Alphabetical letters were perhaps invented both in Assyria and in Egypt, and to one or other of these two nations all other countries are indebted for the use of them. We find the great project at Babel, next to the building of the tower, was the improvement of language; for this caused the confusion which scattered mankind over the face of the earth. And if the course they took in this affair was such as I imagined, namely, an attempt to dissolve the monosyllables, of which the first language of mankind consisted, into words of various lengths, in order to furnish themselves with new sets of names for new things; it may be conceived that a project of this sort might by degrees lead to the invention of alphabetical letters. It is not likely that they immediately hit upon an alphabet, but they made attempts, and came to it by degrees.

If we look into the Hebrew tongue, which, before it was improved, was perhaps the original language of the world, we shall find, that its dissyllables are generally two monosyllable words put together: thus, the word *barah, to eat,* is only *bar* the old word for *beer, to declare;* and *rah*, the old word for *raah, to see.* So the word *kashah, to gather* is only the word *kash,* which signifies *straw,* and *sash, to rejoice. Ranal, to be moved,* is only the old word *ran,* which was afterwards written *ranan, to be evil;* and *nain,* which was anciently written *nan, to direct the eye. Abah, to be willing,* is made of two words *ab, a father,* and *bah,* the old word for *bohu;* for our lexicons derive *bohu* from an ancient word *bah,* or *bahah.* This observation may, I believe, be carried through the whole language; there is hardly a Hebrew dissyllable, except such only as were anciently pronounced monosyllables, or such as are derived from some theme, and made up of the letters of that theme, with some additional affix, but what are plainly and evidently two words (*i. e.* two significant sounds) joined together; and I dare say, instances of this kind are not to be found in any of the modern languages. This, therefore, was the method which men took to make words of more syllables than one, they joined together their monosyllables, which afforded a new set of words for enlarging their language; and if this be allowed me, it will, I think, lead us to the first step taken towards altering the first characters of mankind. As they only doubled their sounds, so they might at first only repeat their marks, and the two marks put together, which singly were the characters of the single words, were the first way of writing the double ones. This I

think must bring them a very considerable step towards the contriving a method of making letters to stand for sounds, and not for words. When men spake in monosyllables only, and made such marks for the things they spoke of, as the fancy of the first author had invented, and custom had made familiar to all that used them; they might go on, as the Chinese have, and never think of making their marks stand for the words they spoke, but rather for the things they meant to express by them; but when they once came to think of doubling or joining their marks, in a manner that should accord with the composition of their words, this would evidently lead them to consider strictly, that as sounds may be made the means of expressing our thoughts, by agreeing to use particular sounds for such thoughts as we would express by them; so also may characters be made the marks of particular sounds, by agreeing what character shall be used for one sound, and what for another. To give an instance from some one of the words I have before mentioned: suppose *kashash* to be the new-invented word, designed to signify what we call *to gather*, and suppose this new word to be made by agreeing, as I said, to put two known words together, *kash*, the word for *straw*, and *sash to rejoice;* and suppose the ancient character for *kash* was ⁸, and for *sash* was ⁸ the character, then, for *kashash* would be ⁸⁸. Here, then, it would be remarkable, that the reader, however he might not observe it, when he met either of these characters single, yet could not but see, when he met them together, that each of them stood in the compound word, for a sound, and not for a thing; for the two sounds, one of which each character was to express, were, when put together, to signify a very different thing from those, which each of them single would have offered. If language, therefore, was altered as I have hinted, which seems very probable, from considering the nature of the Hebrew dissyllables; and if this alteration of language led to such a duplication of character as I have imagined, which is a method very easy and natural for men to fall into; we may see that they would be engaged in making characters stand for sounds before they were aware of it, and they could hardly do so long, before they must consider it; and if they came once to consider it, they would go on apace from one thing to another, they would observe how many sounds the words they had in use might be compounded of, and be hereby led to make as many characters as they could frame single sounds, into which all others might be resolved, and this would lead them directly to an alphabet.

It is pretty certain that various nations, from a difference of pronunciation, or from the different turn of imagination that is always found in different men, would hardly, though agreeing in a general scheme for the framing their letters, yet happen to frame an alphabet exactly the same, in either shape or number of letters; and this we find true in fact: the

Arabian and Persian alphabets have such a similitude, that they were probably derived one from the other. And the old Hebrew and Arabian (and perhaps the old Egyptian) characters agree in so many respects, as to give reason to suppose that they were formed from one common plan; though they certainly so differ in others, that we cannot but think that the authors of them sat down and formed, though upon a common scheme, yet in their own way, in the countries which they planted. It is very probable, that there may have been in the world several other alphabets very different from these. I think I have read of a country in India, where they used an alphabet of sixty-five letters; and Diodorus Siculus[7] informs us, that in the island of Taprobane, which we now call Ceylon, they anciently used but seven; but perhaps the reader may be better informed in this matter, if he consults some books to which Bishop Walton[8] directs, and which I have not had an opportunity of seeing, *viz.* Postellus de xii Linguis, Dueretus de Linguis et Characteribus omnium Linguarum; the Alphabetical Tables of various Characters, published at Francfort 1596; and Ja. Bonav. Hepburn's Seventy Alphabets, published at Rome 1616.

The characters which are now commonly used in Europe being as I have said derived from the ancient Latin; the ancient Latin from the old Greek letters; the Greek letters from the ancient Phœnician; and the Phœnician, Syrian, ancient Hebrew, and Assyrian, having been much the same, I could willingly, before I close this essay, add a few observations upon each of these in their order.

1. Now the ancient Hebrew alphabet was not written in the present Hebrew character, but in a letter pretty much the same as the present Samaritan. Buxtorf and Lightfoot were not of this opinion; but it has been abundantly proved by Scaliger, Casaubon, Grotius, Vossius, Bochart, Father Morin, Brerewood, Capellus, and Walton. Bishop Walton has proved it beyond contradiction, from some ancient Jerusalem coins, called shekels.[9] The Rabbins, Talmudists, Christian Fathers, Origen and St. Jerome, all believed that there had been a change of the Hebrew letters. St. Jerome asserts it very expressly.[1] Spanheim and Dr. Allix took the other side of the question; but they have answered only a small part of the arguments against them. This change of the Hebrew letters is supposed to have been made by Ezra, after the rebuilding the Temple, when he wrote out a new copy of the law.

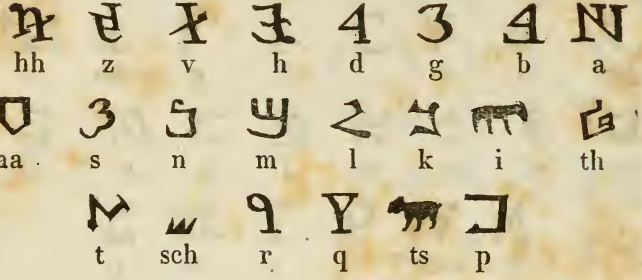
[7] Lib. ii, p. 98. [8] Prolegom.

[9] De Siclorum Formis, in Prolegom. iii, sect. 29, 30. See Dr. Prideaux's Connect. vol. i, part i, book v, an. 446.

[1] In Præfat. ad Lib. Regum.

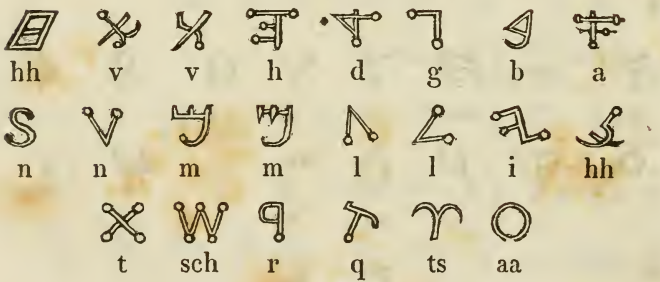
The old Hebrew letters, nearly the same still used by the Samaritans, were written in this same[2] manner.

SAMARITAN 1.



Supposed by Theseus Ambrosius to have been formed after the course and movements of nature.

SAMARITAN 2.

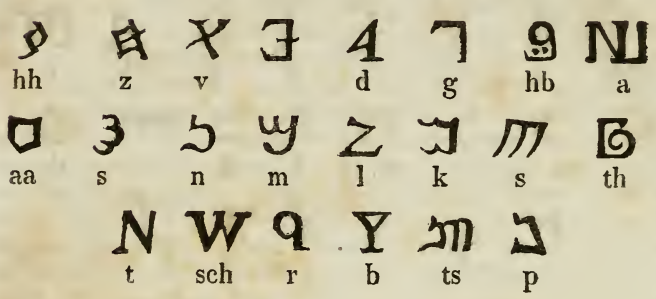


The above is taken from the Samaritan coins in Bishop Walton's Polyglott.

[2] There is no reason to think the first and most ancient Hebrew alphabet had thus many letters. Irenæus says expressly, "Ipsæ antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum litteræ, et Sacerdotales nuncupatæ, decem quidem sunt numero.

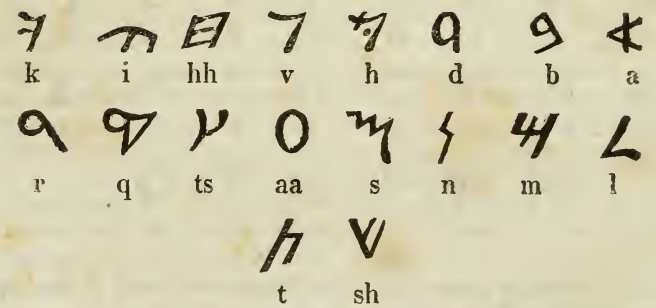
Like to these were the Syrian and Phœnician: the best copy we can take of the old Phœnician is the following:—

PHŒNICIAN 1.



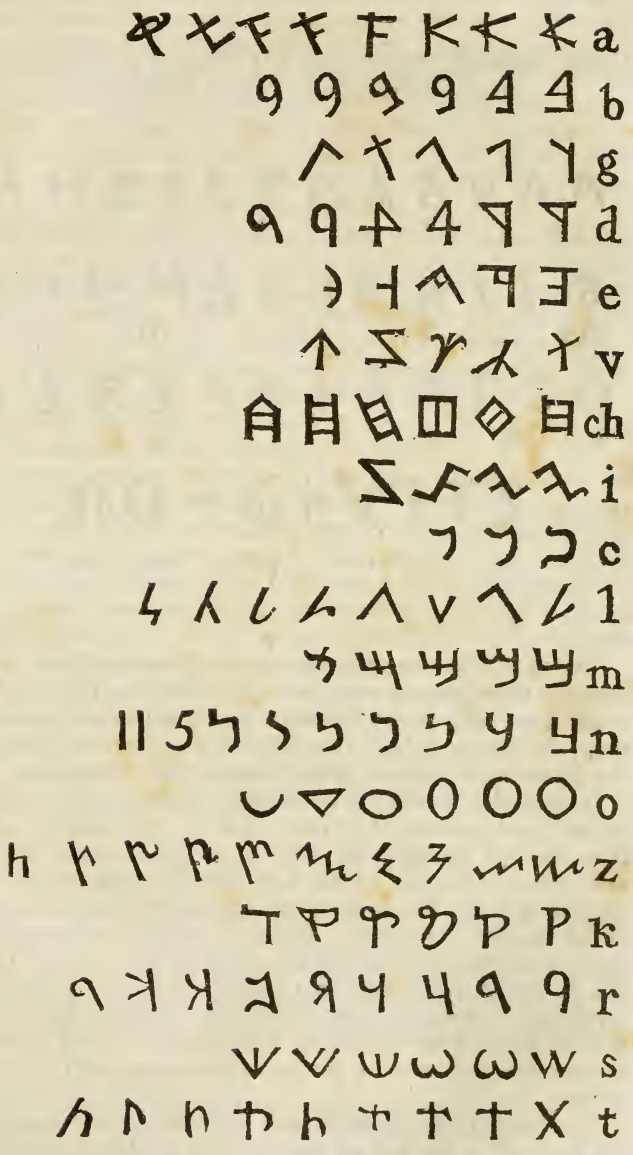
For the preceding Alphabet, see Scaliger, p. 80, and Montfaucon's Palæogr. Græc. p. 122.

PHŒNICIAN 2.



This is given on the authority of the Abbé Barthelemy, who is said to have taken it from inscriptions preserved in Malta, and from Syrian medals. See Ency. Franc. Plan. v.

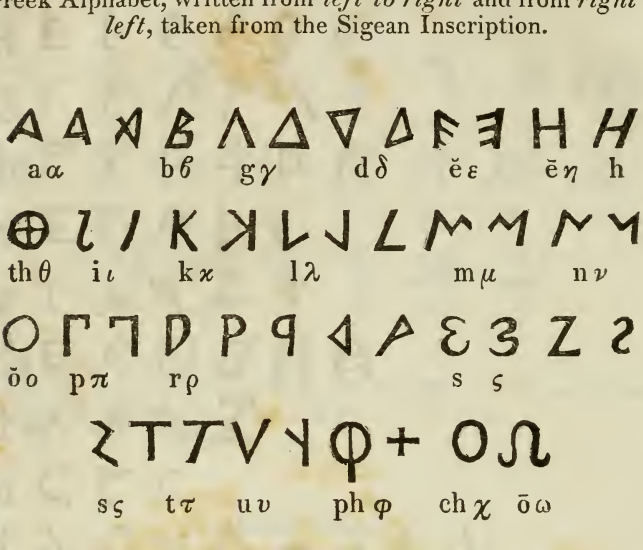
Complete Phœnician Alphabet.*



* This was furnished by Mr. Henley from ancient coins, and inserted by Mr. Fry in his Pantographia, who has kindly lent the Editor this, and several other of his Alphabets, for the use of this work. Edit.

From the Phœnician were derived the ancient Greek letters, which, according to the oldest specimen we have of them, were thus written:—

Greek Alphabet, written from *left to right* and from *right to left*, taken from the Sigean Inscription.



The Greek letters were not anciently written from the left hand to the right, as we now write them, but from the right hand to the left, as the Hebrews and Phœnicians wrote; and then, the letters being inverted, had a nearer resemblance to the Phœnician character, from whence they were taken.

In time the Greeks left off writing from the right to the left in part, and retained it in part; that is, they began one line from the left to right, the next from right to left, the third from left to right, &c. This they called writing βεζροφηδον, or as oxen plough; the lines in this way of writing being drawn in the manner of furrows. Pausanias mentions an inscription written in this manner,[3] namely, that on the chest of Cypselus, in the temple of Juno at Corinth. Periander, the son of Cypselus, is supposed to be the person who inscribed it. The laws of Solon were written in this manner.[4] And Chishull's Sigean Inscription is a complete specimen of this sort of writing.

The letter H, in the old Greek alphabet, did not sound what we now call η, but was an aspirate, like the English H. This

[3] Pausanias, lib. v, c. 17.

[4] See Suid. et Harpocrat. in ο κατωθεν νομος.

was proved by Athenæus,[5] and has been since farther evinced by Spanheim, from several ancient coins,[6] and there are no less than four instances of it in the Sigean Inscription.

The letters E and O were anciently written in the same characters, whether they were long or short vowels; for the ancient alphabet had neither η, υ, nor ω.[7] Simonides was the person that invented these two long vowels.[8] The Ionians first used them, which occasioned Suidas to call them Ionian letters.[9] The Athenians came into them by degrees, and they were ordered to be used in the public inscriptions, when Euclid was Archon. Before ω came into use, οι was written for ω, in the dative case singular of nouns.[1]

The ancient alphabet having at first no υ, ου in the genitive case was constantly written ο: this appears both from Quintilian and Athenæus. Athenæus, in his Convivium,[2] introduces Achæus remarking, that Διονυσιο was written upon an ancient cup; whereupon all the Sophists determined, that the letter υ was omitted, because the ancients wrote ο instead of ου. Quintilian remarks,[3] that ο was anciently used sometimes for a long vowel, sometimes for a short vowel, and sometimes for a syllable, that is, the diphthong ου.

We now come to the letters that have been taken into the Greek alphabet; and the first of them is *F*: this is a character which is not now found in it; it was invented by the Æolians, who avoided having two vowels come together in a word, by inserting this *F* where they happened to do so; they called it a *digamma*, and the sound or power of it was much the same as our English *f*. Priscian gives several instances of it; as in the word δαιον wrote δαϜιϜον; Δημοφοον, wrote ΔημοφοϜον; Λαοχοον, wrote ΛαϜοχοϜον; and we have a remarkable instance of it in the inscription on the pedestal of the Colossus at Delos,[4] where αϜυτο is written for αυτο; the inscription is a short one, and the letters are nearly the same with those in the Sigean Inscription; it is in modern characters as follows:—

ου αϜυτου λιθου ειμι ανδριας και το σφελας.

The *F* was probably derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician Vau, which was thus written, ϟ.

The letter V, or υ, though an ascititious letter, was certainly in the Greek alphabet very early, evidently before the times of this pedestal, or of the Sigean stone. It is used on

[5] Athenæi Deipnosophist. l. ix, c. 12.
[6] Spanheim. de præstant. et usu numism. antiq. Disert. ii, p. 95.
[7] See Plato in Cratylo.
[8] Suidas in Simonide.
[9] Id. in Σαμιων ο Δημος
[1] See Schoiast. in Euripid. in Phœniss. v. 688. And there are two instances of it in the Inscriptions on the Theban Tripods.
[2] Lib. xi, c. 5.
[3] De Institut. Orator. i, c. 7.
[4] Montfaucon. Palæograph. Græca. l. ii, c. 1, p. 121.

the pedestal of the Colossus for the vowel *u*, in the word αϝυτο; but I fancy it was designed originally for a softer digamma, as the consonant *v* is softer than *f*. We have instances of this in some Greek words; and it is remarkable, that the Latins took it so, and have for that reason put the V for the Greek *F*, in the words they have taken out of the one tongue into the other. This may be observed in the words Αοϝνος, anciently written ΑϝοϝνοΣ, in Latin *Avernus;* and Ἀργειοι, *Argivi*. We find, in Priscian, δαϝιον, or δανιον, for δηιον, the first the most ancient way, the second perhaps after the softer V came into use. He gives another instance in the word ηως, written ανως. Dionysius Halicarnasseus observes, that ουελια was anciently wrote *Fελια*,[5] and in Latin we write it *Velia*.

Z was thought by Pliny to be an original letter of the Greek alphabet; and he quotes Aristotle in proof of it.[6] Scaliger derives it from the Hebrew or Phœnician Zain, and thinks it was another Gamma, γ, from its being written in a word in Dan. i, 8.[7] I should rather think it one of Simonides or Palamedes's letters, it being commonly used as a double consonant, and stands for ΣΔ, or ΔΣ, as is evident from ΣδευΣ and ΔσευΣ being two ancient words for ΖευΣ.

Θ, Φ, Χ, are allowed to be Palamedes's letters, which are only Cadmus's Τ, Π, Κ, aspirated, and were probably at first written ΤΗ, ΠΗ, ΚΗ.[8]

There are two letters more belonging to the Greek alphabet, ξ and ψ. These are only two consonants put together, and if Palamedes was not the author of them are certainly later than Cadmus. ξ is only κς, or γς; ψ is only πς, or βς; this has been observed and proved from several instances in the Baudelotian Marble; and there is such an analogy between the genitive cases of nouns and their nominatives, and the future tenses of verbs and their present tenses, that the spelling of the one shows evidently how the other were anciently written; thus σαρκος and φλογος came from the ancient nominatives σαρξ and φλγος; and ωπς and φλεβς were the ancient words instead of οψ and φλεψ, as appears from their genitives, οπος and φλεβος; κατηλιψ, κατηλιφος, and σιξ, σιχος, shows that ψ is sometimes used for φς, and ξ for χς.

The Greek alphabet did thus in time grow from sixteen to twenty-four letters; they were never reckoned more; so that the *F* and *V* must be counted to be but one and the same, for so they were originally; and these four-and-twenty were received and used, according to Eusebius, one thousand six hundred and seventeen years after the birth of Abraham, in

[5] Dion. Halicar. lib. i, c. 20.

[6] Plin. lib. vii, c. 56.

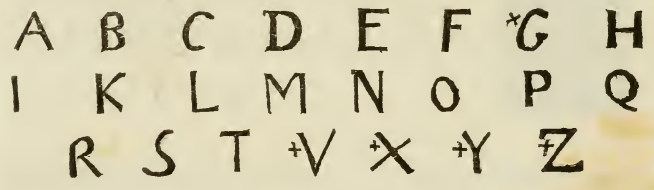
[7] Digress. ad numb. Euseb. 1617.

[8] There are several instances of this in the Inscriptions on the Theban Tripods, ανεθηκε is twice written ΑΝΑΘΕΚΕ, and χ is written ΚΗ in two words, viz. in πυγμαχεαν, and in Μεναρχεων· and φ is written ΠΗ, in the word Αμφιτρυων.

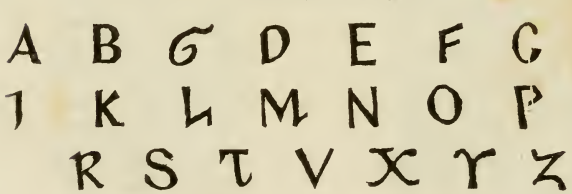
the year after the overthrow of the Athenian power.[9] Now the surrender of Athens to the Lacedæmonians happening the year before the magistracy of Euclid,[1] this agrees perfectly well with the account of Suidas, who supposes the twenty-four letters to be received at Athens, by the persuasion of Archinous the son of Athenæus, when Euclid was Archon at Athens.[2]

The Greek letters did not keep exactly their first shape, for it is observable that length of time introduces changes into all characters. We do not make alterations in our letters designedly, but accidentally; all men never did write exactly alike; and hence it has happened, that frequent mutations are to be found in all ancient specimens of letters. And thus the old Greek A was sometimes written *A*, and afterwards *A*; Λ was written *C*, and Δ was written *D; l* was written L; P was written *P;* S was written ς, and V, Υ; when the Greek characters had received these small mutations, the old Roman letters might be easily derived from them, for they were thus written:

ANCIENT LATIN.

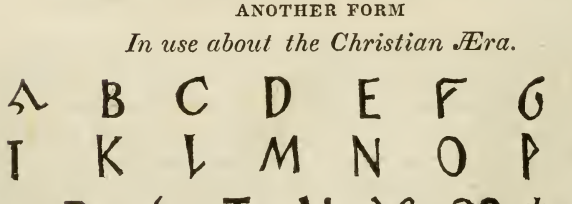


ANOTHER FORM.



ANOTHER FORM

In use about the Christian Æra.



The first was in use seven hundred years before CHRIST,

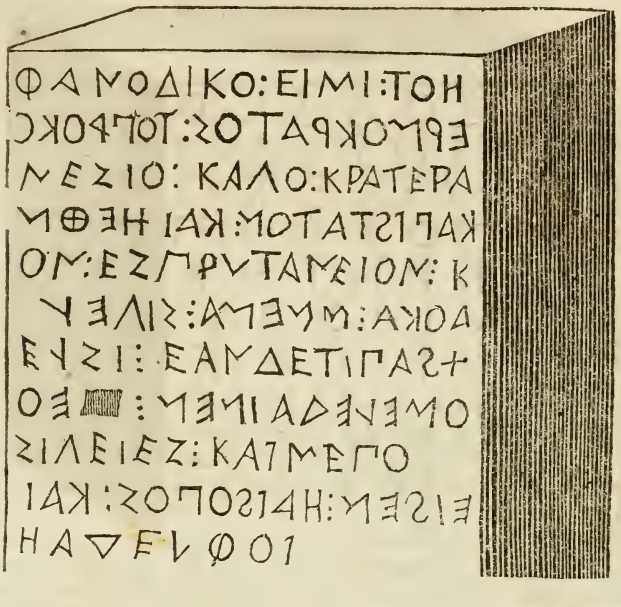
[9] See Chron. Euseb. [1] Usher's Annals. [2] Suidas in Σαμιων ο Δημος.

except those letters marked with a x, which have been added since.

Time, and the improvement of good hands, brought the characters of both languages to a more exact shape, as may be seen by comparing the letters in Scaliger's copy of the Tripods at Thebes, and the Inscription on Herod's pillar, with the common Roman letters.

It may perhaps be entertaining to the Reader to see copies of some of the ancient inscriptions: I have therefore taken copies of the Sigean, and of the inscriptions on the base of the Statue of Jupiter Urius, with a fac simile of the Codex Alexandrinus, in which the Reader may see instances of what we have been treating of, if he has not at hand the works of better writers.

The Sigean Inscription, from which, according to Dr. Chishull, the ancient Greek alphabet has been taken, which is found p. 229.



In modern characters thus:

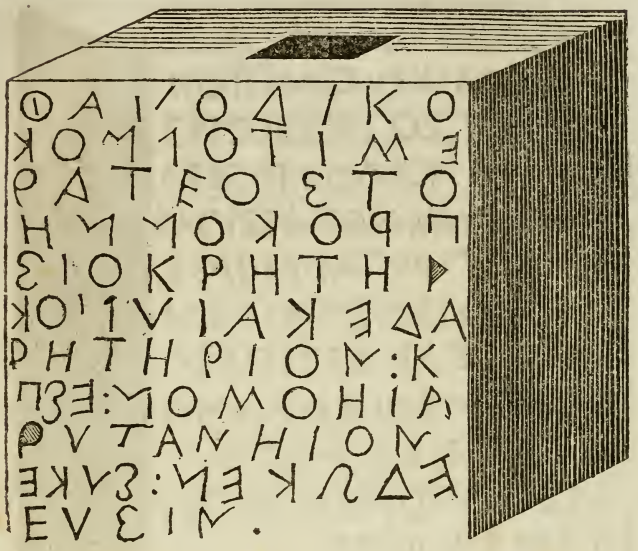
Φανοδικο : ειμι : το η-
ερμοκρατος : το προκο-
νεσιο : καγο : κρατερα
καπιστατον : και ηεθμ-
ον : ες πρυτανειος : κ-
δοκα : μνεμα : σιγευ-
ευσι : εαν δε τι πασχ-
ο μελεδαινεν : εο
σιγειες : και μεπο-
ειστεν : ηαισοπος : και
ηαδελφοι :

Verbal Translation:

Phanodici sum, *filii*
Hermocratis Procone
sii. Et ego Craterem
et *Crateris* Basin et
Colum ad Prytaneum
dedi memoriæ ergò Si-
geis. Siquid verò patiar
curare *me jubeo*
Sigeos. Et fecit
me Esopus atque fratres.
CHISHULL, p. 4.

The preceding is a *fac simile* of the most ancient part of the Sigean Inscription; the reading of which, in the common small Greek letter, is given below, observing, that every second line of the original is read from right to left; which manner of writing was called βουστροφηδον, as imitating the turn of the oxen at the end of each furrow. The union of the European and Eastern manner of writing in the same piece was very rarely used after the time of Solon, who probably adopted it to give his laws an air of antiquity. We cannot imitate this manner of writing without types cast on purpose, which appears to be unnecessary, as the original is given.

Sigean Inscription, second or more modern part.

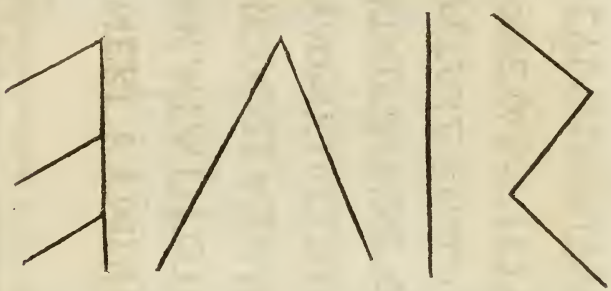


This is that part of the inscription which was copied after Simonides had completed the Greek alphabet, and is as follows, reading every second line from right to left:—

Φανοδικο	Phanodici
εμι τορμοκ	sum, *filii* Her-
ρατεος το	mocratis Pro-
ωροκονγη	conesii. Cra-
σοι κρητηρ	terem vero et
α δε : και υποκ	Hypocraterium
ρητηριον : κ	et Colum ad
αι κθμον ες π	Prytaneum
ρυτανηιον	dedit is
εδωκεν συκε	Sigeis.
ευσιν.	

This secondary inscription does not vary greatly from the original: it, however, puts *υποεκηηγειον* for *επισαγον*, which does not alter the sense, and omits the words *καγω* and *μνημα*. The long vowels are regularly used, but H as an aspirate is omitted.

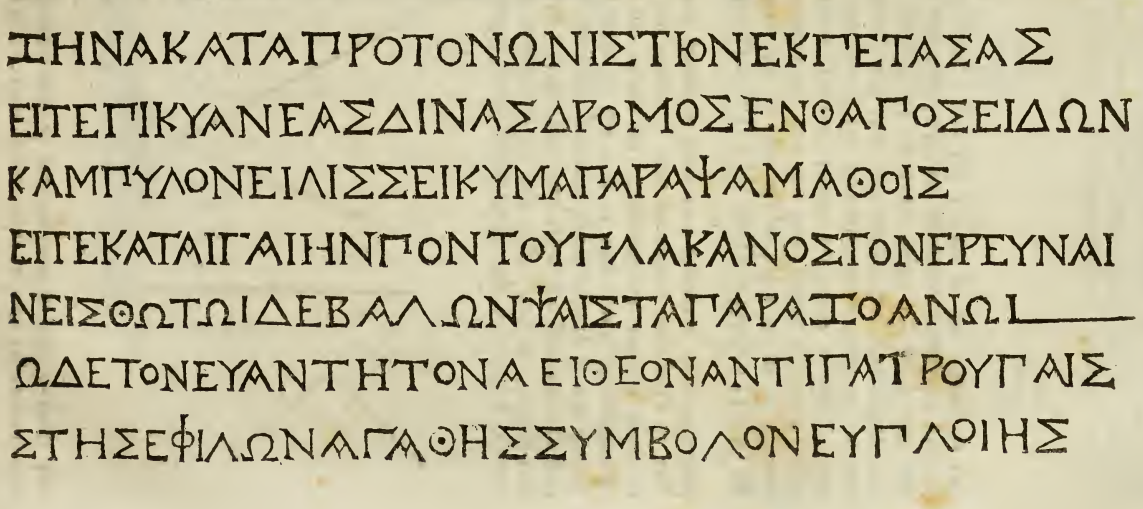
This word ΣΙΓΕ, written from right to left, represents the real form and magnitude of the letters in the Sigean Inscription.



The stone on which this inscription was found is a beautiful piece of white marble, *nine feet* high, *two feet* broad and *eight inches* thick. It has its name from the promontory and town of *Sigeum*, near the ancient *Troy*, where it was found. From the excavation at the top of the stone, it appears to have supported the statue of *Phanodicus*, whose name it bears. It may lay claim to the remotest antiquity of any thing of this kind, being at least two thousand four hundred years old.

Dr. Bentley (EPISTOLÆ, p. 240, lately published [1807] by Dr. Burney) denies that it ever supported a statue of Phanodicus, or any person else; but the inscription specifies a gift made by Phanodicus of three vessels, a *Crater*, a *Bason*, and a *Strainer*, for the use of the Prytaneum, or hall of the magistrates at Sigeum, and that the inscription was at first engraved *on the vessels*, which were made by Esop and his companions, and afterwards by an ignorant engraver rudely inscribed on this stone. See his Letter to Dr. Mead in the above Collection.

Copy of a very ancient Inscription on the Base of the Statue of Jupiter Urius. See Chishull's Antiquitates Asiaticæ, p. 59—62, and the Corrections at the end of the same Work, two last pages.



The Statue of Jupiter Urius, the sender of favourable winds, was erected at Chalcedon, near the entrance of the Bosphorus, by Philo, the statuary, the son of Antipater, who was patronised by Hephestion, the friend of Alexander the Great.

The following is a correct reading of it in the modern Greek character, with an English translation.

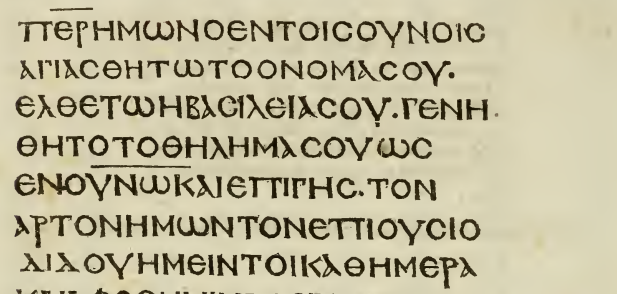
Ουριον εκ πρυμνης τις οδηγήτηρα καλειτω
Ζηνα, κατα προτονων ισιον εκπετασας.
Ειτ επι Κυανεας δινας δρομος, ενθα Ποσειδαν
Καμπτυλον ειλισσει κυμα παρα ψαμαθοις,
Ειτε κατ' Αιγαιην ποντε πλακα νοσον ερευνα,
Νεισθω, τωδε βαλων ψαιςα παρα ξοανω.
Ωδε τον ευαντητον αει θεον, Αντιπατρου παις,
Στησε Φιλων, αγαθης συμβολον ευπλοιης.

See Chishull's corrections at the end of his Work. 1728. EDIT.

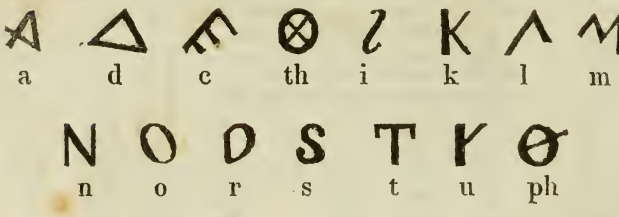
TRANSLATION.

Whoever hence expands his sails, let him
From the stern invoke the protection of
Jupiter Urius.
Whether towards the Euxine he bends his course,
Where Neptune rolls the curling wave among the sands,
Or seek his return towards the Ægean;
To this statue let him offer the votive cake.
In this interesting attitude,
Philo, the son of Antipater,
Represented the benign Deity,
As an omen of a prosperous voyage.

A *fac simile* (containing a part of the Lord's Prayer Luke, xi, 2, &c.) of that ancient and valuable MS. of the New Testament in the British Museum, presented to King Charles I, in 1628, by Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Alexandria, which is supposed to have been written upwards of one thousand four hundred years.



An old Greek Alphabet, taken from the Inscriptions found on Mount Cynthus, in the island of Delos.



For the Inscriptions on the Tripods at Thebes, and on Herod's Pillar, see Scaliger, and Chishull's *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 11 et 33.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK V.

WHEN Athothes, Thyoth, or Pathrusim, the king of Thebais, died, about the year of the world 2002, he was succeeded in part of his dominions by a person of the same name; and the other part was governed by a king named Cencenes. The country of Thebais is divided into two parts by the river Nile. Thyoth, the second of that name, governed the country towards Asia; the other part, which was situate on the west side of the river, was subject to Cencenes, and called the kingdom of *This*, from a city of that name near Abydos,[1] which city was the metropolis of this new-erected kingdom. The kings of *This* never raised themselves to any height of glory; we have little more of them than their names. Athothes, the second king of Thebes, reigned thirty-two years; and Cencenes, the first king of *This*, thirty-one. About this time, at Memphis, Mesochis, Soiphis, Tesortasis, and in Lower Egypt, called the Land of Tanis, Aristarchus and Spanius succeeded one another as kings of these countries.

A. M. 2034, when Athothes, the second king of Thebes, died, Diabies succeeded him, who reigned nineteen years, and died A. M. 2053; and the year before Diabies began his reign, Venephes succeeded Cencenes at *This*. Venephes built some pyramids in a plain towards Libya, in the desart of Cochome.[2] Of the succeeding kings of Egypt we have nothing but names, and the dates of their reigns, which the reader may see by consulting Sir John Marsham, who has given the most exact tables of them.

There was a family, which dwelt amongst the Babylonians,

[1] Θις πολις Αιγυπτια πλησιον Αβυδε. Steph. in θ.

[2] Sir John Marsham supposes these pyramids to be in number eighteen, of a smaller size than those which were afterwards reckoned amongst the wonders of the world. Can. Chron. p. 46.

and made a considerable figure in these ages, and must therefore be particularly mentioned. At the division of mankind, Arphaxad, the son of Shem, lived near the place which Ashur some time after built for them,[3] and which was named Ur of the Chaldees. Part of his family lived here with him. He had two grandsons, Peleg and Jocktan. Jocktan and his associates travelled, and were seated from Mesha to Sephar; Peleg and his descendants lived here at Ur, until the latter end of the life of Terah, the father of Abram.[4] The Chaldeans, who at this time governed this country, were corrupted in their religion, and Terah's ancestors at first complied with them;[5] but Terah endeavoured to begin a reformation, and put his family upon adhering to the true worship of God. This caused a rupture between him and the Chaldeans, and occasioned the first persecution on account of religion, for the Chaldeans drove them out of the land.[6]

Terah hereupon, with Abram, Nahor, and his sons, and with Lot the son of Haran (for Haran died before they left Ur,) and with as many as would adhere to them, travelled in order to find a more quiet residence. They crossed over Mesopotamia, and settled in the parts of it most distant from the Babylonians; and as they increased they built themselves houses, and in time made a little town or city, which they named the City of Nahor; and they called the land the Land of Haran, perhaps in remembrance of their relation of that name, who was dead. Here they lived until the death of Terah.[7]

After Terah's death there arose some difference about religion amongst them also. Terah does not seem to have brought his family to the true worship of God; and Nahor, who continued in the land of Haran after Terah died, appears evidently to have deviated from it. The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor is so mentioned,[8] as to imply a difference of religion between Laban and Jacob, founded upon some different sentiments of their forefathers; for if their sentiments about the Deity had been exactly alike, an oath in the same uniform expression had been sufficiently binding to both of them, and there had been no need for each to adjure the other, as it were, by his own God: nay, we are expressly told, that both Terah and Nahor went astray in their religion, for which reason Abraham was ordered to remove from them. *Your fathers* (says Joshua[9]) *dwelt on the other side of the flood* (or river namely, *Euphrates*, i. e. in *Mesopotamia*) *in old time, even Terah the father of Abram, and the father of Nahor; and they served other gods. And I took your father from the other side the flood*, or river, *and led him through all the land of Canaan.* Abraham, therefore, upon account of some defection in his family from the

[3] Vide supra.
[4] Gen. xi, 28—31.
[5] Jos. xxiv, 2.
[6] Judith v, 8.
[7] Gen. xi, 28—32.
[8] Gen. xxxi, 53.
[9] Jos. xxiv, 2.

true worship of GOD, upon receiving an admonition to do so,[1] took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their cattle and substance, and as many persons as belonged to them, and went away from his country and kindred and father's house, and travelled into the land of Canaan.

The land of Canaan[2] was at this time possessed by the descendants of Canaan the son of Ham, so that Abram was only a traveller or sojourner in it. The Earth was not at this time so full of people, but that there was in every country ground enough and to spare; and any traveller might come with his flocks and herds, and find convenient places enough to sustain himself and family, without doing injury to or receiving molestation from any person. Accordingly, Abram travelled until he came to the plain of Moreh in Sichem,[3] where it pleased GOD to repeat a promise which he had before made him, that he would give all that land to his children; upon which Abram built an altar and worshipped. Some time after he removed thence, to a mountain between Bethel and Hai,[4] and there he built another altar. He continued in this place but a little time, for he kept on travelling to the south, till at length there happened a famine in Canaan,[5] upon account of which he went to live in Egypt. This is the history of Abram's family, for above three hundred years after the dispersion of mankind; and since the first æra or epoch of the Hebrew chronology is commonly made to end here (for from this journey of Abram's into Canaan they begin the four hundred and thirty years, during which time the children of Israel were only sojourners, having only unsettled habitations up and down in kingdoms not their own,[6]) I shall carry on my history no farther at present, but shall only endeavour to fix the time of these transactions; and since we have met with accounts of different religions thus early in the world, I will endeavour to inquire what religion was at this time, and how and wherein it differed in different countries.

As to the time of these transactions, it is easy to fix them; for, first of all, from the Flood to the birth of Terah, the father of Abram, is two hundred and twenty-two years, as may be computed from the genealogies given us by Moses.[7] *And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.*[8] We must not understand this passage as if Terah had these three sons when he was seventy years old, or as if Abram was born in the seventieth year of Terah's life, for

[1] Gen. xii, 1, 4, 6. [2] Ver. 6. [3] Gen. xii, 7.
[4] Ver. 8. [5] Ver. 10. [6] Exod. xii, 40.
[7] Gen. xi, 10, 25. From the Flood to the birth of Arphaxad are two years; thence to the birth of Salah thirty-five; thence to the birth of Eber thirty; thence to the birth of Peleg thirty-four; thence to the birth of Reu thirty; thence to the birth of Serug thirty two; thence to the birth of Nahor thirty; thence to the birth of Terah twenty-nine; in all, two hundred and twenty-two years.
[8] Gen. xi, 26.

Abram was but seventy-five years old[9] when he travelled into Canaan, and he did not go into Canaan until Terah's death,[1] and Terah lived to be two hundred and five years old; so that Abram must be born in the one hundred and thirtieth year of his father's life. Haran might perhaps be born in the seventieth year of Terah, for he was, by many years, the eldest son: he had a daughter Milcah,[2] old enough to be wife to Nahor, brother of Abram; and Lot, the son of Haran, seems to have been of much the same age with Abram. The removal from Ur of the Chaldees into Mesopotamia was in the seventieth year of Abram; for the promise made to Abram was before he dwelt in Haran,[3] and it was four hundred and thirty years before the law;[4] but from the birth of Isaac to the law was four hundred years;[5] and therefore the promise made at Ur, four hundred and thirty years before the law, was made thirty years before the birth of Isaac, who was born when Abram was one hundred years old; so that the promise made thirty years before was when Abram was seventy; and we must suppose the removal to Haran to be upon this promise, and much about the same time. Abram went into Canaan when he was seventy-five years old,[6] *i. e.* five years after he came to Haran. And thus Abram was born in the one hundred and thirtieth year of Terah, three hundred and fifty-two years after the Flood, A. M. 2001, and went from Ur to Haran when he was seventy years old, *i. e.* four hundred and twenty-two years after the Flood, A. M. 2078; then he removed into Canaan five years after, *i. e.* four hundred and twenty-seven years after the Flood, A. M. 2083. His going into Egypt was probably two or three years after this; and, according to the tables of the Egyptian kings of these times, Abram's coming into Egypt was about the fifteenth year of Toegar Amachus, the sixth king of Thebes, and about the tenth year of Miebidus, the sixth king of *This*, and about the thirty-third year of Achis, the sixth king of Memphis. The name of the king of Lower Egypt, into whose kingdom Abram travelled, is lost, according to Syncellus; the Scripture calls him Pharaoh, but that is only a general name belonging to the Egyptian kings. Africanus says,[7] his name was Ramessomenes. According to Castor,[8] Europs, the second king of Sicyon, reigned at this time.

In my foregoing computations, I have indeed fixed the

[9] Chap. xii, 4. [1] Chap. xi, 32; Acts vii, 4. [2] Gen. xi, 29.
[3] Acts vii, 2. [4] Gal. iii, 17.
[5] Isaac was the seed to whom the promise was made; Heb. xi, 18; Gen. xvii, 19: and he was born in a strange land; and the seed was to be a stranger in a land not theirs for four hundred years, before God would begin to take vengeance upon the nation that oppressed them; Gen. xv. 13, 14. So from hence to Moses's appearing for the delivery of the Israelites will be found to be about four hundred years.
[6] Gen. xii, 4, ut supr. [7] In Chron. Euseb. p. 20. [8] In eod. ibid.

birth of Abraham according to the Hebrew chronology, which seems to me the most authentic. The chronology of these times, both in the Septuagint and Samaritan versions, is in many particulars different from the Hebrew; and if I had followed either of them, I must have placed the birth of Abraham later than I have done by several hundreds of years. But there is so little to be said in favour of the Septuagint or Samaritan chronology, in the particulars wherein it here differs from the Hebrew, that I think I shall incur no blame for not adhering to them. I am not willing to enlarge upon this subject; the Reader may see it fully treated in Capellus's Chronologia Sacra, prefixed to Bishop Walton's Polyglot Bible; and he will find, in general, that the Samaritan chronology of this period is not of a piece with the rest of the Samaritan chronology, but bears such a similitude to that of the Septuagint, that it may be justly suspected to have been taken from it, to supply some defect in the Samaritan copy. It was indeed not very carefully transcribed, for it differs in some particulars; but the differences are such as unskilful or careless transcribers may be supposed to have occasioned.

As to the Septuagint, it differs from itself in the different copies or editions which we have of it; and the chronology of these times, given us from the Septuagint by Eusebius and Africanus, is so different from what we now find in the printed Septuagints, that it is evident they had seen copies different from any that are now extant. So that there would be some difficulty in determining what are the true numbers of the Septuagint, if we were disposed to follow them; but it is of no great moment to settle which are the best readings, because at last the best is but erroneous, as differing from the Hebrew text, which seems to offer the most authentic chronology. The differences between the Greek and Hebrew chronology (setting aside the variations occasioned most probably by transcribers) may be reduced to two heads. 1. In the lives of the patriarchs, from Shem to Terah, the Septuagint insert one hundred years before the time at which they had children; *i. e.* the Septuagint make them fathers one hundred years later than the Hebrew text. 2. The Septuagint add a patriarch not mentioned in the Hebrew, namely, Cainan, making thereby eleven generations from Shem to Abraham, instead of ten. As to the former of these particulars, namely, the addition of the hundred years before the births of the patriarchs' children, it has been already considered in my account of the antediluvian chronology, book i, p. 60; and the answer there given to this point will suffice here, and therefore I refer the Reader to it, to avoid repeating what is there set down at large. 2. As to Cainan's being one of Abraham's ancestors, as the Septuagint suppose, great stress is laid upon it by some learned men, who observe, that Cainan's name is inserted in the genealogy of our Saviour, Luke iii, which, they say,

would not have been done if the Septuagint were not right in this particular; for St. Luke, being an inspired writer, would not have inserted a particular which is false, differing in it at the same time from the Hebrew Scriptures.

Father Harduin[9] is in great difficulties about this point; for finding Cainan omitted in the vulgar Latin translation in Genesis, and inserted in the same translation in Luke, and the Council of Trent having decreed, under pain of anathema, that all the books of the Scriptures are, in all points and particulars, to be received as they are set forth in that particular translation, he thinks himself obliged to defend both the omission of Cainan in the one place and the insertion of him in the other, and at the same time to make it out, that Salah was born in the thirty-fifth year of Arphaxad, according to Genesis xi, 12, which he does in the following manner: 1. He says, Arphaxad and Cainan were very incontinent persons, and married more early than usual; and that Cainan was born when his father Arphaxad was but eighteen years old; and Salah was born when his father Cainan was but seventeen; so that Salah, though not the son yet the descendant of Arphaxad, was born when his grandfather Arphaxad was but thirty-five. 2. He thinks Moses omitted Cainan's name, being desirous not to expose him and his father for marrying so soon, and therefore put down Salah as descended from Arphaxad in the thirty-fifth year of his life, which he really was, though not immediately, as his son, yet really descended of him, being his grandson. But, 3, St. Luke puts in Cainan's name; and he says he might very well do it, because, not mentioning the times of their nativities in his genealogy, he did not hereby expose Cainan or Arphaxad, for their fault before mentioned. Thus the learned men of the church of Rome are forced to labour to cover the blunders and palliate the errors of their church; and thus it will always happen, where foolish and erroneous positions are established by canons and decrees. Some men of learning have a zeal to defend the communion of which they are members, and in so doing must bear the misfortune of being forced into argumentations, which must appear ridiculous to the unbiassed world, in order to obtain the character of good churchmen in their own country.

But to return: Cainan is inserted in the Septuagint Bible, and in St. Luke's Gospel, yet there is no such name in the Hebrew catalogue of the postdiluvian patriarchs. To this I answer: Eusebius and Africanus, both of them (besides other writers that might be named,) took their accounts of these times from the Septuagint, and yet have no such person as Cainan among these postdiluvians. 2. They did not omit his name through carelessness; for by the number of generations

[9] Chronolog. Vet. Test. p. 20.

and of years, which they compute from Shem to Abraham, it is plain they knew of no other name to be inserted than what they have given us; therefore, 3. The ancient copies of the Septuagint, from which Africanus and Eusebius wrote, had not the name of Cainan. 4. This name came into the Septuagint copies through the carelessness of some transcriber, who, through inattention, inserted an antediluvian name (for such a person there was before the Flood) amongst the postdiluvians, and having no numbers for his name, he wrote the numbers belonging to Salah twice over. 5. Other copies being taken from this erroneous one, the name of Cainan in time came to be generally inserted. 6. St. Luke did not put Cainan into his genealogy; but, 7, Learned men finding it in the copies of the Septuagint, and not in St. Luke, some transcribers remarked, in the margin of their copies, this name, as thinking it an omission in the copies of St. Luke's Gospel. 8. Later copiers and editors, finding it thus in the margin, took it into the text.[1]

Let us now inquire what religion was at this time, and how it differed in different countries. Corruptions in religion were, indeed, very early; but it is very probable that they were at first but few. The religion of mankind was almost one and the same for many years after they were divided from one another. We read, that the Chaldeans were so zealous in their errors, even in Abram's days, that they expelled him their country for his dissenting from them; but we have no reason to think, that either the Canaanite or the Egyptian were as yet devoted to a false religion. The king of Salem, who was a Canaanite, of a different family from Abram, was a priest of the most high God[2] in the country of which he was king; and we do not find that Abram met any disturbance upon account of his religion from the inhabitants of that country; nor have we reason to think that his religion was at this time different from theirs. In the same manner when he came to Egypt, God is said to have sent judgments upon Pharaoh's family,[3] because of Abram's wife; and the king of Egypt seems in nowise a stranger to the true God, but to have had the fear of him before his eyes, and to be influenced by it in all his actions. Religion was, at this time, the observance of what God had been pleased to reveal concerning himself and his worship; and without doubt mankind, in all parts of the world, for some generations, adhered to it. The only wicked persons mentioned about this time in the world were the Sodomites; and their depravity was not the corruption of false religion, but immorality. But I shall examine this subject a little more exactly; and the best method I can do it in will be to trace and consider the several particulars of the true religion of Abram; and in the next place to inquire, what

[1] Capell. Chron. Sacr. [2] Heb. vii, 1. [3] Gen. xii, 7.

reasons we have to think that the other nations of the world agreed with Abram in his religion; and lastly, to examine when and how, by what steps and means, they departed from it.

I. Let us consider what was the religion of Abram. And here, as all religion must necessarily consist of two parts, namely, of some things to be believed and others to be performed, so we must inquire into Abram's religion under these two heads. All religion, I say, consists of faith and practice. Faith is a part even of natural religion; for *he that cometh unto* GOD *must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that serve him;*[4] and this faith will oblige him to perform the practical part of religion; for if there is a GOD, and he is a rewarder of his servants, it necessarily follows, that we must take care to serve and please him. But let us enquire what the former part of Abram's religion was; what his faith was; what he believed.

In general, Abram must unavoidably have had a very lively sense, and firm belief of the common attributes of ALMIGHTY GOD; of which he must have been convinced from the history of mankind, from GOD's dealing with the world. The very Deluge must have fully instructed him in this faith. We cannot imagine, that he could receive the accounts of that astonishing vengeance, executed upon a wicked world, which, without doubt, were transmitted down from Noah's sons to their descendants, especially in those families which adhered to the worship of the true GOD. I say, he could not have the account of this remarkable transaction transmitted to him, in all its circumstances, without being instructed from it to think of GOD. First, That he takes cognizance of what is done on the Earth. Secondly, That he is a lover of virtue, but an abhorrer of vice; for he preserved a well-disposed family, but destroyed a wicked and sinful world. Thirdly, That GOD has infinite power to command winds and rains, seas and elements, to execute his will. Fourthly, That as is his power, so is his mercy; he was not desirous that men should perish; he warned them of their ruin, in order to their amendment, one hundred and twenty years before he executed his vengeance upon them. A sense of these things must have led him, lastly, to know and believe, that a Being of this sort was to be served and worshipped, feared and obeyed. A general faith of this sort Abram must have had, from a consideration and knowledge of what had been done in the world; and the world was as yet so young, the very persons saved in the Flood being still alive, and their immediate children and grandchildren being the chief actors in these times, that no part of mankind can well be conceived to have deviated much from this faith. But then, Abram's faith went still farther,

[4] Heb. xi, 6.

for he believed some things which were revealed to him by ALMIGHTY GOD, over and above the general truths before mentioned. As it had pleased GOD to design from the fall of man a scheme, which in Scripture is sometimes called the *will of* GOD,[5] sometimes the *counsel* or *design of* GOD,[6] sometimes *the hidden wisdom* or *purpose of* GOD, by which mankind were to be redeemed from the ruin, which the sin of our first parents had involved us in; so he was pleased to give various hints and discoveries of it to several persons in different ages of the world, from Adam to the very time when this purpose, so long before concerted, was to take effect and be accomplished; and the receiving and believing the intimations thus given, was a part of the religion of the faithful in their several generations.

From Adam to the Flood we have but one intimation of this sort, namely, that which is contained in the threatening to the serpent,[7] *That the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head:* a proposition, which, if taken singly and by itself, may perhaps seem to us something dark and obscure; but I would observe, from the very learned Dr. Sherlock,[8] that those writers who endeavour to pervert the meaning of this promise, and to give the words a sense not relating to the Messiah, under a pretence of adhering to a literal interpretation of Scripture, cannot, in this place, make it speak common sense; and I might add, that the words of the prophecy cannot, without breaking through all rules of grammar and construction, admit of the interpretation which they would put upon them. They inquire, by what rules of language, *the seed of the woman* must signify one particular person? I answer, in the place before us, it cannot possibly signify any thing else; the verse, if translated directly from the Hebrew, would run thus: *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. He shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* If by the seed of the woman had been meant the descendants of Eve, in the plural number, it should have been, *they shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise their heels.* The Septuagint took particular care, in their translation, to preserve the true meaning of it, by not using a pronoun which might refer to the word seed, but a personal pronoun, which best answers the Hebrew word הוּא, or *he* in English. Αυτος σου τηρησει κεφαλην, και συ τηρησεις αυτε σφεναν.

When GOD was pleased to admonish Abram to go out of

[5] Ephes. i, 9; Heb. x, 7, 10.
[6] Acts ii, 23, xx, 27; Ephes. i, 11; 1 Cor. ii, 7; Ephes. iii, 11; 2 Tim. i, 9.
[7] Gen. iii, 15.
[8] Dr. Sherlock's Use and Intent of Prophecy, Disc. iii, well worth every one's serious perusal, and which gives a better account of what I am in this place hinting, than I can express, unless I were to transcribe at large what he has offered.

his country, from his kindred and relations, he encouraged him by giving larger intimations of the mercies which he designed for the world. The first of these intimations is recorded Gen. xii. God there promises, upon requiring him to leave his kindred and father's house, "That he would give him and his descendants abundance of happiness and prosperity; that of him should arise a great nation; that his name should be famous; that he should be a blessing," *i. e.* exceedingly happy, or blessed; "that he would advance his friends, *bless them that blessed him*, and depress his enemies, or *curse them that cursed him.*" He added, moreover, that *in him all the families of the Earth should be blessed;* but not in him personally, for it was afterwards explained to him,[9] *In thy seed shall all the nations of the Earth be blessed.*

This expression of all nations being blessed in Abram, or in Abram's seed, is by some writers said to mean no more, than that Abram and his posterity should be so happy, as that those who had a mind to bless, or wish well to their friends, should propose them as an example or pattern of the favours of Heaven. *In thee shall all the families of the Earth be blessed*, i. e. all people of the world shall bless, or wish well to their friends [*in thee*, i. e.] according to what they see in thee, according to the measure of thy happiness. To be blessed in one, says a learned writer,[1] implies, according to the genius of the Hebrew language, as much as to wish the same degree of happiness as is possessed by the person alluded to, or proposed as the pattern of the blessing. Of this, says the same writer, we have a remarkable instance in the history of the blessing bestowed by Jacob upon Ephraim and Manasseh:[2] *And he blessed them that day, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, saying* God *make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh;* whence it is plain, that the meaning of Jacob, in saying that *in thee shall Israel bless*, was, that Ephraim and Manasseh should be proposed as examples of blessing; so that people were to wish to those they intended to bless, the same happiness which God had bestowed upon Ephraim and Manasseh. As this exposition of the promise to Abram is conceived sufficient to show, that that promise had no relation to the Messiah, so I have expressed it in its whole force, and think it may be very clearly confuted. 1. The learned critic above named has very evidently mistaken the expression. *To bless a person in one*, especially when explained by additional words, *God make thee as such an one*, which is the case in the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh, may easily be apprehended to be proposing the person so mentioned as a pattern of the blessing or happiness wished to him, and that without laying any stress upon the genius or idiom of the Hebrew

[9] Gen. xxii, 18.
[2] Gen. xlviii, 20.
[1] Jurieu, Critical History, vol. i, c. 1.

tongue, for the words can really have no other signification. But to say a person shall *be blessed in*, or *by thee*, without any addition of words to give the expression another meaning, is evidently to say, that thou shalt bless or make that person happy, by being a means of his prosperity. The expression[3] in the one place is, *in thee shall Israel bless*, or express their good wishes to one another; and the expression is unquestionably clear, for it is added how they should so bless, namely, by saying, GOD *make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh.* In the other passage it is, *all families shall be blessed in*, or *by thee*, i. e. shall be made happy by thee; for this is the natural sense of the expression; and, unless something else had been added, the words cannot be turned to any other meaning. 2. None of the ancient versions give the words our author's sense, but some of them the very sense in which I have explained them. 3. The best interpreters have always taken them in the sense for which I am contending. St. Paul[4] expressly tells us, that by *the seed of Abram* was meant, not the descendants of Abram, in the plural number, but a single person; and the writer of the book of the Acts[5] mentions CHRIST as the particular person, who, according to this promise, was to bless the world. Indeed, the supposing this promise to be fulfilled in CHRIST is absolutely necessary; because neither Abram, nor any person descended from him, but CHRIST, was ever, in any tolerable sense, a blessing or mean of happiness to all the families of the Earth. Here, therefore, GOD, enlarged the subject of Abram's faith, and revealed to him, that a person should descend from him, who would be a blessing to the whole world. There are several places in Scripture, where GOD, as circumstances required, repeated the whole or part of this promise; in the plain of Moreh;[6] and again after Lot and Abram[7] were parted from one another; and afterwards the particulars of this promise were farther explained, as I shall observe in its proper place. This therefore was the particular faith of Abram, over and besides what reason and observation might dictate to him concerning GOD and his providence. He received the discoveries which GOD was pleased to make him, of designing an universal benefit to the world in a person to be descended from him; and Abram believed whatever it pleased GOD to discover to him, and such *his belief was counted to him for righteousness;* it was a part of his religion.

There is a passage in the New Testament, which, as it re-

[3] The expression, Gen. xlviii, 20, is בך יברך ישראל, in which the verb is active. The other expression is,

ונברכו בך כל משפחת האדמה, Gen. xii, 3; or,

והתברכו בזרעך כל גויי הארץ, Gen. xxii, 18, in both which places the verb is passive.

[4] Gal. iii, 16.
[5] Acts iii, 25.
[6] Gen. xii, 7.
[7] Chap. xiii, ver. 15, &c.

lates to Abram's faith, may not improperly be considered in this place. Our blessed Saviour told the Jews,[8] that Abraham had seen his day, and rejoiced at it; from whence it is concluded, that Abraham had a knowledge of JESUS CHRIST to come, and that by looking forward, through faith, he saw him as if then present, and embraced the expectation of him, and rejoiced in him as his Saviour. But to this it is objected, 1. That it nowhere appears that Abram knew any thing of CHRIST,[9] any farther than that some one descendant from himself should be a blessing to the whole world. 2. They say, that interpreting this passage in this manner seems to destroy the truth which our Saviour intended to establish by it. Our Saviour spoke it, they say, in order to hint to the Jews, that he was a greater person than what they took him to be; for that he not only now appeared and lived amongst them, but that he had ages before been seen by Abraham; from whence the Jews concluded, that he meant to assert what he upon their not believing it assured them was true (verse 58,) that he was older than Abraham; but if Abraham saw his day only by looking forward in faith to the expectation of it, no such conclusion could follow from his so seeing it; he might thus see it, and yet the Saviour, whose day he so looked for, might be ages younger and later than himself: therefore, 3. As the design of this passage was to prove CHRIST older than Abraham, so, they argue, the true meaning of it is, that CHRIST was himself seen by Abraham; and so he really was; for, as many of the fathers rightly conjecture,[1] the Divine Person, who was so often seen by Abraham, when GOD was said to appear to him, was our blessed Saviour, then in being, ages before he took upon him the seed of Abraham. Abraham therefore, literally speaking, saw him, and our Saviour might very justly conclude from Abraham's thus seeing him, that he was really in being before Abraham. I have expressed this objection in its full force, but I think the objectors do not consider the accounts we have of Abraham's worship. Abraham built his altars, not unto GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time*,[2] but unto the LORD, who appeared to him; and in all the accounts, which we have of his prayers, we find they were offered up in the name of this Lord. Thus, at Beersheba, he invoked *in the name of Jehovah, the everlasting* GOD.[3] Our English translation very erroneously renders the place *he called upon the name of Jehovah;* but the ex-

[8] John viii, 56.

[9] We have an account of Abram's faith, Heb. xi, and there is no mention in it of his believing in CHRIST.

[1] See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i, c. 3; Justin. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 275, 277, 280, 281, 282; Irenæus Heres. lib. iv, c. 12; Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i, c. 7; Tertull. contra Judæos, c. 9; id. contra Marcion. lib. ii, c. 27, lib. iii, c. 6; et contra Prax. c. 14; cum multis aliis, qui citantur, et vindicantur in illust Bullii Def. Fidei Nicenæ, c. 1.

[2] Gen. xii, 7. [3] Chap. xxi, 33; see Exod. xxiii, 21, and Isaiah ix, 6.

pression *kara be shem* never signifies to call upon the name. *Kara shem* would signify to invoke, or call upon the name; or *kara el shem* would signify to cry unto the name; but *kara be shem* signifies to invoke in the name, and seems to be used where the true worshippers of GOD offered their prayers in the name of the true mediator; or where the idolaters offered their prayers in the name of false ones;[4] for as the true worshippers had but *one* GOD and *one* LORD, so the false worshippers had *gods many* and *lords many*.[5] We have several instances of *kara*, and a noun after it, sometimes with and sometimes without the particle *el*, and then it signifies to call upon the person there mentioned. Thus *kara Jehovah* is to call upon the LORD,[6] and *kara el Jehovah* imports the same;[7] but *kara be shem* is either to *name by the name* (as I have formerly hinted,) or to *invoke in the name*, when it is used as an expression of religious worship.

As we have hitherto considered the faith of Abram, we have now to treat of that part of his religion which concerned his practice in the worship of GOD. The way and method of worshipping GOD in these early times was that of sacrifice; and as I have already hinted, that sacrifices were a divine, and not a human institution, it seems most reasonable to suppose, that there were some prescribed rules and appointments for the due and regular performance of this their worship. Plato[8] lays it down for a general rule, that all laws and appointments about divine matters must come from the Deity; and his opinion herein is agreeable to that of the sacred writer,[9] who observes, that a person cannot be capable of being a priest, to offer sacrifice for sins, unless he be appointed by GOD unto that office; for *no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that was called of* GOD, *as was Aaron*. It is, I think, therefore most probable, that as GOD at first appointed sacrifices to be offered, so he also directed, 1. Who should be the priest or sacrificer, to offer them: 2. What sorts of sacrifices should be offered: 3. What creatures should be sacrificed, and what not; and, 4, With what rites and ceremonies their sacrifices should be performed.

As to the person who was to be the priest, or sacrificer; it is generally agreed by the best writers of all sorts, that the honour of performing this office belonged to the eldest, or firstborn of each family. "Before[1] the tabernacle was erected, private altars and high places were in use for sacrifices, and the eldest of each family performed the sacrifice," and that in the following manner: 1. When the children of a family were to offer a sacrifice, then the father was the priest. In this

[4] 1 Kings xviii, 26.
[5] 1 Cor. viii, 5.
[6] Psalm xiv, 4; xvii, 6; xxxi, 7; liii, 4; cxviii, 5, &c.
[7] 1 Sam. xii, 17; Jonah i, 6, &c.
[8] De Legibus, lib. vi, p. 759.
[9] Heb. v, 4.
[1] Tract. Melikim. in Mishna. 14.

manner Cain and Abel offered their sacrifice; for it is not said,[2] that either of them actually offered, but that each of them brought his offering. It is probable, that Adam their father offered it for them. 2. When the sons of a family were met together to offer sacrifice, after they came to be themselves fathers of houses and families of their own, and were separated from their father and father's house, their father not being present with them, the eldest son was the priest, or sacrificer, for himself and his brethren; and this was the honour which Jacob coveted, when he bought Esau's birthright. "He had a most earnest desire (says the Jewish writers[3]) to obtain the privilege of the first born from Esau; because, as we have it by tradition, before the tabernacle, whilst private altars were in use, the eldest, or firstborn, was the sacrificer or priest of the family." And it is for this reason that Esau was called profane[4] for selling his birthright, because he showed himself to have but little value for that religious office, which was annexed to it. 3. All the children of a family, younger as well as elder, when they were settled in the world and had families of their own, had the right of sacrificing for their own families, as heads of them, of which we have several instances in the sacrifices of Jacob, in his return from Laban with his wives and children.

As to the several sorts of sacrifices, which were to be offered, we do not find an express mention of any other than these following. The expiatory sacrifice was that which Abel was supposed to offer; and it is generally held by all the best writers, that the father of every family offered this sacrifice, as Job did for his children,[5] daily. 2. They had precatory sacrifices, which were burnt offerings of several creatures, in order to obtain from GOD some particular favours; of which sort was the sacrifice of Noah after the Flood. *Noah builded an altar unto the* LORD, *and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings upon the altar. And the* LORD *smelled a sweet savour, and said, I will not again curse the ground, neither will I smite every thing living any more.—And* GOD *blessed Noah, and said*—[6] This sacrifice of Noah, says Josephus,[7] was offered in order to obtain from GOD a promise, that the ancient and natural course of things should be continued, without being interrupted by any farther calamities. If we attend to the circumstances belonging to this sacrifice, we find (chapter viii,) that GOD promised this favour, and enjoined them the observance of some laws, and covenanted, that they should assuredly have those mercies for which he had prayed. In much the same manner GOD covenanted with Abram, upon his offering one of these precatory sacrifices, to give him the

[2] Gen. iv, 3, 4. [3] Bereschit. Rabba. fol. 7. [4] Heb. xii, 16.
[5] Job i, 5. [6] Gen. viii, 20. [7] Antiq. lib. i, c. 3.

land of Canaan.[8] Abram said unto GOD, *Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?* And GOD said unto him, *Take me a heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove, and a young pigeon; and he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another, but the birds divided he not.* This was the method and order in which he laid them upon the altar for a sacrifice; and he sat down to watch them, that the fowls of the air might not seize upon them. About the going down of the sun Abram fell asleep, and in a dream GOD revealed to him how and in what manner he designed to give his descendants the land of Canaan. And after sun-set, *Behold a smoking*[9] *furnace and a burning lamp passed between those pieces;* i. e. a fire from Heaven consumed the sacrifice; and *in that same day,* i. e. then, or at that time, *the* LORD *made a covenant with Abram, saying, &c.* Thus I have set down all the particulars of this sacrifice, it being the fullest description we meet with of this sort of sacrifice. These precatory sacrifices might also be called federal; the Psalmist alludes to them, where he speaks of those *that* had *made a covenant with* GOD *by sacrifice.*[1]

3. A third sort of sacrifice, in use in these times, was a burnt offering of some parts of a creature, with a feast upon the remaining parts, in order to ratify and confirm some agreement or league between man and man. Of this we have a particular instance in the sacrifice and feast of Jacob in the mount with Laban and his brethren. 4. They offered, by way of gratitude, oblations of the fruits and product of their tillage: *Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the* LORD. 5. They made an offering of oil or wine, when they made a vow, or laid themselves under a solemn promise to perform some duty, if it should please GOD to favour them with some desired blessing. Thus Jacob, when he went towards Haran,[2] vowed a vow, saying, *If* GOD *will be with me, and will keep me, in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my fathers house in peace, then the* LORD *shall be my* GOD, *and I will give the tenth, &c.* And in order to bind himself to this vow, he took the stone—and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. In the same manner, in another place,[3] *Jacob set*

[8] Gen. xv, 8—18.

[9] Here is evidently a mistake in our Hebrew Bibles; עבר, *to pass,* and בער, *to kindle,* or *burn,* are words of exactly the same letters; and through the mistake of some transcriber, *âabar* is in this place instead of *bâar,* which would make the sense much more clear. The meaning of the place is, that the parts of the sacrifice smoked first, and afterwards took fire; and the words, rightly taken, do very well express this: behold a smoking furnace and a burning lamp (not *passed* but) *kindled* amongst the pieces.

[1] Psalm l, 5. [2] Gen. xxviii, 18—22. [3] Gen. xxxv, 14

up a pillar in the place where GOD *talked with him, even a pillar of stone, and he poured a drink offering thereon, and he poured oil thereon.* These are, I think, all the several sorts of offerings and sacrifices, which we can prove to have been in use in these early times; if they used any other, they have left us no hints of them.

Let us now inquire what creatures were offered in sacrifice, and what not. To which I answer, all *clean* beasts whatsoever, and no other; and all *clean* fowls, and no other. What the number of the *clean* beasts and fowls were, and when or how that distinction began, are points, of which the learned have not given a full and satisfactory account. It seems most probable, from the first chapter of Leviticus, compared with the sacrifice of Noah after the Flood, and with that of Abram, Gen. xv, 9, that the *clean* beasts used for sacrifice were of the cow kind, or of the sheep, or of the goats, and that the *clean* fowls were only turtle doves and young pigeons. These were all the creatures which GOD appointed the Jews for burnt offerings; and these were the creatures which Abram offered in his solemn sacrifice, in order to obtain the assurance of the land of Canaan. In this sort of sacrifice it was usual to offer of every sort of creature used for sacrifice, for so Noah's sacrifice, which was of this sort, is described, *He took of every clean beast, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings upon the altar.* Noah took, says R. Eleazar, of all sorts of clean beasts, namely, the bullock, the lamb, and the goat; and from among the birds the pigeon and turtle dove, and sacrificed them.

Our last inquiry was, what ceremonies were used at this time in religion; and here we can have but little to offer, because we have few particulars handed down to us. If we look into the journeyings of Abram, we find, that wherever he made any stop he constantly built an altar. This he did in the plain of Moreh;[4] and afterwards, when he removed, he built another in the place where he pitched his tent, between Bethel and Hai;[5] and afterwards another, when he came to dwell in the plain of Mamre. In the same manner Isaac built an altar at Beersheba;[6] and Jacob afterwards, both at Shalem[7] and at Bethel.[8] In all places where they fixed their habitations, they left us these monuments of their being very punctual and exact performers of the offices of religion. But what the particular ceremonies used in their religious performances were, or what were the stated or occasional times of such performances, we cannot say with any certainty; therefore, though I think, with many learned writers, that a great deal may be guessed upon this subject, from observing what was afterwards enjoined in the law of

[4] Gen. xii, 7. [5] Ver. 18; chap. xiii, 18. [6] Chap. xxvi, 25.
[7] Chap. xxxiv, 20. [8] Chap. xxxv, 7.

Moses, yet all that amounting at most to no more than conjecture, I shall choose to omit it in this place. We have indeed mention made of two particular ceremonies of religion, a very little after Abraham's time. Jacob, in order to prepare his family to offer sacrifice with him upon the altar which he designed to make at Bethel, bids them[9] *be clean,* and *change your garments. Be clean,* i. e. wash yourselves, as Dr. Lightfoot[1] rightly interprets it; this being not only a most ancient usage, but a ceremony universally practised by all nations. It seems at first to have been appointed by GOD to keep up in their minds the remembrance of the Deluge: they were to use water upon their having contracted any defilements, in order to hint to them, how GOD by water had formerly washed away all the pollutions of the world; for by a flood of waters he washed away all the wicked and polluted men from off the face of the Earth. That this was the first occasion of GOD's appointing water to be used for their purifications seems very probable, from the several opinions which all sorts of writers have handed down to us about the Deluge. We learn from Philo,[2] that the ancient Jews reputed the Deluge to be a lustration or purification of the world; and Origen informs us,[3] that their opinion in this point was embraced by the first Christians; and the same writer[4] says, that some eminent Greek philosophers were of the same opinion. Plato likewise seems to hint it in several places[5] of his works; and I think I may say St. Peter alludes to this opinion,[6] where he compares the baptism of Christians to the water of the Flood.

As they had altars for their sacrifices, so they had *proseuchæ,* or places of retirement, to offer prayers unto GOD, at such times as they did not offer sacrifices with them. These *proseuchæ,* or places of prayer, were set round with trees, in order to make them the more retired. A place of this sort Abraham prepared for himself in Beersheba,[7] and in it *he called upon the name of the* LORD, *the everlasting* GOD.

There is one ceremony more, which was appointed to be observed by Abraham and his posterity, namely, circumcision, of which Moses has given a full account.[8]

II. We are in the next place to inquire how far the several nations at this time in the world agreed with Abram in his religion. Now, as all the nations at this time in the world, of any figure, or of which we have any accounts, were either the inhabitants of Persia, Assyria, Arabia, Canaan, or Egypt, I shall mention what may be offered concerning these, in their order.

First, the Persians, who for some time adhered to the pure and true worship of GOD. They are remarkable beyond other

9 Gen. xxxv, 2. 1 Har. Evang. 2 Lib. quod deterior potior. p. 186.
3 Contra Celsum, l. iv, p. 173. 4 Ibid. lib. vi, p. 316.
5 De Legib. l. iii, p. 676, et in al. 6 1 Pet. iii, 20, 21.
7 Gen. xxi, 33. 8 Chap. xvii.

nations,[9] for having had amongst them a true account of the creation of the world; and they adhered very strictly to it, and founded all their religion upon it. The Persians were the children of Shem by his son Elam, as Abraham and his descendants were by Arphaxad; therefore, the same common parent that instructed the one branch in the true religion did also instruct the other. Dr. Hyde remarks,[1] that he had reason to think they were very strict professors of it; though they gradually corrupted it by introducing novelties and fancies of their own both into their faith and practice. He treats of the Persian religion under these three heads: First, he says, the true religion was planted among them by Elam; but in time it was corrupted into Sabiism.[2] Secondly, their Sabiism was reformed by Abraham; but in time they relapsed into it again. Thirdly, they afterwards introduced Magiism.[3] According to this account, the Persians were fallen into the errors of the Sabians in Abraham's days, and were reduced by him back again to the true religion; but in this point I think that learned writer is mistaken. All his accounts of their having been anciently Sabians, are taken either from the Mohammedan writers, or Greek historians; but these authorities only prove, that they were Sabians before the Magian religion took place amongst them, but not that they were so as early as Abraham's days. He also imagines, that their religion was reformed by Abraham; and consequently that it was corrupted before, or in his days. Their ancient accounts, he says, call their religion *Millat Ibrahîm*, or *Kish Abrâhâm*, i. e. the religion of Abraham; and their sacred book, which contains the doctrine of their religion, is called *Sohfi Ibrahîm*, i. e. the book of Abraham; and he concludes from hence, that their first and most ancient religion being planted amongst them by Elam, their first founder, their religion could not possibly be called the religion of Abraham, unless he had reformed it from some corruptions which had crept into it: therefore he gives it as his opinion, that Abraham did, some time or other in his life, reduce them back to the true worship: but it is remarkable, that he is very much at a loss to determine in what part of Abraham's life he made this reformation. He says, they report that Abraham lived some part of his life in Bactria, agreeably to what is remarked by one of their writers, that Balch was the city of the prophet Abraham. Now the city Balch was situate in the farther parts of Persia, towards India: but Dr. Hyde allows, we cannot find from Scripture that Abraham ever travelled that way; nay, farther, that Balch was built by a king

[9] Hyde, Religio veterum Persarum, cap. 3.

[1] Id. c. 1.

[2] Sabians were the worshippers of the host of Heaven; see Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. iii.

[3] Magians were worshippers of fire. See Prideaux, Connect. Ibid.

of Persia, long after Abraham's time, and that the true meaning of the expression above cited, that Balch was the city of the prophet Abraham, was no more than this, that Balch was a city eminent for the profession of Abraham's religion. Again, he imagines that the Persians had been brought over to Abraham's religion by the overthrow which he gave the king of Elam and his associates, when he rescued Lot from him; but this is an unsupported and very improbable conjecture. The true reason for the Persians having been anciently recorded to be of Abraham's religion seems more likely to be this: as the fame of Abraham, and his opposing the Chaldeans in their corruptions and innovations, was spread far and near over all the East, and had reached even to India, so, very probably, all Persia was full of it; and the Persians not being then corrupted, as the Chaldeans were, but persevering in the true worship of the God of Heaven, for which Abraham was expelled Chaldea, might, upon the fame of his credit and reputation in the world, profess and take care to deliver themselves down to posterity as professors of his religion, in opposition to those innovations which prevailed in Chaldea. The first religion, therefore, of the Persians, was the worship of the true God; and they continued in it for some time after Abraham was expelled Chaldea, having the same faith and worship as Abraham had, except only in those points concerning which he received instruction after his going into Haran and into Canaan.

The next people whose religion we are to consider are the Chaldeans. They, indeed, persevered in the true religion only for a short time; for, as I before observed, about the seventh year of Abraham's life, the Chaldeans had so far departed from the worship of the God of Heaven, and were so zealous in their errors, that upon Abraham's family refusing to join with them they expelled him their country;[4] so that we must pass from them until we come to treat of the nations which were corrupted in their religion.

The people next to be considered are the Arabians, many of whom persevered in the true worship of God for several ages; of which Job was an instance, perhaps, in these times of which I am treating, and Jethro,[5] the priest of Midian, in the days of Moses. Their religion appears in no respect to have differed from that of Abraham, only we do not find any proof that they were acquainted with the orders which were given him, or the revelations made to him after he came into Canaan.

And if we look amongst the Canaanites, here, as I before hinted, we shall find no reason to suppose, that their religion was different from that of Abraham. Abraham travelled many years up and down in this country, and was respected

[4] Judith v, 7, 8. [5] Exodus xviii, 10—12.

by the inhabitants of it as a person in great favour with GOD. Melchisedec, the king of Salem, was a priest of the most high GOD; and he received and entertained Abraham as a true servant and particular favourite of that GOD, whose priest he himself was. *Blessed*, said he, *be Abraham, servant of the most high* GOD, *possessor of Heaven and Earth.*[6] The Canaanites gave Abraham no manner of disturbance, as the Chaldeans had done, during all the time that he sojourned amongst them; and we have no reason to suppose that they differed from him in their religion. In the same manner when he came to Gerar,[7] into the land of the Philistines, he found Abimelech to be a good and virtuous king, one that received the favour of admonitions from GOD,[8] and showed himself, by his obeying them, to be his true servant. Abraham, indeed, before he came among them, thought the Philistines were a wicked people, and imagined the fear of GOD was not in that place;[9] but the address of Abimelech to GOD, upon his receiving intimations that Sarah was Abraham's wife, shows how much he was mistaken in his opinion. *Lord, wilt thou slay a virtuous nation? Said he not unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself, said, He is my brother. In the integrity of my heart, and innocency of my hands, have I done this.*[1] We find also, that Abimelech made no scruple of admitting Abraham for a prophet, and of getting him to intercede for him. There is nothing in the whole account of this affair, which intimates a difference in religion between Abraham and Abimelech; nor any thing which can intimate that Abimelech was not a worshipper of GOD in great sincerity and integrity of heart. Such, I believe, was the state of the world at this time. The Chaldeans were something sooner settled than other nations, and so began to corrupt their religion more early; but in Abraham's time all the other nations, or plantations, did still adhere to the true accounts of the Creation and Deluge, which their fathers had given them, and worshipped the true GOD, according to what had been revealed to them, and in a manner not different from the worship of Abraham, until GOD was pleased to make farther revelations to Abraham, and to enjoin him rights and observances in religion, with which he had not acquainted other nations. Now we shall find this true amongst those whom we are next to consider; for,

The Egyptians also at first worshipped the true GOD; for as Abraham was received at Gerar, so was he likewise entertained in Egypt.[2] We find, indeed, that the Egyptians fell into idolatry very early; but when they had thus departed from the true worship of GOD, we see evident marks of it in their conversation with those who still adhered to it; for in

[6] Gen. xiv, 19. [7] Chap. xx. [8] Ver. 3.
[9] Ver. 11. [1] Gen. xx, 5. [2] Chap. xii, 14, &c.

Joseph's time we are told, that the *Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews,*[3] *for that was then* counted *an abomination to them;* but in Abraham's time we meet with nothing of this sort. Abraham was entertained by Pharaoh without the appearance of any indisposition towards him, or any the least sign of their having a different religion from that which Abraham himself professed and practised. The heathen writers give us some hints, that the Egyptians were at first worshippers of the true GOD. Plutarch testifies,[4] that, in Upper Egypt, the inhabitants of that country paid no part of the taxes which were raised for the idolatrous worship, asserting, that they owned no mortal being to be a god, but professed to worship their god Cneph only, whom they affirmed to be without beginning and without end. Philo-Biblius informs us,[5] that in the mythologic times they represented this deity, called Cneph, by the figure of a serpent, with the head of a hawk in the middle of a circle. But then he farther tells us, from the ancient records, that the God thus represented was the Creator of all things, a Being incorruptible and eternal, without beginning and without parts; with several other attributes belonging to the Supreme GOD. Agreeable to this, Porphyry calls this Egyptian Cneph τον δημιουργον, *i. e.* the Maker, or Creator, of the Universe.[6] If we search the Egyptian antiquities, we may find in their remains as noble and true notions of the Deity as are to be met with in the antiquities of any other people. These were certainly their first principles, and as long as they adhered to these, so long they preserved the knowledge of the true religion; but afterwards, when they came to add to these speculations of their own, then by degrees they corrupted and lost it.

Thus, at first, there was a general agreement about religion in the world; and if we look into the particulars of the heathen religion, even after they were much corrupted, we may evidently find several practices, as well as principles, sufficient to convince us, that the ancient religion in all parts of the world was originally the same. Sacrifices were used in every country; and though by degrees they were disfigured by many human ceremonies and inventions, in the way and method of using them, yet I might say, the heathens generally offered the same sorts of sacrifices as were appointed to Noah, to Abraham, and to the other servants of the true GOD. They offered expiatory sacrifices to make atonement for their sins, and precatory sacrifices to obtain extraordinary favours; they had also their vows and their oblations. Many instances of all these may be found in Homer, and in many other heathen writers. In the next place, priests were appointed to be the sacrificers for them. And though, when civil society be-

[3] Gen. xliii, 32.
[4] Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 359.
[5] Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.
[6] Ib. lib. iii, c. 11.

gan to be formed, it became as necessary to have national priests as it was in families to have private ones (instances of which we meet with among the true worshippers of God, Melchisedec at Salem, as well as Anius at Delphos,[7] being both priest and king, and God himself appointing the Israelites a national priest, when they afterwards became a people,) yet we find that among the heathens, for many ages, the original appointment of the head of every family to be the priest and sacrificer to his family was inviolably maintained, as may be proved from their private feasts, where neither the public, nor consequently the public ministers of religion were concerned. Thus Homer very remarkably represents Eumæus, the keeper of Ulysses's cattle, officiating as priest[8] in the sacrifice which he made when he entertained Ulysses, who visited him in the dress and habit of a poor traveller. In the same manner we have reason to think, that for a great while the creatures used in sacrifice were the same as Noah called the *clean beasts;* for supposing *them* to be, as I before observed, only bullocks, sheep, or goats, these were most anciently and most generally used by the heathens. Time, indeed, and a continual increase of superstition, made numerous additions to all parts of their religion; but Job's friends amongst the Arabians used bullocks and rams for their burnt offerings,[9] and the Moabites[1] did the same in the time of Moses. The common expiations mentioned in Homer are either (εκατομβαι ταυρων ηδ' αιγων) hecatombs of bulls or goats, or (αρνων αιγωντε τελειων) lambs and goats without blemish; and Achilles joins them all together,[2] supposing that an offering of one or other of these was wanting to avert the anger of Apollo, hereby intimating, that these were the common and ordinary expiations. As to the ceremonies used in early days, we have so short an account of what were used in the true religion, and there was such a variety of additions made to the false, that we cannot offer a large comparison between them. However, we may observe, that the ancient ceremonies which I have taken notice of, namely, of washing and changing their garments, in order to approach the altar, universally took place in all the several sorts of the heathen worship. Various authors might be cited to prove this, which the reader may see in Dr. Spencer's Dissertation upon the ancient purifications; but there are two lines of the Latin poet, which describe these two rites in words so agreeable to the directions which Jacob gave his family about them, that I shall set them down as a specimen of the rest.

> Casta placent superis, pura cum veste venite,
> Et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam.
>
> TIBULLUS.

[7] Virgil, Æn. iii, l. 80.
[8] Odyss. xiv, l. 432, 446.
[9] Job xlii, 8.
[1] Numb. xxii, 1.
[2] Homer, Il. i, l. 66.

Upon the whole it is remarkable, that some learned writers, and Dr. Spencer in particular, have imagined, that the resemblance between the ancient heathen religions, and the ancient religion which was instituted by GOD, was in many respects so great, that they thought GOD was pleased to institute the one in imitation of the other. This conclusion is, indeed, a very wrong one; and it is the grand mistake which runs through all the works of the very learned author last mentioned. The ancient heathen religions do, indeed, in many particulars agree with the institutions and appointments of that religion, which was appointed to Abraham and his family, and which was afterwards revived by Moses. Not that these were derived from those of the heathen nations, but more evidently the heathen religions were copied from them. For there is, I think, one observation which, as far as I have had opportunity to apply it, will fully answer every particular that Dr. Spencer has offered, which is this; he can produce no one ceremony or usage, practised both in the religion of Abraham or Moses, and in that of the heathen nations, but may be proved to have been used by Abraham or Moses, or by some of the true worshippers of GOD, earlier than by any of the heathen nations.

III. We are to inquire how, and by what means, the several nations in the world departed from the true religion? And since Diodorus Siculus has given a very probable account of the rise of false religion in Egypt, I will begin there first, and endeavour to illustrate what I shall say of other nations from what we find of them.

The first men of Egypt, says he,[3] considering the world, and the nature of the universe, imagined two first eternal Gods; so that it was their speculative inquiries into the nature of things that led them into the errors about the Deity. And if we examine we shall see, that from the beginning to the present times it has always been a vain philosophy, and an affectation of science, falsely so called, which has corrupted religion. The first Egyptians had, without doubt, a short account of the history of the world transmitted to them; an account of the creation, of the origin of mankind, of the deluge, and of the method of worship which GOD had appointed. As Abraham had received instruction in these points from his forefathers, so also the Egyptians had from theirs; but they neglected to take due care not to deviate from what had been thus transmitted to them. Some great genius or other, thinking to speculate, and to establish such speculations as he judged to be true, and therefore very proper to be admitted into their religious inquiries, happened to think wrong, and so began a scheme of errors, which others, age after age, refined upon

[3] Diodorus Siculus, lib. i, sec. 11.

and added to, until, by steps and degrees, they built up the whole frame of their idolatries and superstitions.

The person who first speculated upon these subjects was Syphis, the first of that name (for his successor was likewise so called,) a king of Memphis. This Syphis began his reign about A. M. 2164, which is about eighty years after Abraham's coming into Egypt. He reigned sixty-three years, and died above forty years after Abraham; therefore he may well be supposed to have heard of all the transactions of Abraham's life, of his fame in the several countries where he had lived; and being a prince that had an ambition to raise himself a reputation in the world,[4] and seeing Abraham's greatest glory to be founded upon his religion, and the revelations which God had been pleased to make him, he endeavoured to make himself conspicuous the same way; and for that end περιοπτης εις Θεας εγενετο, και την ιεραν συνεγραψε Βιβλον.[5] A learned writer[6] would seem to infer from these words, that Syphis saw and conversed with God, as Abraham and the Patriarchs did. He tells us, from Manetho in Josephus, that Amenophis pretended to have seen God, and answers the query of Josephus about it by hinting, that the expression of seeing God was a form of speaking common to the Egyptians, Hebrews, and other nations at this time. The learned author expresses himself so dubiously in his whole chapter, that one cannot well say, whether he intends to insinuate, that Syphis conversed with God as much as Abraham, or rather that neither of them conversed with God at all, but only each of them, considering and contemplating what was most reasonable, to give the greater authority to what they had a mind to impose, they pretended to have conversed with the Deity, and to have received their orders from him. Yet nothing of this sort follows from either what we read of Syphis, or from what Manetho reports of Amenophis, or from any of the quotations which Sir John Marsham has cited upon this subject. Rather, on the other hand, the true conclusion from them is this; that God was pleased to make several revelations to Abraham and his descendants; and that, upon the fame of these spreading abroad in the world, many kings and great men desired greatly, and used arts to have it thought that they had the same favours shown to them. Thus the sorcerers and magicians afterwards pretended to work miracles, in order to appear to have the same powers with those which God had given to some other persons.

The expression περιοπτης εις Θεας εγενετο, does not signify, that he saw the gods, but *contemplator in Deos fuit*, i. e. he speculated about the deities, and from his speculations he

[4] Manetho ascribes to him the largest of the pyramids, and so does Herodotus. See Euseb. Chron.

[5] Syncellus, p. 50.

[6] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 51.

wrote his book. Manetho pretends that he had this book from Syphis; but Sir J. Marsham very judiciously queries whether books were thus early, or whether they did not rather at this time mark or inscribe memoirs and hints of things on pieces of stone, or lumps of burnt earth. Manetho's book might be a transcript from some remains of Syphis. We are told, that the doctrines of Syphis were highly esteemed among the Egyptians,[7] and that they followed them very strictly; and Sir John Marsham[8] very justly remarks, that this king's Θεοπτια, or pretence of having seen God, was the foundation of all the Egyptian errors in religion.

The substance of what Syphis speculated upon these subjects is given us by Diodorus Siculus[9] as the sentiments of the most ancient Egyptians about religion. He considered the world, and the nature of the universe, and examined the influence which the Sun and Moon had upon it, how they nourished[1] and gave life and vigour to all things; and concluded from hence, that they were two powerful and mighty deities, and so instituted a worship for them. And perhaps this was all that Syphis innovated: other errors were added afterwards. Syphis set himself to lay the foundation of a rational religion. He considered the influence which the luminaries of Heaven had upon the world: and because it did not fall in with the scheme of speculation, he set aside what his ancestors had before taught, that in the beginning God created the Heavens as well as the Earth; the Sun, Moon, and Stars, as well as the creatures of the lower world. Thus he reasoned wrong, and so, instead of inventing a good one, he defaced and corrupted the true religion; and all this he was probably induced to by the fame of Abraham, out of the pride and desire to vie with him; for the Egyptians had a particular inclination to pretend to practise what they heard was introduced into Abraham's religion. Thus in a little time they followed him into the practice of circumcision; and when the report of his intending to sacrifice his son Isaac came to be known amongst them, they instituted human sacrifices, a barbarous custom, which continued amongst them for five or six hundred years.

Several writers, I am sensible, have intimated, that the Egyptians were so far from copying after Abraham, that they pretend that Abraham rather imitated them in all his religious institutions: they say, that Abraham was not the first who used circumcision, but that he learned it from the Egyptians. A noble writer[2] seems very fond of this opinion; yet he has

[7] Euseb. Chron. [8] Can. Chron. p. 54. [9] Lib. i. in loc. sup. cit.

[1] Plato asserts, that the ancient Grecians were charmed with the same sort of argument: ατε αν αυτα ορωντες παντα αει ιοντα δρομω και θεοντα απο ταυτης της φυσεως της τε θεων θεος αυσις απονομασαι.

[2] Lord Shaftesbury's Charact. vol. iii, p. 52.

said nothing but what Celsus[3] and Julian[4] said before him. Herodotus is cited upon this occasion, affirming,[5] that circumcision was a very ancient rite among the Egyptians, instituted by them απ' αρχης, from the beginning. Again in another place[6] he says, that other nations did not use circumcision, except those who learned it from the Egyptians. Again he tells us,[7] that the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians, and the Phœnicians and Syrians, who lived in Palestine (*i. e.* as Josephus rightly corrects him,[8] the Jews,) used circumcision; and they themselves, says he, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. Diodorus Siculus[9] thought the Colchians and the Jews were derived from the Egyptians, because they used circumcision. Again, he speaks of some other nations, who, he says,[1] were circumcised after the manner of the Egyptians. This is the whole of what is offered from the heathen writers. That circumcision was used anciently by several nations besides the Jews, we do not deny; nay, we may allow it to have been practised amongst the Egyptians απ' αρχης, from the beginning; not meaning by that expression from the first rise or origin of that nation, but that it was so early amongst them, that the heathen writers had no account of its origin. When any thing appeared to them to be thus ancient, they pronounced it to be απ' αρχης. That Herodotus himself meant no more than this by the expression is evident from his own words. We find him querying, whether the Egyptians learned circumcision from the Ethiopians, or the Ethiopians from the Egyptians; and he can determine neither way, but concludes it to be a very ancient rite.[2] There had been no room for this query if he had before meant, that it was an original rite of the Egyptians, when he said it was used by them from the beginning; for amongst the heathen writers, to say a thing was απ' αρχης, from the beginning, or that it was very anciently practised, are terms perfectly synonymous, and mean the same thing.

As to Herodotus and Diodorus declaring, that the Jews learned circumcision from the Egyptians, we answer, the heathen writers had but very little knowledge of the Jewish history, and are seldom known to mention them without making palpable mistakes. The books of Josephus against Apion afford many instances of numerous mistakes, which the heathen writers were in about the history of the Jews; and the account which Justin, the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, gives of their origin,[3] shows evidently, that they were but very superficially acquainted with their affairs; and therefore Origen

[3] Apud Origen. lib. v, p. 259.
[4] Apud Cyrill. lib. x, ad fin. p. 354.
[5] Lib. ii, c. 91.
[6] Cap. 36.
[7] Id. lib. ii, c. 104.
[8] Contra Apion, lib. i, sec. 22, p. 1346.
[9] Lib. i, sec. 28, p. 17.
[1] Lib. iii, sec. 32, p. 115.
[2] Herodotus, lib. ii, c. 104.
[3] Justin. lib. xxxvi, c. 2.

might justly blame Celsus[4] for adhering to the heathen accounts of circumcision rather than that of Moses; for Moses has given a full and clear account of the origin of the institution, but they offer only imperfect hints and conjectures; nay, even Herodotus, who says most of it, did not know[5] at last where it was first instituted, whether in Egypt or Ethiopia, and therefore not certainly whether in either. But there is one thing farther to be offered; we have the testimony of a heathen writer, unquestionably confirming Moses's account of Abraham's circumcision. We read in Philo-Biblius's extracts from Sanchoniathon,[6] that it was recorded in the Phœnician antiquities, that Ilus, who was also called Chronus, circumcised himself, and compelled his companions to do the same. This Ilus, or Chronus, says Sir John Marsham,[7] was Noah, or at least, according to other writers,[8] he is pretended to have been a person far more ancient than the time of Abraham; therefore they say, from this passage it appears that circumcision was practised before the time of Abraham. But to this I answer: The same author who gives us this account of Ilus, or Chronus, sufficiently informs us who he was, by telling us that he sacrificed his only son;[9] nay, and farther we are informed from the Egyptian records[1] of this very Chronus, that the Phœnicians called him Israel. Chronus, therefore, or Israel, who was reported to have sacrificed his only son, can be no other person than Abraham, whom the heathen writers represent to have sacrificed his only son Isaac. Jacob was the person who was really called Israel;[2] but the heathen accounts of him were,[3] that he had ten sons; so that here is only a small mistake in applying the name Israel to the person who, they say, offered in sacrifice his only son, when in truth it was a name that belonged to his grandson. But these writers make greater mistakes than this in all parts of their histories; and thus it appears from this passage, not, as some writers would infer from it, that circumcision was used in heathen nations ages before Abraham, but that Abraham and his family were circumcised; and therefore, unless they can produce a testimony of some other person's being circumcised contemporary with or prior to Abraham, we have their own confession that Abraham was circumcised earlier than they can give an instance of any other person's being circumcised in the

[4] Origen contra Celsum, lib. i, p. 17. Sir John Marsham misrepresents Origen, intimating him as saying, that Moses said in express words, that Abraham was the first person who was circumcised; whereas Origen only deduces what follows by a very just inference from Moses's account of the institution of circumcision.

[5] See his query above mentioned.

[6] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c 10, p. 38.

[7] Can. Chron. p. 72, confer. cum p. 38.

[8] Oper. Spencer. lib. i, c. 5, sec. 4, p. 56.

[9] Euseb. loc. sup. citat.

[1] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 40.

[2] Gen. xxxv, 10.

[3] Justin. lib. xxxvi, c. 2.

world. There are several writers who have treated upon this subject. Sir John Marsham and Dr. Spencer favour the opinion of Celsus and Julian; but as I think what I have already offered is sufficient to show what a bad foundation it is grounded upon, so I shall add nothing farther, but leave the Reader, if he thinks fit to enquire more into the subject, to consult those[4] who have treated of it more at large.

As the Egyptians were led away from the true religion by speculations upon the nature of the universe, so the Chaldeans were perverted in the same manner. Their idolatry began earlier than that of other nations; as early as the days of Abraham, as I before observed; but it was of the same sort with that which the Egyptians first practised. We are told,[5] that Ninus τον Νεβρωδ, *i. e.* τον τδ Νεβρωδ, the descendant, or rather the successor, of Nimrod, whom they call the Assyrian (as being the founder of the Assyrian empire,) taught the Assyrians to worship fire; not common fire, I conceive, but the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which they probably imagined consisted of fire;[6] and in the process of their idolatry we are farther informed, that they were the first who set up a pillar to the planet Mars, and worshipped it as a god.[7] This therefore was the first idolatry of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and it is very probable that their early skill in astronomy led them into it. They had been students of astronomy for at least two hundred and thirty-seven years at the birth of Abraham, and had made such observations all the time as they had thought worth recording. What their observations were we cannot say, but it is most likely, that they observed the courses of the heavenly bodies as well as they were able, and according to their abilities philosophized about their nature and influence upon the world; but their philosophy being false, a false philosophy naturally tended to introduce errors in religion.

The Sun, Moon, and the particular star called Mars, were the first objects of the Chaldean, Babylonian, or Assyrian idolatry; which seems to be confirmed by the names which they gave to their ancient kings. We cannot indeed infer any thing of this sort from the Catalogue of Ctesias, for the names he used are not Assyrian, but either Greek or Persian; for he used such names as the Persians, from whose records he wrote, had translated the old Assyrian names into; or he

[4] There are several writers cited by Fabricius, Biblioth. Antiqu. p. 383, as opposers of the opinion of Spencer and Sir John Marsham, viz. Ramiresius, cap. 4; Pentecontarchi Nat. Alexand. ætate 3; Vet. Test. diss. 6; Leydecker. de rep. Heb. ii, 4; Anton. Bynæus et Sebast. Schmidius in diss. et tractat. de circumcisione; Salom. Deylingius, ii, 6, observ. sacrar.; Rich. Montacutius, parte i, orig. Eccles.; et al.

[5] Chronic. Alexand. p. 64.

[6] Empedocles took up this opinion from the ancients, and held πυρινα τα αστρα; Plut. Placit. Philos. lib. ii, c. 13.

[7] Chronic. Alexand. p. 89.

turned them into such as his own language offered to him. This liberty has been used by other writers; particularly by the Greeks, when they called the Egyptian Thyoth Hermes, and again by the Latins, who named him Mercurius; but the ancient Assyrian names were of another sort; for in order to raise their kings to the highest honours, and cause the people to think of them with the utmost veneration, they commonly called them by the names of two or three of these planetary deities put together; intimating hereby, that they were persons under the extraordinary care and protection of their gods. Thus their kings and great men were called Peleser,[8] Belshazzar,[9] Belteshazzar,[1] Nebuchadnezzar,[2] Nabonassar,[3] with other names of the same sort; in order to explan which we need only observe, that Pil, Pal, or Pel, or Baal, or Bal, or Bel, which was written Βηλος in Greek, or Belus in Latin, and sometimes Phel, or Phul, or Pul, for they are all the same word, signifies lord, or king, and was the name of the Sun, whom they called the Lord, or King of the Heaven. Baalah, Baalta, Belta, or Beltes, which signify lady, or queen, were the names of the Moon, whom they called Queen of Heaven. Azer, or Azur, or Azar, was the name of Mars. Gad signifies a troop, or host. And Nabo, or Nebo, was the name for the Moon. From observing this, it is easy to explain these names of the Assyrian kings. Peleser is Pel-Azar, or a man in the especial favour of the Sun and of Mars. Belshazzar, *i. e.* Bel-Azar, or Bel's-Azar, a word of the same import with the former. Belteshazzar, *i. e.* Baalta, or Belta's-Azar, *i. e.* a person favoured by the Moon and Mars. Nabonassar is Nabo-Azar, *i. e.* a favourite of the Moon and of Mars. Nebuchadnessar is Nabo, or Nebo-Gad-Azar, or one favoured by the Moon, by the host of Heaven, and by Mars. And this custom spread into other nations. Beleazar was the name of a king of Tyre; and Diomedes, *i. e.* one in the favour of Jupiter, was one of the Grecians famous in Homer. The learned Dr. Hyde[4] differs a little from what I have here offered, who supposes that Bel was the name of the planet Jupiter; Belta, of Venus; Nabo, of Mercury; and Gad, of Jupiter; as if the first Assyrians worshipped the several planets of these names; but I think it may be questioned whether they distinguished thus early between the planets and the other stars. We are told, indeed, from the Alexandrian Chronicon, that they set up a pillar unto Mars, as I before hinted; and very probably in time they distinguished the other planets and remarkable stars, and took them into the number of their gods. But we do not find that they did this in the very early days; for, according to Diodorus Siculus,[5] when Jupiter was first worshipped, he

[8] 1 Chron. v, 6. [9] Dan. v, 1. [1] Dan i, 7. [2] Chap. iii, 1.
[3] The name of Belesis. Dr. Prideaux, Connect. p. 1.
Rel. vet. Persarum, c. ii, p. 67. [5] Lib. i, sec. 11; et 12, p. 7, et 8.

was considered, not as a star, or planet, but as one of the elements. Eusebius, in his account of the ancient worship of Jupiter, observes the same thing;[6] and the Phœnicians, in their first use of this name, intended to signify the Sun by it,[7] and not the star, or planet, which was afterwards called Jupiter. The astronomy of the ancients was not so exact as we are apt to imagine. Some accidental thought or other might induce the Assyrians to pay a greater honour to Mars than to any other star, as the Egyptians did to the Dog-star, for the influence[8] which they imagined that star to have upon the flowing of the river Nile. The Assyrians might very probably pay the like honour to Mars, not knowing him to be a planet, nor yet distinguishing him, except by some odd conceit or other which they had about him, from the rest of the host of Heaven. Vossius,[9] and several other writers, take the words Bel, Belta, Nabo, and Gad, as I have taken them.

The Persians corrupted their religion in much the same manner. They did not at first, it is thought, fall into so gross idolatry as their neighbours; but they did not keep up very long to the true and pure worship of God. Sabiism was the first error of this nation. The word *Sabiism* is of Hebrew origin: it comes from *sabah*, which signifies a host; so that a Sabian is a worshipper of a host or multitude; and the error of the Persians was, they worshipped the host of Heaven. When, or by whom they were led into this error is uncertain; but very probably it was effected in much the same manner as the Egyptians were seduced. It is thought, that the Persians[1] were never so corrupted as entirely to lose the knowledge of the supreme God; and that they only worshipped the luminaries as his most glorious ministers, and consequently with a worship inferior to what they paid the Deity. They looked up to Heaven, and considered the glory and brightness of those lights in it, their motion, heat, and influence upon this lower world, and hereby raised in their minds very high notions of them. It was an ancient opinion, that these beings were all alive, and instinct with a glorious and divine spirit;[2] and what could their philosophy teach them better, when they were far from having true notions about them? They saw them, as they thought, running their courses day and night over all the world, dispensing life, heat, health, and vigour, to all the parts and

[6] Præp. Evang. lib. iii, c. 3. [7] Id. lib. i, c, 10.
[8] Marsham, Can. Chron. in προκατασκευη, p. 9.
[9] De Origine et Progress. Idolatriæ, lib. i, c. 16, &c.
[1] Hyde, Religio vet. Persarum, c. 1.
[2] This notion the philosophers in time improved into that noble intimation given us in Virgil:

> Principio Cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
> Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
> Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
>
> Æneid. vi, ver. 725.

products of the Earth. They kept themselves so far right as not to mistake them for the true God; but they imagined they were the most glorious of his ministers, that could be made the object of their sight; and not taking due care to keep strictly to what their forefathers had delivered to them from revelation about religion, they were led away by their own imaginations to appoint an idolatrous worship for beings which had been created, and by nature were no gods.

Of this sort was the idolatry that first spread over Canaan, Arabia, and all the other neighbouring and adjacent nations; and I might say the same was first propagated into the more distant and remote countries. When the Israelites were preparing to take possession of the land of Canaan, the chief caution which was given against their falling into the idolatry of the nations around them, shows what the religion and idolatry of those nations was. And the vindication which Job made for himself intimates, that this was the idolatry of the Arabians in his day. He tells us,[3] that he had *never beheld the Sun when it shined, nor the Moon walking in brightness; that his heart had not been enticed, nor his mouth kissed his hand:* i. e. he never looked up to the Sun and Moon, and bowed down to pay a religious worship to them; or (as Moses expresses it in his caution to the Israelites,[4]) he had not *lift up his eyes to Heaven, nor when he saw the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, even all the host of Heaven, was driven to worship and to serve them.* This therefore was the first and most ancient idolatry.

When the several nations of the world had thus begun to deviate from the true worship of God, they did not stop here, but in a little time went farther into all manner of superstition, in which the Egyptians quickly outstripped and went beyond all the other nations of the Earth. The Egyptians began as I have said, first with the worship of the Sun and Moon; in a little time they took the elements into the number of their gods, and worshipped the Earth, Water, Fire, and Air.[5] In time they looked over the catalogue of their ancestors, and appointed a worship for such as had been more eminently famous in their generation;[6] and having before this made pillars, statues, or images in memory of them, they paid their worship before these, and so introduced this sort of idolatry. In time they descended still lower; and they did not only worship men, but, considering what creatures had been most eminently serviceable to their most celebrated ancestors, or remarkably instrumental in being made use of by the first inventors of the several arts of living, towards the carrying forward the inventions that were first found out for providing the conveniences of life, they consecrated these also; and, in

[3] Job xxxi, 26, 27.
[4] Deut. iv, 19.
[5] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 11, 12, &c.
[6] Id. ibid.

later ages, vegetables and inanimate things had a religious regard paid to them. In this manner they fell from one thing to another, after they ceased to retain God in their knowledge, according to what God had been pleased to reveal to them concerning himself and his worship; becoming every day more and more vain in their imaginations, they wandered farther and farther from the true religion, into all manner of fooleries and abominations.

At what particular times the Egyptians took the several steps which led them into their grosser idolatries we cannot say, but we find they had got into them very early. They worshipped images, even the images of beasts, before the Israelites left them, as appears from the Israelites setting up the calf at Horeb,[7] in imitation of the gods which they had seen in Egypt; and it is remarkable, that they were by this time such proficients in the art of making these gods as to cast them in metal; for such an image was that which the Israelites set up. This makes the observation of Pausanias appear very probable, who remarks,[8] that the Egyptians had wooden or carved images at the time when Danaus came into Greece; for, supposing that Danaus came into Greece about the time when the Arundelian Marble fixes it,[9] *i. e.* a little before the time when Moses visited the children of Israel, namely, A. M. 2494, it seems very probable that they had this sort of images thus early, because it appears, from what I before observed, that about twenty years after this time they were so improved as to make them of better materials and in a more curious and artful manner; for Archbishop Usher places the exit of the children of Israel out of Egypt but nineteen years after this year, in which Danaus is supposed to have come into Greece. The observation of Pausanias was (ξοανα τα παντα, μαλεζα τα Αιγυπτια,) that the Egyptian images were all wooden[1] or carved ones at that time, *i. e.* at the time when Danaus left Egypt, which being, as will appear hereafter, several years before he came to Greece, it is very probable that the use of images in Egypt was then in its first rise and infancy, and that the makers of them had got no farther than to try their art upon such

[7] Exod. xxxii.

[8] In Corinthiacis.

[9] Archbishop Usher supposes that the Parian Chronicon was composed A. M. 3741; and the Marble tells us, that Danaus's coming into Greece was one thousand two hundred and forty-seven years earlier; so that, according to this account, it was A. M. 2494, as I have placed it, which is about twenty years before the Israelites went out of Egypt.

[1] The translator of Pausanias renders the word ξοανα, *e ligno*, and so I find many authors agree to take it. Clemens Alexandrinus (in Cohortat. ad Gentes) thinks ξοανον to be a carved image of either wood or stone; and Hesychius says, ξοανα αγαλματα κυριως τα εξ ξυλων εξεσμενα η λιθφν. The best explanation of the true meaning of the word seems to have been designed by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. lib. iii, c. 8,) where he opposes it to a σκελμιον εργον, meaning perhaps a molton image; but the passage is so corrupted, that there is no guessing at its true meaning. I have been in some doubts whether ξοανα in Pausanias might not be a mistake for ξαικα, or ξαινα.

common and easy materials as young beginners would choose to make their first attempts on.

The religion of Egypt was so entirely corrupted in Moses's time, that he could not suffer the Israelites to sacrifice unto the LORD their GOD in the land; for he told Pharaoh, that it would be in nowise proper for them to attempt it,[2] because they would be obliged to *sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes*, i. e. some of these living creatures which the Egyptians had consecrated, and that they should hereby so enrage them, that they would stone them for so doing. They do not indeed seem to have deviated thus far in the days of Joseph, who appears by all the actions of his life to have been a man of virtue, and his heart full of hope and expectation of the promise which GOD had made to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob;[3] therefore he took an oath of the children of Israel, that, when GOD should visit them and bring them out of Egypt, they would carry his bones with them. Yet he married, in Egypt, the priest of On's daughter;[4] and afterwards, when the land was famished, he took the priests under his protection, that they might not suffer in a calamity, which was so severe and heavy upon all other inhabitants of the land.[5] If the religion of Egypt had at this time been so entirely corrupted as it was in the time of Moses, Joseph, who had the same faith as Moses had, would surely no more than Moses did have sat down in the enjoyment of the pleasures and honours and riches of Egypt, but at least, when Pharaoh had put him in full power, so that *without him no man lifted up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt*,[6] he would have used his credit with the king, and his authority both with the priests and people, to have in some measure corrected their religion, if there had been any of these grosser abominations at that time in it: and he might surely have as easily effected something in this matter as brought about a total change in the property of all the subjects in the land. The truth of the matter was most probably this; the Egyptians and Israelites were indeed at this time in some respects of a different religion; and not being able to join in worship at the same altar, might not (according to their notions of things) eat with one another; but their differences were not yet so wide but that they could bear with Joseph, and Joseph with them. Therefore all their grosser corruptions, which led them to worship the images of beasts and of men, must be supposed to have arisen later than these days; for the time between Joseph's death and the children of Israel's going out of Egypt being about a century and a half, it may very well be supposed that they had been begun in the first part of this time; and that the Egyptians had only carved or wooden images,

[2] Exod. viii, 26. [3] Gen. l, 24, 25. [4] Chap. xli, 45.
[5] Chap. xlvii, 22. [6] Chap. xli, 44.

according to Pausanias, until after Danaus left them, and that they so improved as to make molten images before the Israelites' departure from them.

There is indeed one passage in Genesis, which seems to intimate there was that religious regard, which the Egyptians were afterwards charged with, paid to creatures even in the days of Joseph; for we are informed, that he desired his brethren to tell Pharaoh their profession, in order to have them placed in the land of Goshen, because every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.[7] I must freely acknowledge, that I cannot satisfy myself about the meaning of this passage; I cannot see that shepherds were really at this time an abomination to the Egyptians; for Pharaoh himself had his shepherds, and when he ordered Joseph to place his brethren in the land of Goshen,[8] he was so far from disapproving of their employment that he ordered him, if he knew any men of activity amongst them, to make them rulers over his cattle. Nay, the Egyptians were at this time shepherds themselves, as well as the Israelites; for when their money failed they brought[9] their cattle of all sorts to Joseph, to exchange them for corn, and among the rest their flocks which were of the same kind with those of the Israelites, as will appear by consulting the Hebrew text in the places referred to. Either therefore we must take the expression, that every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians, to mean no more than that they thought meanly of the employment, that it was a lazy, idle, and inactive professsion; as Pharaoh seemed to question, whether there were any men of activity among them, when he heard what their trade was. Or, if we take the words to signify a religious aversion to them, which does indeed seem to be the true meaning of the expression, from the use made of it in other places of Scripture, then I do not see how it is reconcileable with Pharaoh's inclination to employ them himself, or with the Egyptians being many of them at this time of the same profession themselves, which the heathen writers[1] agree with Moses in supposing them to be.

The learned have observed, that there are several interpolations in the books of the Scriptures, which were not the words of the sacred writers. Some persons, affecting to show their learning, when they read over the ancient MSS, would sometimes put a short remark in the margin, which they thought might give a reason for, or clear the meaning of some expression in the text against which they placed it, or to which they joined it. Hence it happened, now and then, that the transcribers from manuscripts so remarked upon did, through mistake, take a marginal note or remark into the

[7] Gen. xlvi, 34. [8] Chap. xlvii, 6. [9] Chap. xlvii, 17.
[1] Diodorus Sic. lib. i, sec. 73, 74.

text, supposing it to be a part of it. Whether Moses might not end his period in this place with the words, *that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen*, and whether what follows, *for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians*, may not have been added to the text this way, is entirely submitted to the judgment of the learned.

As the Egyptians thus sunk into the grossest idolatries very early, so they propagated their errors into all the neighbouring nations around them. The Philistines quickly came to have some of the gods which the Egyptians served; they had set up Dagon before Eli's time,[2] and the image of Dagon was in part a human representation, for it had a head, face, and palms of hands; and the nations through which the Israelites passed, after their coming out of Egypt, had among them at that time idols, not only of wood and stone (which were the ξοανα, before mentioned, and the most ancient,) but likewise of silver and gold.[3] Egypt was the fruitful mother of all these abominations; and the nearer nations were situate to, or the sooner they had acquaintance with Egypt, the earlier idolatries of this sort were practised amongst them. For,

If we go into Asia, into the parts a little distant from Egypt we find, that, during all the first ages, the luminaries of Heaven, or the elements, were the only objects of their idolatrous worship. Baal, or Bel, or Baal-samen, *i. e.* according to their own interpretation,[4] the King or Lord of Heaven, as the Hebrew words Baal-shemaim would import, or Baal-Zebub, *i. e.* the Lord of Flies (by which names they meant the Sun,[5]) were the ancient deities of the Phœnicians. The Ammonites worshipped the same god under the name of Milcom, or Moloch,[6] *i. e.* Melech, or the King. The Arabians likewise worshipped the Sun, under the name of Baal-Peor, or Baal-Phegor.[7] And the men of Sepharvaim, who were brought out of Assyria into Samaria, in the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, and Hoshea, king of Samaria,[8] had Anamelech, *i. e.* the King of the Clouds, and Adram-melech, or rather Adar-ha-melech, *i. e.* Adar, or Mars the King, for their gods; and very probably Nergal and Ashima, Nibhaz and Tartak, the gods of the other nations, which were brought with them, were deities of the same sort. These, and such as these, were the gods worshipped in the several countries of Asia, in the first days of their idolatry; and some nations did not descend lower for many ages. The Persians in their early times had no temples,

[2] 1 Sam. v.

[3] Deut. xxix, 16, 17.

[4] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

[5] Procop. Gazæus in 1 Kings xvi; Servius in Æn. ii, v. 83; Damascius in vita Isidori apud Photium, sec. 242; Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 7.

[6] 1 Kings xi, 5, 7; Levit. xviii, 21; ibid. xx, 2—5.

[7] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. xx, c. 4; Numb. xxv, 3, 5, 18; Psalm cvi, 28; Hosea ix, 10.

[8] 2 Kings xvii, 31, and 24.

statues, altars, or images;[9] but they sacrificed on the tops of mountains, to the Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, and Water. The first image set up amongst them was a statue to Venus, which was not erected till almost the end of the Persian empire, by a king whom Clemens Alexandrinus calls Artaxerxes; and very probably he meant Artaxerxes Ochus,[1] the predecessor of Darius, in whose reign Alexander the Great overthrew the Persian empire. In many places of the Old Testament the idols of Babylon are mentioned: Nebuchadnezzar set up an image of gold in the plain of Dura;[2] but though this was not the first image set up amongst them (for Isaiah mentions their hiring goldsmiths to make them gods,[3]) yet I believe we may place their beginning this idolatry about, or only a little before this time. The removal of the Cushites, of the men of Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim,[4] from the countries of Babylon into Samaria, was about a century before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; and they seem not to have learned in their own countries to become worshippers of these sorts of gods, for when they set up the idolatries of their nations in Samaria, they did not set up images, but made *succoth-benoth*,[5] i. e. shrines, or model temples, little structures, such as St. Stephen speaks of,[6] when he mentions the tabernacles of Moloch, which they took up and carried about in procession; or they had sidereal representations of the luminaries of heaven, such as St. Stephen calls the star of the god Remphan.

The first step which the Babylonians, and very probably all other nations, took towards image worship, was the erecting pillars in honour of their gods. All their other idols were novelties, in comparison of these. We read, that Jacob set up a pillar when he vowed a vow unto the true God;[7] so that the erecting these pillars was a very ancient practice, even as ancient as A. M. 2246, and practised we see by the professors of the true religion; and when men fell into idolatry they kept on this practice, and erected such pillars to their false gods. The Alexandrian Chronicon, in the place which I have before cited, remarks, that the Babylonians set up a pillar to the planet Mars; and Clemens Alexandrinus[8] observe, that before the art of carving was invented, the ancients erected pillars, and paid their worship to them as to statues of their gods. Herodian[9] mentions a pillar, or large stone (for it is to be observed, that these pillars were large stones set up without art or workmanship[1]) erected in honour of the Sun, by the title of Eligahalus, or El-Gebal, *i. e.* the god of Gebal, a city of

[9] Herodot. lib. i, sec. 131; Strabo, lib. xv; Xenophon. in Cyropæd. in multis loc.; Brissonius de regno Persarum, l. ii.

[1] Cohortat. ad Gentes. [2] Dan. iii. [3] Isaiah xlvi, 6.
[4] 2 Kings xvii, 24. [5] Ver. 30. [6] Acts vii, 43.
[7] Gen. xxviii, 18; xxxv, 14. [8] Stromat. lib. i, sec. 24, p. 151.
[9] Lib. v, p. 563.

[1] Pausan. in Bœoticis; and in this respect they were like Jacob's pillars.

Phœnicia. Pausanias mentions several of these uncarved pillars in Bœotia, in Greece,[2] and he says they were the ancient statues erected to their gods.[3] Some time after the first use of these they erected wooden ones, and these at first had but little workmanship bestowed upon them; for we read in Clemens Alexandrinus,[4] that a block, or trunk of a tree, was an ancient statue of Juno at Samos; and Plutarch informs us, that two beams, or pieces of timber, joined together with two shorter cross beams, was the ancient representation of Castor and Pollux.[5] Hence it came to pass, that the astrologers pitched upon the figure of this representation to be the character for the constellation called Gemini, which they describe thus, II.

Epiphanius,[6] and other writers, have imagined, that image worship was very early in Assyria and Chaldea, even as early as the days of Abraham. They represent, that Serug, Nahor, and Terah, the father of Abraham, were statuaries and carvers, and that they made idols and set up image worship in these countries; but there is no proof of this opinion, except Jewish traditions, which are of no great account. Pillars of stone were perhaps in use in these times, but they were only common stones heaped upon one another, as Jacob afterwards heaped them, and Joshua upon another occasion,[7] many generations afterwards; or they were large, but αργοι λιθοι, as Pausanias calls them, they had no workmanship about them, which could intimate that the hand of an artificer had been concerned in them. Laban, indeed, a descendant of this family, had his teraphim, in our translation, gods, which Rachel stole from him;[8] but we have no reason to suppose that these were image gods; it is more probable that they were little pillars, or stones, which had the names of their ancestors inscribed upon them. As they erected larger pillars to their deities, so they made smaller and portable ones in memory of their ancestors, which were esteemed by them as much as family pictures are now by us; and that made Rachel so fond of taking them when she went away from her father's house, and Laban so angry at the thoughts of their being taken from him. In after-ages, when the pillars erected to the gods were turned into statues, these family pillars were converted into little images; and these seem to be the beginning of the penates, or family gods, of which we have frequent mention in after-times.

Idolatry made its progress in Greece in much the same manner; for, according to Plato's express words,[9] the first

[2] In Bœoticis.
[3] Idem. in Achaicis.
[4] Cohort. ad Gentes, sec. 4, p. 13.
[5] Philadelph. p. 478, initio.
[6] Adversus Hæres. lib. i, sec. 6; Suidas in Σερυχ, et al.
[7] Josh. iv, 5.
[8] Gen xxxi.
[9] In Cratylo. His words are, Φαινονται μοι οι πρωτοι των ανθρωπων περι την Ελλαδα τυτες μονες θεες ηγεισθαι ουσπερ νυν πολλοι των βαρβαρων, ηλιον και σεληνην και γην και αστρα και ουρανον.

Grecians esteemed those to be the only gods, which many of the foreign nations thought to be so, namely, the Sun, Moon, and Stars. They worshipped, therefore, at first the luminaries of Heaven; but in time came to worship the Elements; for the same author mentions these also as their ancient deities; and they erected pillars in honour of them, as the Asians did to their gods, which appears from the authorities already cited, and many other places which might be quoted from Pausanias, and other writers. At what time the Greeks came to worship those gods of whom Homer sings is uncertain; but their worship was evidently established before his time. All writers[1] in general agree, that the Greeks had the names and the worship of these gods from Egypt; and Herodotus was of opinion that the Pelasgi first encouraged the reception of them.[2] He does not, indeed, tell us at what time; but we cannot suppose it happened before the plantation of that people, who left Greece under the conduct and command of Oenotrus,[3] and migrated into Italy; for if it had, they would have carried these gods and this sort of worship with them.

But if we look into Italy, we not only find, in general, the writers of their antiquities remark,[4] that their ancient deities were of a different sort from those of Greece, but, according to Plutarch,[5] Numa, the second king of Rome, made express orders against the use of images in the worship of the Deity. Nay, he says farther, that for the first one hundred and seventy years after building the city the Romans used no images, but thought the Deity invisible, and reputed it unlawful to make representations of him from things of an inferior nature. According to this account, Rome being built about A. M. 3256,[6] the inhabitants of Italy were not greatly corrupted in their religion even so late as A. M. 3426, when Nebuchadnezzar was king of Babylon, and about one hundred and sixty-nine years after the time where I am to end this work. It is remarkable that Plutarch does not represent Numa as correcting or refining the ancient idolatry of Italy; but expressly says, that this people never had these grosser deities, either before or for the first one hundred and seventy years of their city. It is, therefore, more than probable, that Greece was not thus corrupted when the Pelasgi removed from thence into Italy; and farther, that the Trojans were not such idolaters at the destruction of their city; because, according to this account, Æneas neither brought with him images into Italy, nor such gods as were worshipped by the adoration of images. Therefore Pausanias,[7] who thought that Æneas carried the Palladium into Italy, was as much mistaken as the men of Argos,

[1] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 6; Diodor. Sic. lib. i, &c.; Clem. Alexand. et mult. al.
[2] In Euterpe, c. 50.
[3] Pausanias in Arcadicis.
[4] Dionys. Halicar. lib. vii, c. 70.
[5] In Numa. Init. et Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i, sec. 15.
[6] Archbishop Usher's Annals.
[7] In Corinthiacis, p. 127.

who affirmed that they themselves had it in their city.[8] The times of Numa are about two hundred years after Homer, and very probably the idolatry so much celebrated in his writings might by this time begin to appear in Italy, and thereby occasion Numa to make laws and constitutions against it.

Several other particulars might be added to this subject; but I am unwilling to extend this digression to a greater length, and shall only offer a remark or two, and put an end to this book.

It is observable, that the first corruptions of religion were begun by kings and rulers of nations. Ninus taught the Assyrians to worship fire; and Syphis, king of Egypt, wrote a sacred book, which laid the foundation of all their errors. In like manner, in after-ages, Nebuchadnezzar set up the golden image in the plains of Dura; and when image worship was brought into Persia, it was introduced, as the learned Dr. Hyde observes, by some kings, who built temples, set up statues, appointed priests, and settled their revenues, for carrying on the worship according to the rites and institutions which he thought fit to prescribe to them. In this manner, without doubt, Sabiism was planted, both in Persia and all other nations. Kings and heads of families were the priests among the true worshippers of the GOD of Heaven; Melchisedec was priest as well as king of Salem; and Abraham was the priest of his own household. We have reason likewise to believe, that other kings were careful to preserve to themselves this honour, and presided in religion as well as ruled and governed their people; and in reality, as the circumstances of the world then were, if they had not done the one they could not have effected the other. Kings and rulers, therefore, being at this time the supreme directors in religion, their inventions and institutions began the first errors and innovations which were introduced into it. This point should indeed be a little more carefully examined; because some writers have a favourite scheme, on which they think they can build great things, and which runs very contrary to what I have offered. These gentlemen advance propositions to this purport: that GOD had given to all men innate principles sufficient to lead them to know and worship him; but that the great misfortune of the heathen world was too strict a reliance of the laity upon the clergy, who, for the advancement of their own lucre, invented temples, altars, sacrifices, and all manner of superstition. Thus they run on at random. The whole of their opinion may be expressed in these two positions: 1. That the powers and faculties, which GOD at first gave to men, led them naturally to know and to worship him, according to the dictates of right reason, *i. e.* in the way of natural religion. 2. That the priests, for their own ends, set up revealed

[8] In Corinthiacis, p. 127.

religion. This is in truth the foundation of our modern Deism; the professors of it believing in their hearts, that there never was a real revelation at all, but that the first religion in the world was merely natural, men worshipping God only according to what reason suggested; but that in time artful men, for political ends, pretended to revelations, and led the world away into superstition; and the first pretenders to these revelations were, they say, their priests or clergy. But all this is fiction and chimera; we can find nothing to countenance these extravagant fancies in any history of any part of the world. For, with regard to the first point, that the priests were the first corrupters of religion, let them only tell us when, and where. All the history we have of the several kingdoms of the world agree in this, that kings and rulers were, in all the heathen nations, the first institutors and directors of the rites and ceremonies of religion, as well as of the laws by which they governed their people. We have not only plain hints to this purpose, in the remains of those early kingdoms, of which perhaps it may be said, that the accounts are so short and imperfect, that we may be deceived if we lay too great a stress upon them; but we find, that all antiquity was so universally agreed in this point, that if we look into the foundations of those later kingdoms, of which we have fuller and clearer accounts transmitted to us, we find fuller and clearer accounts of this matter. Romulus and Numa, and other succeeding kings, were the authors and institutors of every part of the Roman religion. We are told[9] that Numa wrote a book upon the subject; and we find among the appointments of Romulus,[1] that when he had settled the several magistrates and officers, which he thought necessary for the well-governing of his people, he reserved to himself, as king, to be the supreme director of the sacra and sacrifices, and to perform himself the public offices of religion; for so I understand the words, παντα δι' εκεινε πραττεσθαι τα προς τὰς Θεὰς οσια. I think I am directed so to understand them by what happened afterwards; for when Brutus and his associates expelled the kings, banishing Tarquinius, and erecting a commonwealth instead of the kingly government, it is remarkable, that they found themselves obliged to appoint a new officer, whom they called the *Rex Sacrificulus*, that there might be one to offer those sacrifices, which used to be offered by the king for the people.[2] *Quia publica sacra quædam*, says Livy,[3] *per ipsos reges factitata erant, ne ubi ubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant:* i. e. "Because some of the public sacrifices were performed by the king himself, that there might not be any want of a king they created a royal sacrificer."

[9] Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. i, c. 63, p. 124.
[2] Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv, c. 74, p. 269.
[1] Idem. lib. ii, c. 14, p. 87.
[3] Liv. lib. ii, c. 2.

In Greece we find the same institutions, and, according to Xenophon,[4] the kings of Lacedæmon, having officers under them for the several employments of the state, reserved to themselves to be the priests of their people in divine affairs, and their governors and supreme directors in civil. This was the most ancient practice in all nations; and priests were so far from being the first inventors of superstition or corrupters of religion, that, in the sense in which these writers use the word, there were no priests at all until religion was considerably depraved and vitiated. Every man was at first the priest in his own family, and every king in his own kingdom; and though we may suppose that in time, when kingdoms came to grow large, the people to be numerous, and the affairs to be transacted full of variety, that then kings appointed, for the better governing of their people, ministers under them, both in sacred and civil matters, yet this was not done at first; and when it was done, the ministers so appointed were only executors of the injunctions and directions, orders and institutions, which the kings, who appointed them, thought fit to give. In time, the ceremonies and institutions of religion grew to be so numerous, that kings could not always be at leisure to attend upon the performance, or take care of all the particulars; nor could a new king be sufficiently instructed, at his coming to a crown, in all the various rites and usages, which had, some at one time and some at another, been established by his ancestors. This occasioned the appointing a set of men, whose whole business might be to take care of these matters, which then princes began to leave to them; and from this time indeed the power and authority of the priests grew daily; though even after this time we find some of the greatest kings directing and acting in these things themselves. Cyrus commonly offered the public sacrifices himself;[5] and Cambyses, his father, when he sent him with an army to assist Cyaxares, his uncle, observed to him what care he had taken to have him fully instructed in augury, that he might be able to judge for himself, and not depend upon his augurs for their directions.[6] Thus I have endeavoured to set this matter in the light in which the best writers and historians agree to place it; and these were, I believe, the sentiments which Josephus had about it, who, inquiring into what might be the first occasion of the many heathen superstitions and errors in religion, professes to think, that they began at first from the legislators, who, not rightly knowing the true nature of God, or not rightly explaining and keeping up to that knowledge, which they might have had of it, were hereby led to appoint constitutions in religion not suitable to it, and so opened a

[4] In Repub. Lacedæm. p. 544.
[5] Xenophont. Cyropæd. lib. iii, p. 63, et in mult. al. loc.
[6] Idem, lib. i, p. 21.

door for those that came after to introduce all sorts of deities and superstition.[7] Agreeable to this, it is the determination of the author of the Book of Wisdom, that the heathen idolatries were set up by the commandments of kings.[8] It will perhaps be here said, that kings then were the first introducers of revelation and superstition; that they did it to aggrandize themselves, to attract the greater regard and veneration of their people. To this I answer: we find accounts of revelation earlier than we find any mention of kings. Noah had several directions from the Deity, and so had Adam; therefore we must set aside what history assures us to have been fact, in order to embrace what seems to these sort of writers most probable, instead of it. But I have already considered,[9] that the worship of God, which all men universally in all nations performed in the most early times, was of such a nature, that we must, with every appearance of probability, imagine, that it was at first introduced by divine appointments. For we cannot learn from history, nor, if we reflect, can we conceive, that natural reason should ever have led men into such sentiments as should have induced them to think of worshipping God in that manner. But there are two queries, which I would put to these writers: 1. If there was no revelation made to the men of the first ages, in matters of religion, how came all nations of the world to be so fully persuaded that there was, as to make it necessary for legislators, who made appointments in religion, to pretend to some revelation or other, in order to support and establish them? 2. How came men to think of acknowledging and worshipping God, so early as they did really worship and acknowledge him? If we look into the religious appointments of the several kings and rulers, of whom we have any accounts, we find their institutions always received as directions from Heaven, by their hands transmitted to their people. Romulus and Numa were both believed to have been directed by a revelation, what Sacra they were to establish: and Lycurgus was supposed to be instructed by the oracle at Delphos;[1] and thus Syphis, the king of Egypt, was esteemed to be Θεοπτης, one who had converse with the gods. The general maxim of Plato,[2] that all laws and constitutions about divine worship were to be had only from the gods, was everywhere received and believed in the world; and when kings made appointments in these matters, their subjects received what they ordered as the dictates of inspiration, believing, that[3] *a divine sentence was in the lips of* their *kings, and that* their *mouths transgressed not* in the appointments which they had made. To this they readily acceded, not being artfully betrayed by kings into a

[7] Contra Apion. lib. ii, sec. 35, p. 1386.
[8] Chap. xiv, 16.
[9] See Vol. i, book ii, p. 73.
[1] Plutarch. Lycurg
[2] De Legib. lib. vi.
[3] Prov. xvi, 10.

belief of revelation; but believing *them* to be inspired, from the universal knowledge, which the world was then full of, that GOD had revealed to their several ancestors and heads of families, in what way and manner they should worship him. If reason only had been the first guide in matters of religion, rulers would neither have thought of nor have wanted the pretence of revelation to give credit to their institutions. Whereas on the other hand, revelation being generally esteemed in all nations as the only true foundation of religion, kings and rulers, when they thought fit to add inventions of their own to the religion of their ancestors, were obliged to make use of that disposition, to which they knew their people inclined, to receive what came recommended to them under the name of a revelation. But to proceed to the second query: if there was no revelation made to the men of the first ages, how came the knowledge and worship of GOD so early into the world? Perhaps some will answer, according to Lord Herbert,[4] from innate principles. If they do, I must refer them to what our ingenious countryman Mr. Locke has offered upon that subject. The only way that reason can teach men to know GOD, must be from considering his works; and if so, his works must be first known and considered, before they can teach men to know the Author of them. It seems to be but a wild fancy, that man was at first raised up in this world, and left entirely to himself, to find out by his own natural powers and faculties what was to be his duty and his business in it. If we could imagine the first men brought into the world in this manner, we must, with Diodorus Siculus, conceive them for many ages to be but very poor and sorry creatures. *The invisible things of* GOD are indeed to be *understood by the things that are made;* but men in this state would for many generations be considering the things of the world in lower views, in order to provide themselves the conveniences of life from them, before they would reflect upon them in such a manner as should awaken up in their mind any thoughts of a GOD. And when they should come to consider things in such a light as to discover by them that there was a GOD, yet how long must it be before they can be supposed to have arrived at such a thorough knowledge of the things of the world as to have just and true notions of him? We see in fact, that when men first began to speculate and reason about the things of the world, they reasoned and speculated very wrong. In Egypt, in Chaldea, in Persia, and in all other countries, false and ill-grounded notions of the things, which GOD had made, induced them to worship the creatures instead of the Creator; and that at times when other persons, who had less philosophy, were professors of a truer theology. The descendants of Abraham were true worship-

[4] Lib. de Religione Gentilium, c. i, et ii.

pers of the God of Heaven, when other nations, whose great and wise men pretended to consider and reason about the works of the creation, did in nowise rightly apprehend or *acknowledge the workmaster; but deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of Heaven, to be the gods which govern the world;*[5] *being delighted with their beauty, or astonished at their power, they took them for gods.* In a word, if we look over all the accounts we have of the several nations of the Earth, and consider every thing that has been advanced by any or all the philosophers, we can meet with nothing to induce us to think, that the first religion of the world was introduced by the use and direction of mere natural reason. On the other hand, all history, both sacred and profane, offers us various arguments to prove, that God revealed to men in the first ages how he would be worshipped; but that, when men, instead of adhering to what had been revealed, came to *lean to their own understandings*, and to set up what they thought to be right in the room of what God himself had directed, they lost and bewildered themselves in endless errors. This, I am sensible, is a subject which should be examined to the bottom; and I am persuaded, if it were, the result of the inquiry would be this, that he, who thinks to prove, that the *world ever* did in fact *by wisdom know* God;[6] that any nation upon Earth, or any set of men, ever did, from the principles of reason only, without any assistance from revelation, find out the true nature and the true worship of the Deity; must find out some history of the world entirely different from all the accounts which the present sacred or profane writers give us; or his opinion must appear to be a mere guess and conjecture of what is barely possible, but what all history assures us never was really done in the world.

[5] Wisdom xiii, 1, 2, 3, 4.

[6] 1 Cor. i, 21.

END OF VOL. I.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

CONNECTED,

FROM

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

TO

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF SARDANAPALUS, AND TO THE DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, UNDER THE REIGNS OF AHAZ AND PEKAH:

INCLUDING

THE DISSERTATION ON

THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

BY SAMUEL SHUCKFORD, D.D.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, GEORGE THE SECOND.

Revised, Corrected, and Greatly Improved.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM W. WOODWARD,

NO. 52, SOUTH SECOND STREET.

1824.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES,

LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND,

BARON OF LYNN REGIS,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

ONE OF THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE

PRIVY COUNCIL, AND

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE, &c. &c.

MY LORD;

YOUR Lordship's condescension, in permitting me to beg your patronage of what I now offer to the world, will not be surprising to those, who have the honour to know your Lordship: for they agree in testifying your inclination to countenance and protect any clergyman, who endeavours to apply himself to studies suitable to his profession.

The design of my attempt is to vindicate the truth of Revealed Religion, as far as the history of the times I treat of gives me opportunity. It is suggested by some writers, that there are questions to be made "about the antiquity, authority, inspiration, and perfection of the books both of the Old and New Testament, and about the morality, religious doctrines, and other notions contained in them; about the harmony of the parts of those books to one another, and their contradiction to profane history; and about the miracles reported in

them." I have brought down the inquiry from the beginning; I have examined, I hope, with the greatest freedom: and if even my imperfect endeavours should evidence, as far as I have gone, that there is nothing unreasonable or contradictory in the Scriptures, what might be done upon this subject if some great hand would treat it, and compose a work worthy of your Lordship's acceptance and protection?

The licentiousness of some modern writers would bring a lasting reproach upon the present age, if their sentiments could go down to posterity with any marks of public approbation. But as it is one part of our present happiness, so we cannot but consider with pleasure, that, however fond some are of objecting against all revealed religion, or of representing our legal establishment of the Christian to be an encroachment upon their natural rights and civil liberties, yet, when the history of those times, which have been happily distinguished by your Lordship's conducting the public counsels, shall be read hereafter, it will appear, that the truly great persons, who did most for the public happiness and liberties of mankind, were the truest patrons of the Universities, the Church, and Clergy; and that in the best manner, by being as averse to all thoughts of persecution in defence of even true religion, as they were willing to favour those, who, by proper arguments, and a just behaviour and disposition, were industrious to recommend it to the world.

I am sensible, that my ambition of your Lordship's favour may be a disadvantage to my performance, by creating expectations, which nothing of mine can possibly answer. But as I flatter myself, that a good intention will appear through the whole, so I hope the prefixing your Lordship's name will remind the severer readers, how disposed the truly great are to favour a

well-meant design, though it be not executed by a hand able to carry it through in a manner liable to no exceptions.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

SAMUEL SHUCKFORD.

PREFACE.

This Second Volume, which I now offer to the Public, carries down the History of the World to the exit of the children of Israel out of Egypt. The method I have observed is the same as in the former Volume; and I have in this, as in the other, interspersed several digressions upon such subjects as either the Scripture accounts, or the hints we meet with in profane authors, concerning the times I treat of, suggested.

Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology was not published until after I had finished both my former volume and the preface to it; but as his sentiments upon ancient chronology have been since that time offered to the world, it will become me to endeavour to give some reasons for having formerly, and for still continuing to differ from him. I am not yet come down to the times where he begins his chronology; for which reason it would be an improper, as well as a very troublesome, anticipation, to enter into particulars, which I shall be able to set in a much clearer light when I shall give the history of those times to which he has supposed them to belong. But since there are in Sir Isaac Newton's work several arguments of a more extensive influence than can be confined to any one particular epoch, and which are, in truth, the main foundation of his whole scheme, and effect the whole body of ancient chronology, I shall endeavour to consider them here, that the reader may judge, whether I have already, as well as whether I shall hereafter proceed rightly, in not being determined by them. The first, which I shall mention, is the astronomical argument for fixing the time of the Argonautic expedition, formed from the constellations of Chiron. This seems to be demonstration, and to prove incontestably, that the ancient profane history is generally carried about three hundred years higher backward than the truth.

The full force of this argument is clearly expressed in the Short Chronicle[a] as follows:

I. "Chiron formed the constellations for the use of the Argonauts, and placed the solstitial and equinoctial points in the fifteenth degrees, or middles of the constellations of Cancer, Chelæ, Capricorn, and Aries. Meton, in the year of Nabonassar 316, observed the Summer Solstice in the eighth degree of Cancer; and therefore the Solstice had then gone back seven degrees. It goes back one degree in about seventy-two years, and seven degrees in about five hundred and four years. Count these years back from the year of Nabonassar 316, and they will place the Argonautic expedition nine hundred and thirty-six years before Christ." The Greeks (says our great and learned author[b]) placed it three hundred years earlier. The Reader will easily see the whole force of this argument. Meton, anno Nabonass. 316, found, that the Solstices were in the eighth degrees of the constellations. Chiron, at the time of the Argonautic expedition, placed them in the fifteenth degrees. The Solstice goes back seven degrees in five hundred and four years: from whence it follows, that the time when Chiron placed the Solstices in the fifteenth degrees was five hundred and four years before anno Nabonass. 316, when Meton found, that they were in the eighth degrees.

The fallacy of this argument must appear very evident to any one who attends to it; for suppose we allow, that Chiron did really place the Solstices as Sir Isaac Newton represents (though I think it most probable that he did not so place them,) yet it must be undeniably plain, that nothing can be certainly established from Chiron's position of them, unless it appears that Chiron knew how to give them their true place. It was easy for so great a master of astronomy as Sir Isaac Newton to calculate where the Solstices ought to be placed in the year of our Lord 1689,[c] and to know how many years have passed since they were in the fifteenth degrees of the constellations. But though we should allow, that Chiron supposed them, in his time, to be in this position, yet, if he was really mistaken, no argument can be

[a] See Short Chronicle, p. 25. The argument is offered at large in Chronology of the Greeks, p. 83.

[b] Chronology of the Greeks, p. 94. [c] Chron. of the Greeks, p. 86.

formed from Chiron's position of them. For supposing the true place of the Solstices, in the days of Chiron, to be in the nineteenth degrees of the constellations, it will be evident, from what was their true place in the year of our Lord 1689, as well as from what was their place anno Nabonass. 316, that the time of Chiron's making his scheme of the heavens was about three hundred years earlier than our great and learned author supposes, though Chiron erroneously placed the Solstices at that time in the fifteenth degrees of the constellations, instead of the nineteenth; and whether Chiron might not mistake four or five degrees this way or that way, we may judge from what follows.

Chiron's skill in astronomy was so imperfect, that we must suppose he could not find the true place of the Solstices with any tolerable exactness. The Egyptians were the first who found out, that the year consisted of more than three hundred and sixty days. Strabo informs us,[d] that the Theban priests were the most eminent philosophers and astronomers; and that they numbered the days of the year, not by the course of the Moon, but by that of the Sun; and that to twelve months, consisting each of thirty days, they added five days every year. Herodotus testifies the same thing.[e] "The Egyptians," says he, "were the first who found out the length of the year." And he tells us particularly, what they determined to be the true length of it, namely, "twelve months of thirty days each, and five days added besides." Diodorus Siculus says, "The Thebans," *i. e.* the priests of Thebes in Egypt, "were the first, who brought philosophy and astronomy to an exactness;" and he adds, "they determined the year to consist of twelve months, each of thirty days; and added five days to twelve such months, as being the full measure of the Sun's annual revolution."[f] Thus, until the Egyptians found out the mistake, all astronomers were in a very great error, supposing the Sun's annual motion to be performed in three hundred and sixty days.

It may perhaps be here said, that the Egyptians had improved their astronomy before Chiron's days, and that Chiron may be supposed to have been instructed

[d] Strabo. Geogr. lib. xvii, p. 816. [e] Herodot. lib. ii, cap. 4.

[f] Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i, sec. 50, p. 32. Diodorus indeed mentions the τεταρτον, or six hours, which were added afterwards; but these were not accounted to belong to the year so early as the five days.

by them, and so have been a pretty good astronomer: to this I answer,

If the Egyptians had improved their astronomy before Chiron's time, yet the Greeks were ignorant of this measure of the year until Thales went to Egypt, and conversed with the priests of that nation. Thales, says Laertius[g], was the first who corrected the Greek year. And this opinion of Laertius is confirmed by Herodotus, who represents Solon, a contemporary of Thales, in his conference with Crœsus, very remarkably mistaking the true measure of the year. Thales had found out, that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days; but the exact particulars of what he had learned in this point were not immediately known all over Greece; and so Solon represents to Crœsus, that the year consisted of three hundred and seventy-five days; for he represents it as necessary to add a whole month, *i. e.* thirty days, every other year, to adjust the year then in use to its true measure.[h] The notion therefore, of the received computed year's being too short, was new in Solon's time. He was apprised, that it was so; but what Thales brought from Egypt upon the subject was not yet generally known or understood; and thus Solon made mistakes in his guesses about it. Thales, according to the vulgar account, lived above six hundred years after Chiron, and above three hundred years after him according to Sir Isaac Newton; therefore Chiron was entirely ignorant of all this improvement in astronomy. Chiron supposed three hundred and sixty days to be a year, and if he knew no better how to estimate the Sun's annual motion, his σχηματα ολυμπια, his draughts of the constellations must be very inaccurate; he could never place the Solstices with any tolerable exactness, but might easily err four or five degrees in his position of them; and if we had before us the best scheme which he could draw, I dare say, we could demonstrate nothing from it, but the great imperfection of the ancient astronomy. "If, indeed, it could be known what was the true place of the solstitial points in Chiron's time, it might be known, by taking the distance of that place from the present position of them, how much time has elapsed from Chiron to our days." But I answer, it

[g] Laert. in vita Thaletis.

[h] Herodot. lib. i, c. 32.

cannot be accurately known, from any schemes of Chiron, what was the true place of the Solstices in his days; because, though it is said, that he calculated the then position of them, yet he was so inaccurate an astronomer, that his calculation might err four or five degrees from their true position.

Our great and learned author mentions Thales and Meton, as if the observation of both these astronomers might confirm his hypothesis. He says, "Thales wrote a book of the Tropics and Equinoxes, and predicted the Eclipses. And Pliny tells us, that he determined the *occasus matutinus* of the Pleiades to be upon the twenty-fifth day after the Autumnal Equinox." From hence he argues, 1. That the Solstices were, in Thales's days, in the middle of the eleventh degrees of the signs. 2. That the Equinoxes had therefore moved backwards from their place in Chiron's time, to this their position in Thales's days, as much as answers to three hundred and twenty years; and therefore, 3. That Chiron made his scheme, and consequently the Argonautic expedition was undertaken not more than so many years before the days of Thales. But here it must be remarked, that the chief force of this argument depends upon Chiron's having rightly placed the Solstices in his time; so that what has been said of Chiron's inaccuracy must fully answer it. If Chiron erred in placing the Solstices; if their true place in his time might be in the nineteenth or twentieth degrees, and not, as he is said to suppose, in the fifteenth; then, however true it be, that they were in the eleventh degrees in the time of Thales, yet it will not follow, that Chiron lived but three hundred and twenty years before him. If Chiron could have been exact, there had been a foundation for the argument; but if Chiron was mistaken, nothing but mistake can be built upon his uncorrected computation. But if Chiron was not concerned in this argument, if it depended solely upon the skill of Thales, I still suspect, that there might be, though not so much, yet some error in it. Thales, though a famous astronomer for the age in which he lived, yet was not skillful enough to determine with true exactness, the time of the setting of the Pleiades, or to fix accurately the Autumnal Equinox; therefore no great stress can be laid upon any guesses, which he may have been reported to make in these matters.

Thales, as I before hinted, was the first of the Grecians, who learned, that the year consisted of more than three hundred and sixty days; but though he had learned this, yet he was ignorant of another material point, namely, that it consisted of almost six hours over and above the five additional days before mentioned. When the Egyptians first found this out is uncertain; but their discovery of it was not so early as the time when they came to the knowledge of the other point, which is evident from the fable in which their mythologic writers dressed up the doctrine of the year's consisting of three hundred and sixty-five days.[i] According to that fable, five days were the exact seventy-second part of the whole year, and five is so of three hundred and sixty; therefore, when the five days were first added, the year was thought to consist only of three hundred and sixty-five days. It is hard to say when the Egyptians made this farther improvement of their astronomy; but whenever they did it is certain that Thales knew nothing of it, for Sir John Marsham rightly observes, that Herodotus takes no notice of a quarter part of a day, which should be added to the year over and above the five additional days, and adds,[k] that Eudoxus first learned from the Egyptian priests, that such farther addition ought to be made to the measure of the year, and he cites Strabo's express words to confirm his observation.[l] Now Eudoxus lived about three hundred years after Thales, and therefore Thales was entirely ignorant, both of this, and, according to Strabo, of many other very material points in astronomy, which Eudoxus learned in Egypt.

Thales is, indeed, said to have foretold an eclipse, *i. e.* I suppose he was able to foresee that there would be one, not that he could calculate exactly the time when; perhaps he might guess within two or three weeks, and perhaps he might err above twice that number, and yet be thought in his age a very great astronomer. Sir Isaac Newton says, that he wrote a book concerning the Tropics and Equinoxes; which undoubtedly must be a very sorry one. I cannot apprehend, that Thales could set-

[i] See the fable, preface to vol. i, p. 14. (note.)

[k] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 236.

[l] Strabo says, that Eudoxus and Plato learned from the Egyptian priests, τα επιτρεχοντα της ημερας και της νυκτος μορια ταις τριακοσιαις εξηκονθα πενθε ημεραις εις την εκπληρασιν τε ενιαυσιε χρονε; and he adds, αλλ' ηγνεετο τεως ο ενιαυτος παρα τοις Ελλησιν, ως και αλλα πολεω. Strabo, Geog. lib. xvii, p. 806.

tle the Equinoxes with so much exactness, as that any great stress could have been laid even upon his account of the Pleiades setting twenty-five days after the Autumnal Equinox. He might or might not happen to err a day or two about the time of the Equinox, and as much about the setting of the Pleiades.

Sir Isaac Newton observes, that Meton, in order to publish his lunar cycle of nineteen years, observed the Summer Solstice in the year of Nabonassar 316, and Columella (he says) placed it in the eighth degree of Cancer. From whence he argues, that the Solstice had gone back from Chiron's days to Meton's at least seven degrees, and therefore Meton was but five hundred and four years after Chiron.[m] But here again the argument depends upon Chiron's having accurately settled the Equinoxes in his time; therefore the answer I have before given will here be sufficient. As to Meton, from this account of his settling the Equinoxes, and from Dean Prideaux's of his nineteen years cycle,[n] it would seem probable, that he was a very exact astronomer. But I must confess, there appear to me to be considerable reasons against admitting this opinion of him; for how could Meton be so exact an astronomer, when Hipparchus, who lived almost three hundred years after Meton,[o] was the first who found out, that the Equinox had a motion backwards, since even he was so far from being accurate, that he miscounted twenty-eight years in one hundred, in calculating that motion.[p] Meton might not be so exact an astronomer as he is represented. The cycle which goes under his name might be first projected by him; but perhaps he did not give it that perfection which it afterwards received. Columella lived in the time of the Emperor Claudius, and he might easily ascribe more to Meton than belonged to him, as living so many ages after him. Later authors perfected Meton's rude draughts of astronomy; and Columella might suppose the corrections made in his originals by later hands to be Meton's. We now call the nineteen years cycle by his name; but I suppose, that nothing more of it belongs to him than an original design of something like it, which the astronomers of after-ages added to and completed by degrees.

[m] Chronology of the Greeks, p. 93.
[n] Prideaux, Connect. part ii, book iv.
[o] Newton's Chronology, p. 94.
[p] Id. ibid.

Before I dismiss the astronomical argument of our truly great author, I would add the very celebrated Dr. Halley's account of the astronomy of the ancients, which he communicated some years ago to the author of "Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning." His words are,[q]

"The astronomy of the ancients is usually reckoned for one of those sciences, wherein the learning of the Egyptians consisted; and Strabo expressly declares, that there were several universities in Babylon, wherein astronomy was chiefly professed; and Pliny tells us much the same thing. So that it might well be expected, that where such a science was so much studied, it ought to have been proportionably cultivated. Notwithstanding all which it does appear, that there was nothing done by the Chaldeans older than about four hundred years before Alexander's conquest, which could be serviceable either to Hipparchus or Ptolomy in their determination of the celestial motions; for had there been any observations older than those we have, it cannot be doubted but the victorious Greeks must have procured them as well as those they did, they being still more valuable for their antiquity. All we have of them is only seven eclipses of the Moon preserved in Ptolomy's Syntaxis; and even those are very coarsely set down, and the oldest not much above seven hundred years before Christ; so that, after all the fame of these Chaldeans, we may be sure that they had not gone far in this science. And though Callisthenes is said by Porphyry to have brought from Babylon to Greece observations above one thousand nine hundred years older than Alexander, yet the proper authors making no mention or use of any such, renders it justly suspected for a fable.[r] What the Egyptians did in this matter is less evident, because no one observation made by them can be found in their countryman Ptolomy, except what was done by the Greeks of Alexandria under three hundred years before Christ. Therefore whatever was the learning of these two ancient nations, respecting the motions of the stars, it seems to have been chiefly theoretical; and I will not deny, but

[q] See Wotton's Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, chap. xxiv, p. 320.

[r] Callisthenes's account may not be a fable: the subsequent authors neither mentioned nor used these observations, because they were in truth such sorry ones, that no use could be made of them.

some of them might very long since be apprised of the Sun's being the centre of our system, for such was the doctrine of Pythagoras and Philolaus, and some others, who were said to have travelled into these parts.

"From hence it may appear, that the Greeks were the first practical astronomers, who endeavoured in earnest to make themselves masters of the science, and to whom we owe all the old observations of the Planets, and of the Equinoxes and Tropics. Thales was the first who could predict an eclipse in Greece, not six hundred years before Christ; and without doubt it was but a rude account he had of the motions; and it was Hipparchus who made the first catalogue of the fixed stars, not above one hundred and fifty years before Christ; without which catalogue there could be scarce such a science as astronomy; and it is to the subtilty and diligence of that great author, that the world was beholden for all its astronomy for above one thousand five hundred years. All that Ptolomy did, in his Syntaxis, was no more than a bare transcription of the theories of Hipparchus, with some little emendation of the periodical motions, after about three hundred years interval; and this book of Ptolomy was, without dispute, the utmost perfection of the ancient astronomy; nor was there any thing in any nation before it comparable thereto; for which reason all the other authors thereof were disregarded and lost, and among them Hipparchus himself. Nor did posterity dare to alter the theories delivered by Ptolomy, though successively Albategnius and the Arabs, and after them the Spanish astronomers under Alphonsus endeavoured to mend the errors which they observed in their computations. But their labours were fruitless, whilst from the defects of their principles it was impossible to reconcile the Moon's motion within a degree, nor the planets Mars and Mercury to a much greater space."

Thus we see the opinion of this learned and judicious astronomer. He very justly says, that Thales could give but a rude account of the motions, and that before Hipparchus, there could be scarce such a science as astronomy; most certainly therefore no such nice argumentation as our great author offers can be well grounded upon (as he himself calls them) the coarse, I might say the conjectural and unaccountable, astronomy of the ancients.

II. Another argument, which Sir Isaac Newton offers, in order to show, that the ancient profane history is carried up higher than it ought to be, is taken from the lengths of the reigns of the ancient kings. He remarks,[s] that "the Egyptians, Greeks, and Latins, reckoned the reigns of kings equipollent to generations of men, and three generations to a hundred years; and accordingly they made their kings reign one with another thirty and three years apiece and above." He would have these reckonings reduced to the course of nature, and the reigns of the ancient kings put one with another at about eighteen or twenty years apiece.[t] This he represents would correct the error of carrying the profane history too far backward, and would fix the several epochs of it more agreeable to true chronology.

In answer to this I would observe, 1. The word γενεα, generation, may either signify a descent; thus Jacob was two generations after Abraham, *i. e.* he was his grandson: or it may signify an age, *i. e.* the space of time in which all those, who are of the same descent, may be supposed to finish their lives. Thus we read that Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation.[u] In this sense the generation did not end at Joseph's death, nor at the death of the youngest of his brethren; nor until all the persons, who were in the same line of descent with them, were gone off the stage. A generation, in this latter sense, must be a much longer space of time than a generation in the former sense. Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph, were two generations or descents after Jacob, for they were his grand-children; yet they were born in the same age or generation in which Jacob was born, for they were born before he died. But I confess the word γενεα, or generation, is more frequently used to signify a descent; in which sense it is commonly found in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, in the profane as well as in the sacred writers. But I must remark, 2. That reigns and these generations are equipollent, when the son succeeds to the kingdom at his father's death. Thus, if a crown descends from father to son, for seven, or more, or not so many successions, it is evident that as many successions as there are, we may count so many either reigns,

[s] Newton's Chronology, p. 51. [t] P. 54. [u] Exodus i, 6.

or descents, or generations; a reign and a descent here are manifestly equivalent, for they are one and the same thing. But, 3. When it has happened in a catalogue of kings, that sometimes sons succeeded their fathers, at other times brothers their brothers, and sometimes persons of different families obtained the crown; then the reigns will not be found to be equivalent to the generations; for in such a catalogue several of the kings will have been of the same descent with others, and so there will not be so many descents as reigns, and conseqently the reigns are not one with another equivalent to generations. Now, this being the case in almost all, if not in every series of any number of kings that can be produced; it ought not to be said, that reigns and generations are in general equivalent; for a number of reigns will be, generally speaking, for the reasons above-mentioned, much shorter than a like number of generations or descents. 4. When descents or generations proceed only by the eldest sons, then each generation ought to be computed, one with another, about as many years as are at a medium the years of the ages of the fathers of such generations at the birth of their eldest sons. Thus we find from the birth of Arphaxad[x] to the birth of Terah, the father of Abraham,[y] are seven generations, or two hundred and nineteen years, which are thirty-one years and above one fourth to a generation. Now, the seven fathers in these generations had their respective sons, one of them at about thirty-five years of age,[z] one at thirty-four,[a] one at thirty-two,[b] three at thirty,[c] and one at twenty-nine.[d] 5. When descents or generations proceed by the younger or youngest sons, the length of such generations will be according to the time of the father's life in which such younger sons are born, and also in proportion to what is the common length or standard of human life in the age when they are born. When men lived to about two hundred, and had children after they were a hundred years old, it is evident, that the younger children might survive their parents

[x] Gen. xi, 11. [y] Gen. xi. 26.

[z] Salah was born when Arphaxad was thirty-five, ver. 12.

[a] Peleg was born when Eber was thirty-four, ver. 16.

[b] Serug was born when Rue was thirty-two, ver. 20.

[c] Eber was born when Salah was thirty, ver. 14; Rue when Peleg was thirty; ver. 18; Nahor when Serug was thirty, ver. 22.

[d] Terah was born when Nahor was twenty-nine, ver. 24.

near one hundred years. But now, when men rarely live beyond seventy or eighty years, a son, born in the latest years of his father's life, cannot be supposed, in the common course of things, to be alive near so long after his father's death; and consequently descents or generations by the younger sons must have been far longer, in the ages of ancient longevity, than they can be now. Therefore, 6. Since in the genealogies of all families, and the catalogues of kings in all kingdoms, the descents and successions are found to proceed, not always by the eldest sons, but, through frequent accidents, many times by the younger children, it is evident, that the difference in the common length of human life, in different ages of the world, must have had a considerable effect upon the length of both reigns and generations, as both must be longer or shorter in this or that age in some measure, according to what is the common standard of the length of men's lives in the age to which they belong. 7. Reigns, as before said, are in general not so long as generations; but, from historical observations, a calculation may be formed at a medium, how often, one time with another, such failures of descent happen as make the difference; and the length of reigns may be calculated in proportion to the length of generations according to it. Sir Isaac Newton computes the length of reigns to be to the length of generations, one with another, as eighteen or twenty to thirty-three or thirty-four.[e] These particulars ought to be duly considered, in order to judge of our learned author's argument from the length of reigns and generations. For,

1. The catalogues of kings, which our great and learned author produces to confirm his opinion, are all of later date, some of them many ages later than the times of David. He says,[f] the eighteen kings of Judah, who succeeded Solomon, reigned one with another twenty-two years each. The fifteen kings of Israel after Solomon reigned seventeen years and a quarter each. The eighteen kings of Babylon from Nabonassar reigned eleven years and two thirds of a year each. The ten kings of Persia from Cyrus reigned twenty-one years each. The sixteen successors of Alexander the Great, and of his brother and son in Syria, reigned fifteen years

[e] See Newton's Chronol. of the Greeks, p. 53, 54.

[f] Ibid

and a quarter each. The eleven kings of England from William the Conqueror reigned twenty-one years and a half each. The first twenty-four kings of France from Pharamond reigned nineteen years each. The next twenty-four kings of France, from Ludovicus Balbus, reigned eighteen years and three quarters each. The next fifteen from Philip Valesius twenty-one years each; and all the sixty-three kings of France, one with another, reigned nineteen years and a half each. These are the several catalogues, which our great and learned author has produced: they are of various dates, down from Solomon to the present time; but as none of them rise so high as the time of king David, all that can be proved from them is, that the observation of David, who remarked that the length of human life was in his time reduced to what has ever since been the standard of it,[g] was exceedingly just; for, from Solomon's time to the present day, it appears, that the length of kings' reigns in different ages, and in different countries, have been much the same and therefore during this whole period, the common length of human life has been what it now is, and agreeable to what David stated it. But,

2. It cannot be inferred from these reigns mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton, that kings did not reign one with another a much longer space of time in the ages which I am concerned with, in which men generally lived to a much greater age, than in the times out of which Sir Isaac Newton has taken the catalogue of kings which he has produced. From Abraham down almost to David, men lived, according to the Scripture accounts of the length of their lives, to, I think, above one hundred years, at a medium, exceeding that term very much in the times near Abraham; and seldom falling short of it until within a generation or two of David. But in David's time the length of human life was, at a medium, only seventy years;[h] therefore whoever considers this difference must see, that the length of kings' reigns, as well as of generations, must be considerably affected by it. Successions in both must come on slower in the early ages, according to the greater length of men's lives. I could produce many catalogues of successions from father to son, to confirm what I have offered; but

[g] Psalm xc, ver. 10. [h] Ibid.

since there is one which takes in almost the whole compass of time which I am concerned in, and which has all the weight that the authority of the sacred writers can give, and which will bring the point in question to a clear and indisputable conclusion, I shall, for brevity sake, omit all others, and offer only that to the reader's farther examination. From Abraham to David (including both Abraham and David) were fourteen generations;[i] now from Abraham's birth, A. M. 2008, to David's death, about A. M. 2986[k] are nine hundred and seventy-eight years, so that generations in these times took up one with another near seventy years each, *i. e.* they were above double the length which Sir Isaac Newton computes them; and which they were, I believe, after the time of David. We must therefore suppose the reign of kings in these ancient times to be longer than his computation in the same proportion; and if so, we must calculate them at above forty years each, one with another. The profane historians have recorded them to be so, for, according to the lists which we have from Castor[l] of the ancient kings of Sicyon and Argos, the first twelve kings of Sicyon reigned no more than forty-four years each one with another, and the first eight kings of Argos something above forty-six, as our great author has remarked.[m] But the reigns of the first twelve kings of Sicyon extended from A. M. 1920 to A. M. 2450;[n] so that they began eighty-eight years before the birth of Abraham, and ended in the time of Moses; and the reigns of the first eight kings of Argos began A. M. 2154,[o] and ended A. M. 2525; so that they reached from the latter end of Abraham's life to a few years after the exit of the Israelites out of Egypt. Now let any one form a just computation of the length of men's lives in these times, and it will in nowise appear unreasonable to think, that the reigns of kings were of this length in these days. I might observe, that the ancient accounts of the kings of different kingdoms in

[i] Matt. i.

[k] Usher's Annals. It may perhaps be thought that I ought not to compute these fourteen generations from the birth of Abraham, but from the death of Terah, the father of Abraham, who died when Abraham was seventy-five. If we compute from hence, the fourteen generations take up only nine hundred and three years, which allows but sixty-four years and a half to a generation, which is but almost double the length of Sir Isaac Newton's generations.

[l] Euseb. in Chron. [m] Newton, Chron. p. 51. [n] See hereafter, b. vi.

[o] Id. ibid.

these times agree to one another, as well as our great author's more modern catalogues. The twelve first kings of Assyria, according to the writers, who have given us accounts of them,[p] reigned one with another, about forty years each. The first twelve kings of the Egyptian kingdoms, according to Sir John Marsham's Tables, did not reign full so long; but it must be remembered, that in the first times, the kings of Egypt were frequently elected, and so, many times, sons did not succeed their fathers.[q]

Our great and learned author remarks,[r] that the seven kings of Rome, who preceded the consuls, reigned, one with another, thirty-five years each. It may be observed, indeed, that as the reigns of these kings do not fall within the times of which I treat, I am not concerned to vindicate the accounts which are given of them; but I would not entirely omit mentioning them, because the length of their reigns may be thought an undeniable instance of the inaccuracy of ancient computations, more especially because these kings were all more modern than the times of David. If we suppose Rome to be built by Romulus A. M. 3256,[s] we must begin his reign almost three hundred years after the death of David, and the lives of men in these times being reduced to what has been esteemed the common standard ever since, it may perhaps be expected, that the reigns of these kings should not be longer, one with another, than the reigns of our kings of England, from William the Conqueror; or of the kings of France, from Pharamond; or of any other series of kings mentioned by our illustrious author. But here I would observe, that these seven kings of Rome were not descendants of one another; for Plutarch remarks, that not one of them left his crown to his son;[t] two of them, namely, Ancus Martius and Tarquinius Superbus, were, indeed, descendants from the sons of former kings; but the other five were of different families. The successors of Romulus were elected to the crown, and the Roman people did not confine their choice even to their own country; but

[p] Euseb. in Chron.
[q] See hereafter in book vi.
[r] Newton's Chronology, p. 51.
[s] Usher Annals.
[t] Τες των Ῥωμαιων ὁρα Βασιλεις, ων εδεις υἱῳ την αρχην απελιπε. Plut. de animi Tranquillitat. p. 467.

chose such as were most likely to promote the public good:[u] It is evident, therefore, that the length of these kings' reigns should not be estimated according to the common measure of successive monarchs; for had these Roman kings been very old men when advanced to the throne, their several reigns would have been very short. Now the reason why they are so much longer than we suppose they ought to be, may be, because, as the affairs of the infant state of Rome required that the city should be in the hands of the most able warriors, as well as skilful counsellors, so they chose to the crown none but persons in the prime of life; as well to have a king of sufficient ability to lead their armies, as that they might not have frequent vacancies of the throne to shake and unsettle the frame of their government, which was not yet firmly enough compacted to bear too many state convulsions. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has been very particular in informing us of the age of most of these kings; when they began to reign, how many years each of them reigned, and at what age most of them died.[x] He supposes that the oldest man of them all did not live above eighty-three, for that was Numa's age when he died;[y] and he represents L. Tarquinius as quite worn out at eighty;[z] so that none of them are supposed to have lived to an extravagant term of life. But if, after what I have offered, it should still be thought that their reigns, one with another, are too long to be admitted, I might remark farther, that there were interregna between the reigns of several of them. There was an interregnum between Romulous and Numa;[a] another between Numa and Tullus Hostilius;[b] another between T. Hostilius and Ancus Martius;[c] another between A. Martius and L. Tarquinius.[d] Each of these interregna might, perhaps, take up some years. The historians allot no space of time to these interregna; but we know it is no unusual thing for writers to begin the reign of a succeeding king from the death of his predecessor; though he did not immediately succeed to his crown. Numa was not elected king, until the people found by experience, that the interregal govern-

[u] See Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom.; Livii Hist.; Flor. Hist.
[x] In lib. ii, iii, iv. [y] Lib. ii, ad fin. [z] Lib. iii, c. 72. [a] Lib. ii, c. 57.
[b] Id. lib. iii, c. 1. [c] Lib. iii, c. 36. [d] Id. ibid. c. 46.

ment was full of inconveniences,[e] and some years administration might make them sufficiently sensible of it. When Tullus Hostilius was called to the crown, the poorer citizens were in a state of want; which could no way be relieved but by electing some very wealthy person to be king, who could afford to divide the crown lands among them.[f] Ancus Martius was made king, at a time when the Roman affairs were in a very bad state, through the neglect of the public religion, and of agriculture.[g] And L. Tarquinius was elected upon the necessity of the war with the Apiolani.[h] Thus these kings appear not to be called to the crown until some public exigencies made it necessary to have a king. They seem to have succeeded one another, like the judges of Israel; the successor did not come to the crown immediately upon the demise of his predecessor; but when a king died, the Interreges took the government, and administered the public affairs, until some crisis demanded a new king. If this was the fact, there can be no appearance of an objection against the length of the reigns of these kings; for the reigns of the kings were not really so long, but the reigns, and the intervening interregna, put together. Now the more I consider the state of the Roman affairs as represented by Dionysius, the more I am inclined to suspect that their kings succeeded in this manner.

III. Sir Isaac Newton contends,[i] that there were no such kings of Assyria, as all the ancient writers have recorded to have reigned there from Ninus to Sardanapalus, and to have governed a great part of Asia for about one thousand three hundred years. Our great and learned author follows Sir John Marsham, in this particular; for Sir John Marsham first raised doubts about these kings;[k] and indeed that learned gentleman hinted a great part of what is now offered upon this subject. I have formerly endeavoured to answer Sir John Marsham's objections, as far as I could then apprehend it necessary to reply to them;[l] but since Sir Isaac Newton has thought fit to make use of some of them, and has added others of his own; it will be proper for me to mention all the several arguments which are now of-

[e] Dionys. Halic. l. ii, c. 57. [f] Id. lib. iii, c. 1. [g] Id. lib. iii, c. 36.
[h] Id. lib. iii. c. 49. [i] Newton's Chron. chap. iii.
[k] See Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 485. [l] Pref. to vol. i, p. 20.

fered against these Assyrian kings, and to lay before the reader what I apprehend may be replied to them.

1. And it is remarked,[m] that "the names of these pretended kings of Assyria, except two or three, have no affinity with the Assyrian names." To this I answer; Ctesias, from whom it is thought we have had the names of these kings, was not an Assyrian. He was of Cnidus, a city of Caria in the Lesser Asia; and wrote his Persian or Assyrian history (I think) in the Greek tongue.[n] The royal records of Persia supplied him with materials,[o] and it is most reasonable to think, that the Assyrian kings were not registered by their Assyrian names, in the Persian Chronicles; or if they were, that Ctesias, in his history, did not use those names which he found there, but made others, which he thought equivalent to them. Diodorus Siculus did not give the Egyptian heroes, whom he mentioned, their true Egyptian names; but invented for them such as he thought were synonymous, if duly explained.[p] The true name of Mitradates's fellow servant was Spaco; but the Greeks called her Cyno,[q] apprehending Cyno in Greek, to be of the same import as Spaco in the Median tongue. This was the common practice of the ancient writers, and some moderns have imitated it; of which instances might be given in several of the names in Thuanus's history of his own times; but certainly I need not go on farther in my reply to this objection. If Ctesias named these kings according to his own fancy, and really misnamed them; it can in nowise prove that the persons so misnamed never were in being.

2. It is argued, that Herodotus did not think Semiramis so ancient as the writers, who follow Ctesias, imagined.[r] I answer; by Herodotus's accounts, the Assyrian empire began at latest A. M. 2700; for Cyrus began his reign at the death of Astyages, about A. M. 3444.[s] Astyages, according to Herodotus, reigned thirty-five years,[t] and therefore began his reign A. M. 3409; he succeeded Cyaxares.[u] Cyaxares reigned forty years,[x] and therefore began his reign A. M. 3369. Phraortes was the predecessor of Cyaxares, and reigned

[m] Newton's Chronology, chap. iii.
[n] See Diodor. Hist. lib. ii, p. 84.
[o] Id. ibid.
[p] Ibid, lib. i, p. 8.
[q] Herodot. Hist. lib. i, c. 110.
[r] Newton's Chron. p. 266, 278.
[s] Ushers's Chron.; Prideaux's Connnect.
[t] Lib. i, c. 130.
[u] Ibid. c. 107.
[x] Ibid. c. 106.

twenty-two years,[y] and so began his reign A. M. 3347. Deioces preceded Phraortes, and reigned fifty-three years,[z] and therefore began to reign A. M. 3294. Herodotus supposes, that the Medes lived for some time after their revolt from the Assyrians without a king,[a] we cannot suppose less than two or three years: and he remarks that the Assyrians had governed Asia five hundred and twenty years before the revolt of the Medes; so that, according to his computations, the Assyrian empire began about A. M. 2771, which is about the time of Abimelech.[b] Sir Isaac Newton begins the Assyrian empire in the days of Pul, who was contemporary with Menahem,[c] in the year before our Saviour 790,[d] *i. e.* A. M. 3212; so that Herodotus, however cited in favour of our learned author's scheme, does, in reality, differ near four hundred and fifty years from it. But to come to the particulars for which our learned author cites Herodotus: he says, that Herodotus tells us, that Semiramis was five generations older than Nitocris, the mother of Labynitus, or Nabonnedus, the last king of Babylon; therefore, he adds, she flourished four generations, or about one hundred and thirty-four years before Nebuchadnezzar. I answer, if Herodotus intended to represent, that Semiramis lived but one hundred and thirty-four years before Nebuchadnezzar, when, according to his own computations, the Assyrian empire began as above, A. M. 2771, he was absurd indeed; for all writers have unanimously agreed to place Semiramis near the beginning of the empire; but this would be to suppose her in the later ages of it. Sir Isaac Newton himself, who begins the empire with Pul, places Semiramis in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, whom he supposes to be Pul's successor;[e] and certainly Herodotus must likewise intend to place her near the times where he begins the empire, as all other writers ever did; and indeed, the works he ascribes to her, seem to intimate that he did so too;[f] so that I must suspect there is a misrepresentation of Herodotus's meaning. Herodotus does indeed say, that Semiramis was πεντε γενεησι before Nitocris,[g] but the word γενεα has a double acceptation. It is sometimes used to signify a generation or

[y] Herodot. lib. i, c. 102. [z] Ibid. [a] Ibid. c. 96. [b] Judges ix; Usher's Chron.
[c] Chron. p. 268. [d] See the Short Chron. [e] Newton's Chronol. p. 278.
[f] Herodot. l. i, c. 184. [g] Ibid.

descent, and I am sensible that Herodotus has more than once used it in this sense; but it sometimes signifies what the Latins call Ætas, or Ævum; or we, in English, an age. Now if Herodotus used it in this sense here, then he meant that Semiramis was πεντε γενεσι, quinque ætatibus (says the Latin translator,) before Nitocris; not five generations or descents, but five ages before her. The ancient writers, both before and after Herodotus, computed a generation or age of those who lived in the early times, to be a hundred years. Thus they reckoned Nestor, of whom Tully says, "tertiam ætatem hominum vivebat;"[h] Horace, that he was "ter ævo functus,"[i] because it was reported that he had lived three generations or ages, to have lived about three hundred years. Ovid, well expressing the common opinion, makes him say,

——————————— vixi
Annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur ætas.[k]

The two ages or generations, which he had lived, were computed to be about two hundred years; and he was thought to be going on for the third century. Now, if Herodotus, in the place before us, used the word γενεα in this sense, then by Semiramis being five ages or generations before Nitocris, he meant nothing like what our learned author infers from him; but that she was about five hundred years before her. I might add, this seems most probably to be his meaning; because, if we take him in this sense, he will, as all other writers have ever done, place Semiramis near the time where he begins the Assyrian empire. I have formerly considered Herodotus's opinion, about the rise of this empire, as to the truth of it,[l] and I may here, from the most learned Dean Prideaux, add,[m] that Herodotus, having travelled through Egypt, Syria, and several other countries, in order to write his history, did, as travellers usually do, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them; and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them," and particularly in the instance before us; but Ctesias, living in the Court of Persia, and searching the public registers, was able to give a better account than Herodo-

[h] Lib. de Senectute. [i] Lib. ii, Ode 9. [k] Metamorph. lib. xii.
[l] Preface to vol. i, p. 16. [m] Connection, vol. i, book ii, p. 156.

tus, of the Assyrian kings. But whether Herodotus's account be true or false, the whole of it, I am sure, does not favour our learned author's hypothesis; nor, as I apprehend, does the particular cited about Semiramis, if we take the words of Herodotus according to his own meaning.

3. Sir Isaac Newton cites Nehemiah, chap. x, ver. 32.[n] The words are, *Now, therefore, our God——Let not all the trouble seem little before thee, that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people, since the time of the kings of Assyria unto this day.* Our learned author says, *since the time of the kings of Assyria,* "that is, since the time of the kingdom of Assyria, or since the rise of that empire; and therefore the Assyrian empire arose, when the kings of Assyria began to afflict the Jews." In answer to this objection, I would observe, that the expression, *since the time of the kings of Assyria,* or, to render it more strictly, according to the Hebrew words, *from the days of the kings of Assyria,* is very general, and may signify a time commencing from any part of their times; therefore it is restraining the expression purely to serve an hypothesis, to suppose that the words mean, not from their times in general, but from the very rise or beginning of their times. The heathen writers frequently used a like general expression, the Trojan times, *τϱο των Τϱωικων,* before the Trojan times, is an expression both of Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus;[o] yet neither of them meant by it, before the rise of the Trojan people, but before the Trojan war, with which the Trojans and their times ended. As to the expression before us, we shall more clearly see what was designed by it, if we consider, 1. That the sacred writers represent the Jews as suffering in and after these times from the kings of two countries, from the kings of Assyria, and from the kings of Babylon. *Israel was a scattered sheep: the lions had drove him away: first, the king of Assyria devoured him; and last, the king of Babylon brake his bones.*[p]—2. The kings of Assyria, who began the troubles which were brought upon the Israelites, were the

[n] Newton's Chron. p. 267.

[o] Thucyd. l. i, p. 3; Diodor. lib. i, p. 4, and the same author uses *απο των Τϱωικων* in the same sense; ibid.

[p] Jeremiah l, ver. 17.

kings who reigned at Nineveh, from Pul, before Tiglath-Pileser,[q] to Nabopolassar, who destroyed Nineveh, and made Babylon the sole metropolis of the empire.[r] Pul first began to afflict them; his successors, at different times, and in different manners, distressed them; until Nebuchadnezzar completed their miseries in the captivity.[s] But, 3. The sacred writers, in the titles which they give to these kings, did not design to hint either the extent of their empire, or the history of their succession; but commonly call them kings of the country or city where they resided, whatever other dominions they were masters of, and without any regard to the particulars of their actions or families, of the rise of one family, or the fall of another. Pul seems to have been the father of Sardanapalus;[t] Tiglath-Pileser was Arbaces, who, in confederacy with Belesis, overthrew the empire of Pul, in the days of his son Sardanapalus;[u] and Tiglath-Pileser was not king of such large dominions as Pul and Sardanapalus commanded; but the sacred writers take no notice of these revolutions. Pul had his residence at Nineveh, in Assyria, and Tiglath-Pileser made that city his royal seat;[x] for which reason they are both called in Scripture kings of Assyria; and upon the same account the successor of Tiglath-Pileser have the same title, until the empire was removed to Babylon. Salmanezer, the son of Tiglath-Pileser, is called king of Assyria;[y] and so is Sargon, or Sennacherib;[z] Esarhaddon, though he was king of Babylon as well as of Assyria,[a] is called, in Scripture, king of Assyria, for in that country was his seat of residence;[b] but after Nabopolassar destroyed Nineveh, and removed the empire to Babylon, the kings of it are called in Scripture kings of Babylon, and not kings of Assyria, though Assyria was part of their dominions, as Babylon and the adjacent country had been of many of the Assyrian kings. There were great turns and revolutions in the kingdoms of these countries, from the death of Sardanapalus to the establishment of Nebuchadnezzar's empire; but the sacred history does not pursue a narration of these matters; for as the writers of it called the kings of the ancient Assyrian empire

[q] 1 Chron. v, ver. 26; 2 Kings xv, 19; Usher's Chronol.
[r] See Prideaux, Connect. vol i, book 1.
[s] Id. ibid.
[t] See Usher's Chron.
[u] Prideaux, Connect. ubi sup.
[x] Id. vol. i, book 1.
[y] 2 Kings xvii, 3.
[z] Isaiah xx, 1.
[a] See Prideaux's Connect. vol. i, b. 1, note in p. 42.
[b] Ezra, iv, 2.

kings of Elam when they resided there,[c] kings of Nineveh,[d] or of Assyria, when they lived in that city or country;[e] so they call the several kings, which arose after the fall of Sardanapalus's empire, kings of the countries where they held their residence; and all that can fairly be deduced from the words of Nehemiah is, that the troubles of the Jews began, whilst there were kings reigning in Assyria, that is, before the empire of these countries was removed to Babylon.

4. "Sesac and Memnon (says our learned author) were great conquerors, and reigned over Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia; but in their histories there is not a word of any opposition made to them by an Assyrian empire then standing. On the contrary, Susiana, Media, Persia, Bactria, Armenia, Cappadocia, &c. were conquered by them, and continued subject to the kings of Egypt, till after the long reign of Ramesses, the son of Memnon." This objection, in its full strength, is, that the Egyptians conquered and possessed the very countries which were in the heart of the supposed Assyrian empire, in the times when that empire is supposed to have flourished; and therefore certainly there was in those days no such empire. I answer, 1. The Egyptians made no great conquests until the times of Sesac, in the reign of Rehoboam, about A. M. 3033, about two hundred years before Sardanapalus. This Sesac was their famous Sesostris.[f] I am sensible, that there have been many very learned writers, who have thought otherwise. Agathias supposed Sesostris to be long before Ninus and Semiramis;[g] and the Scholiast[h] upon Apollonius sets him two thousand nine hundred years before the first Olympiad; but the current opinion of the learned has not gone into this fabulous antiquity. Aristotle thought him long before the times of Minos;[i] Strabo, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus all represent him as having lived before the Trojan war; and Eusebius and Theophilus, from a hint of Manetho in Josephus,[k] supposed him to be brother of Armais or Danaus, "quam vere nescio," says the most learned Dean Prideaux.[l] Indeed, there are no prevalent reasons to admit of this relation; however, the sentiments of all these writers may not differ

[c] Gen. xiv, 1. [d] Jonah iii, 6. [e] 1 Chron. v, 26.
[f] Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 358.
[g] Lib. ii, p. 55; see Prideaux, Not. Histor. in Chron. Marm. Ep. 9.
[h] Id. ibid. [i] Politic. l. vii, c. 10. [k] Lib. i, contr. Apion. [l] Ubi sup

from one another, but Sesostris may consistently with all of them be supposed to have lived about the time when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, which I think has been the common opinion. But if we look into the Egyptian antiquities, and examine the particulars, as collected by Diodorus, we shall find great reason not to think him thus early. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that there were fifty-two successive kings after Menes or Mizraim, before Busiris came to the crown.[m] Busiris had eight successors, the last of whom was Busiris the Second.[n] Twelve generations or descents after him reigned Myris,[o] and seven after Myris, Sesostris;[p] so that, according to this computation, Sesostris was about eighty successions after Menes or Mizraim. Diodorus must indeed have made a mistake in this computation; for from the death of Menes, A. M. 1943,[q] to Sesac, about A. M. 3033, are but one thousand and ninety years; and fifty-five successions may very well carry us down thus far, as may appear from Sir John Marsham's Tables of the Kings of Egypt. The ancient Egyptian writers are known to have lengthened their antiquities, by supposing all their kings to have reigned successively, when many of them were contemporaries, and reigned over different parts of the country, in the same age. Undoubtedly Diodorus Siculus was imposed upon by some accounts of this sort, for there were not really so many successions, as he imagined, between Mizraim and Sesostris. But then there is a particular suggested by him, which must fully convince us, that his computation cannot be so reduced as to place Sesostris about the time of Moses. He observes, that after the time of Menes, one thousand four hundred years passed before the Egyptians performed any considerable actions worth recording.[r] The number one thousand four hundred is indeed thought to be a mistake. Rhodomanus corrects it in the margin, and writes one thousand and forty. We will take this number: from the death of Mizraim one thousand and forty years will carry us down very near to the time of Sesac; for fifty years after it, Sesac came against Jerusalem. Thus, according to this account, they had no famous warrior until about the time of Sesac; therefore Sesostris did not live earlier. I might

[m] Diodor. lib. i, p. 29. [n] Id. ibid. [o] Id. p. 33. [p] Id. p. 34.
[q] See vol. i, b. iv. p. 131. [r] Diodor. p. 29.

confirm this account from another very remarkable particular in Diodorus Siculus. He tells us of a most excellent king of Egypt, begotten by the river Nile in the shape of a bull.[s] I may venture to reject the fable of the river and the bull, and suppose this person to be the son of Phruron or Nilus; his father's name being Nilus might occasion the mythologists to say, that he was begotten by the river. Now Dicæarchus informs us, that this Nilus reigned about four hundred and thirty-six years before the first Olympiad, *i. e.* about A. M. 2792,[t] about which time Sir John Marsham places him.[u] According to Diodorus, Sesostris was twenty successions after this Nilus, and Sir John Marsham makes his Sesac to be nineteen; so that in all probability they were one and the same person. Thus a strict view of the Egyptian antiquities will, from several concurrent hints, oblige us to think that Sesostris was not earlier than the times of, and consequently was, the Sesac mentioned in the Scripture. I might add, that the sacred writers, who frequently mention the Egyptians from Abraham's time down to the time of this Sesac, give us great reason to think that the Egyptians had no such famous conqueror as Sesostris before Sesac; by giving as great a proof as we can expect of a negative, that they made no conquests in Asia before his days. In the time of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, we have no appearance of any thing but peace between Egypt and its Asiatic neighbours. Egypt was conquered by the Pastors, who came out of Asia a little before the birth of Moses, when the new king arose who knew not Joseph. Whatever power and strength these new kings might have acquired at the exit of the Israelites, must be supposed to be greatly broken by the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. The Egyptians had no part in the wars of the Canaanites with Joshua; nor in those of the Philistines, Midianites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Amalekites, against Israel, in the time of the Judges, or of Saul, or of king David. Solomon *reigned over all the kings from the river* (i. e. from the Euphrates) *unto the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt;*[x] so that no Egyptian conqueror came this way until after his death. *In the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up*

[s] Diodor. p. 33. [t] Vid. vol. i. b. iv. p. 131. [u] Vid. ibid.
[x] 2 Chron. ix. 26.

against Jerusalem with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen; and he took the fenced cities, which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem;[y] *and the Israelites were obliged to become his servants.* Sesac conquered not only them, but the neighbouring nations; for the Jews in serving him felt only *the service of the kingdoms of the countries*[z] round about them; that is, all the neighbouring nations underwent the same. This therefore was the first Egyptian conqueror who came into Asia, and we must either think this Sesac and Sesostris to have been the same person, or which was perhaps the opinion of Josephus,[a] say, that Sesostris was no conqueror; but that Herodotus and the other historians through mistake ascribed[b] to him what they found recorded of Sesac. Josephus represents Herodotus to have made two mistakes about this Egyptian conqueror, one in misnaming him, calling him Sesostris, when his real name was Sesac; the other, in thinking him a greater conqueror than he really was:[c] and this mistake many of the historians have indeed made in the accounts which they give of him. 2. For neither Sesostris nor Sesac did ever conquer so many nations, as the historians represent; nor were they ever masters of any of those countries, which were a part of the Assyrian empire. Diodorus Siculus indeed supposes, that Sesostris conquered all Asia, not only all the nations, which Alexander afterwards subdued, but even many kingdoms which he never attempted; that he passed the Ganges, and conquered all India; that he subjugated the Scythians, and extended his conquest into Europe:[d] and Strabo agrees with Diodorus in this account. What authority these great writers found for their opinion, I cannot say; but I find the learned annotator upon Tacitus did not believe any such accounts to be well grounded. In his note upon Germanicus's relation of the Egyptian conquests, he says, *De hac tanta potentia Ægyptiorum nihil legi, nec facile credam;*[e] and indeed there is nothing to be read, which can seem well supported, nothing consistent with

[y] 2 Chron. xii, 2, 3. [z] Ver 8. [a] Antiq. Jud. l. viii, c. 10.

[b] Σεσακον· περι ᾧ πλανηθεις Ἡροδοτος τας πραξεις αὐτου Σεσωστρει προσαπτει. Id. ibid.

[c] Μεμνηται δε ταυτης της στρατειας και ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσευς Ἡροδοτος, περι μονον το τε βασιλεως πλανηθεις ονομα και ὁτι αλλους τε πολλους επηλθε εθνεσι, και την Παλαιστινην Συριαν ἁλωσατο. Id. ibid.

[d] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, p. 35.

[e] Lipsii Comment. ad Tacit. Annal. l. ii, n. 137.

the allowed history of other nations, to represent the Egyptians as having ever obtained such extensive conquests. Herodotus confines the expedition of Sesostris to the nations upon the Asiatic coasts of the Red Sea; and after his return from subduing them, to the western parts of the continent of Asia. He represents him as having subdued Palestine and Phœnicia, and the kingdoms up to Europe; thence passing over to the Thracians; and from them to the Scythians, and coming to the river Phasis. Here he supposes that he stopped his progress, and returned back from hence to Egypt.[f] Herodotus appears to have examined the expedition of Sesostris with far more exactness than Strabo or Diodorus. He inquired after the monuments or pillars, which Sesostris set up in the nations he subdued;[g] but it no way appears from his accounts, that this mighty conqueror attacked any one nation, which was really a part of the Assyrian empire; but rather the course of his enterprises led him quite away from the Assyrian dominions. Sesostris did great things, but they have been greatly magnified. The ancient writers were very apt to record a person as having travelled over the whole world, if he had been in a few different nations. Abraham travelled from Chaldea into Mesopotamia, into Canaan, Philistia, and Egypt; the profane writers, speaking of him under the name of Chronus, say he travelled over the whole world.[h] Thus the Egyptians might record of Sesostris, that he conquered the whole world; and the historians, who took the hints of what they wrote from them, might, to embellish their history, give us what they thought the most considerable parts of the world, and thereby magnify the conquests of Sesostris far above the truth. But Herodotus seems in this point to have been more careful; for he examined particulars, and, according to the utmost of what he could find, none of the victories of this Egyptian conqueror reached to any of the nations subject to the Assyrians. Sir Isaac Newton mentions Memnon as another Egyptian conqueror, who possessed Chaldea, Assyria, Media, Persia, and Bactria, &c., so that it may be thought that some successor of Sesostris (for before him the Egyptians had no conquerors) subdued and reigned over these countries. I shall there-

[f] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 102, 103.
[g] Id. ibid.
[h] See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

fore, 3. Give a short abstract of the Egyptian affairs from Sesac, until Nebuchadnezzar took entirely away from them all their acquisitions in Asia. At the death of Sesac the Egyptian power sunk at once, and they lost all the foreign nations which Sesac had conquered. Herodotus informs us, that Sesostris was the only king of Egypt, who reigned over the Ethiopians;[i] and agreeably hereto we find that, when Asa was king of Judah, about A. M. 3063,[k] about thirty years after Sesostris or Sesac's conquests, the Ethiopians[l] were not only free from their subjection to the Egyptians, but were grown up into a state of great power; for Zerah their king invaded Judea *with a host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots.*[m] Our great author says, that Ethiopia served Egypt until the death of Sesostris and no longer; that at the death of Sesostris Egypt fell into civil wars, and was invaded by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians for some time; but that in about ten years the Ethiopians invaded the Egyptians, slew their king, and seized his kingdom.[n] It is certain, that the Egyptian empire was at this time demolished; the Ethiopians were free from it, and if we look into Palestine we shall not find reason to suppose that the Egyptians had the service of any nation there, from this time for many years. Neither Asa, king of Judah, nor Baasha, king of Israel, had any dependence upon Egypt, when they warred against[o] each other; and Syria was in a flourishing and independent state, when Asa sought an alliance with Benhadad. About A. M. 3116, about eighty-three years after Sesac, we find Egypt still in a low state, the Philistines were independent of them; for they joined with the Arabians and distressed Jehoram.[p] About one hundred and seventeen years after Sesac, when the Syrians besieged Samaria,[q] it may be thought that the Egyptians were growing powerful again; for the Syrians raised their siege, upon a rumour that the king of Israel had hired the kings of the Hittites and of the Egyptians to come upon them.[r] The Egyptians were perhaps, by this time, getting out of their difficulties; but they were not yet grown very

[i] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 110.
[k] Usher's Chronol.
[l] The Hebrew word is the Cushites, it should have been translated the Arabians. See vol. i, b. iii, p. 110.
[m] 2 Chron. xiv, 9.
[n] Newton's Chron. p. 236.
[o] 1 Kings xv, 16.
[p] 2 Chron. xxi, 16.
[q] 2 Kings vi. 24.
[r] 2 Kings vii, 6.

formidable, for the Syrians were not terrified at the apprehension of the Egyptian power, but of the kings of the Hittites and the Egyptians joined together. From this time the Egyptians began to rise again; and when Sennacherib sent Rabshakeh against Jerusalem[s] about A. M. 3292, the king of Israel thought an alliance with Egypt might have been sufficient to protect him against the Assyrian invasions;[t] but the king of Assyria made war upon the Egyptians, and rendered them *a bruised reed*,[u] not able to assist their allies, and greatly brake and reduced their power;[x] so that whatever the empire of Egypt was in those days, there was an Assyrian empire now standing able to check it. In the days of Josiah, about A. M. 3394, the Egyptian empire was revived again. Necho king of Egypt went and fought against Carchemish by Euphrates,[y] and in his return to Egypt put down Jehoahaz, who was made king in Jerusalem upon Josiah's death, and condemned the land of the Jews to pay him a tribute, and carried Jehoahaz captive into Egypt, and made Eliakim, whom he named Jehoiakim, king over Judah and Jerusalem.[z] But here we meet a final period put to all the Egyptian victories; for Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against Jehoiakim, and bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon, and made Zedekiah his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem;[a] and the king of Babylon took from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt, and the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his own land.[b] Whatever the empire of Egypt over any parts of Asia had been, here it ended, about A. M. 3399,[c] about three hundred and sixty-six years after its first rise under Sesac. Its nearest approach upon the dominions of Assyria appears to have been the taking of Carchemish, but even here it went not over the Euphrates; however, upon this approach, Nebuchadnezzar saw the necessity of reducing it, and in a few years' war stripped it entirely of all its acquisitions. This is the history of the empire of the Egyptians, and I submit it to the reader, whether any argument can be formed from it against the being of the ancient empire of the Assyrians.

[s] 2 Kings xviii. 17.
[t] Prideaux, Connect. vol. i.
[u] 2 Kings xviii, 21.
[x] Prideaux, ubi sup.
[y] 2 Kings xxiii, 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.
[z] 2 Chron. xxxvi, 3, 4.
[a] 2 Chron. xxvi, 10.
[b] 2 Kings xxiv. 7.
[c] Usher's Annal.

5. Sir Isaac Newton contends, that there was no ancient Assyrian empire, because none of the kingdoms of Israel, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Philistia, Zidon, Damascus, and Hamath, were subject to the Assyrians until the days of Pul.[d] I answer: the profane historians have indeed represented this Assyrian empire to be of far larger extent than it really was. They say that Ninus conquered Asia, which might more easily be admitted, if they would take care to describe Asia such as it was, when he conquered it. It does not appear, that he conquered all this quarter of the world; however, as he subdued most of the kingdoms then in it, he might in general be said to have conquered Asia. All the writers, who have contended for this empire, agree that Ninus and Semiramis were the founders of it;[e] and they are farther unanimous, that the successors of Semiramis did not make any considerable attempts to enlarge the empire, beyond what she and Ninus had made it.[f] Semiramis employed her armies in the eastern countries;[g] so that we have no reason to think that this empire extended westward any, or but a little way, farther than Ninus carried it. We read indeed that the king of Elam had the five cities on the borders of Canaan subject to him;[h] but upon Abraham's defeating his army he lost them, and never recovered them again. But I would observe, that even whilst he had the dominion of these cities, in the full stretch of his empire, it did not reach to the kingdoms of Israel, or which then were the kingdoms of Canaan; for he never came any farther than to the five cities; neither was he master of Philistia, for that was farther westward; nor does he appear to have come near to Sidon. As to the other kingdoms mentioned by our learned author, namely, the kingdoms of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, and Hamath, they were not in being in those times. Moab and Ammon were the sons of Lot, and were not born until after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah:[i] and the countries, which were planted by them and their descendants, could not be planted by them until many years after this time. The Emims dwelt in these countries in those

[d] Newton's Chron. p. 269. [e] Diodor. Sic. lib. ii; Justin, lib. i.
[f] Id. ibid. What Justin says of Ninyas may be applied to his successors for many generations; "contenti a parentibus elaborato imperio belli studia depósuerunt." [g] Id. ibid. [h] Gen. xiv. [i] Chap. xix. 37, 38.

days,[k] and Chedorlaomer subdued them;[l] but as he lost all these countries upon Abraham's routing his forces, so I apprehend that he never recovered them again. The Emims after this lived unmolested, until in after-times the children of Lot conquered them, and got the possession of their country;[m] at which time the Assyrians had nothing to do in these parts. The same is to be said of Edom; the Horites were the ancient inhabitants of this land,[n] and Chedorlaomer smote them in their mount Seir:[o] but as he lost his dominion over these nations, so the Horites or Horims grew strong again, until the children of Esau conquered them;[p] and the Assyrians were not masters of this country until later ages. As to Damascus, the heathen writers thought that Abraham first made a plantation there;[q] probably it was planted in his times. The Syrians had grown up to two nations in David's time, and were conquered by him.[r] In the decline of Solomon's reign, Rezon made Syria an independent kingdom again,[s] and Damascus became its capital city;[t] and in Ahab's time it was grown so powerful, that Benhadad the king of it had thirty and two kings in his army;[u] yet all this time Syria and all its dependants were not subject to the kings of Assyria. In the time of Ahaz, when Rezon was king, Tiglath-Pileser conquered him, took Damascus, captivated its inhabitants, and put an end to the kingdom of Syria;[x] but before this, neither he nor his predecessors appear to have had any command in these countries. God gave by promise to the seed of Abraham all the land from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates,[y] and Solomon came into the full possession of it;[z] but neither he nor his fathers had any wars with the kings of Assyria; so that we must conclude that the king of Assyria's dominions reached no farther than to that river. When Chedorlaomer invaded Canaan, the world was thin of people, and the nations planted in it were, comparatively speaking, few, and all that large tract between the nations which he came to conquer, and the Euphrates, was not inhabited; for we find that his auxiliaries, who came with him, lived all in and near the land of Shinaar. There were

[k] Deut. ii, 10. [l] Gen. xiv, 5. [m] Deut. ii, 9; Gen. xix, 37, 38.
[n] Deut. ii, 12. [o] Gen. xiv, 6. [p] Deut. ii, 12.
[q] Damascenus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. i, c. 8. [r] 2 Samuel viii, 6, 13.
[s] 1 Kings xi, 23, 24, 25. [t] Ibid Isaiah vii, 8. [u] 1 Kings xx, 1.
[x] 2 Kings xvi, 5, &c. [y] Gen. xv, 18, &c. [z] 2 Chron. ix, 26.

no intermediate nations; for if there had been any, he would have brought their united strength with him. Now, this agrees with the description of the land between the river of Egypt and Euphrates in the promise to Abraham;[a] wherein the nations inhabiting in and near Canaan are enumerated; but except these there were no other. Agreeably to this, when Jacob travelled from Canaan to the land of Haran,[b] and afterwards returned with a large family from Laban into Canaan,[c] we do not read that he passed through many nations, but rather overrun uninhabited countries; so that the kingdoms near Canaan which served Chedorlaomer were in his time the next to the kingdoms on or near the Euphrates. Therefore, when he lost the service of these nations, his empire extended no farther than that river; and his successors not enlarging their empire, all the country between Palestine and Euphrates, though after these days many nations were planted in it, was not a part of the Assyrian empire, until in after-times the Assyrian, and after them the Babylonian kings, by new conquests, extended their empire farther than ever their predecessors had done. When the ancient Assyrian empire was dissolved, on the death of Sardanapalus, the dominions belonging to it were divided between the two commanders, who subverted it; Arbaces the governor of Media, and Belesis governor of Babylon. Belesis had Babylon and Chaldea, and Arbaces had all the rest.[d] Arbaces is in Scripture called Tiglath-Pileser, and the nations of which he became master were Assyria and the eastern provinces, the kingdoms of Elam and Media; for hither he sent his captives when he conquered Syria;[e] therefore these countries thus divided were the whole of the ancient empire of the Assyrians. Thus our learned author's argument does in nowise prove, that there was no ancient Assyrian empire; for it only intimates, what may be abundantly proved to be true, that the profane historians supposed many countries to be a part of it, which really were not. They were not accurate in the particulars of their history; they reported that the armies of Semiramis were vastly more numerous than they really were; but we must not thence infer, that she raised no armies at all. They

[a] Gen. xv. 18—21. [b] Chap. xxviii; xxix. [c] Chap. xxxi.
[d] Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, book i. [e] Id. ibid; 2 Kings xvii, 6.

took their dimensions of the Assyrian empire from what has afterwards the extent of the Babylonian or Persian; but though they thus surprisingly magnified it, yet we cannot conclude that there was no such empire, from their having misrepresented its grandeur and extent.

Some particulars are suggested by our great and learned author, which, though they do not directly fall under the argument which I have considered, may yet be here mentioned. Sir Isaac Newton remarks, 1. That "the land of Haran, mentioned Gen. xi, was not under the Assyrian."[f] I answer; when the Chaldeans expelled Terah and his family from their land for not serving their gods,[g] they removed about one hundred miles up the country, towards the North-west. Now the earth was not then so full of inhabitants, but that they here found a tract of land distant from all other plantations; and living here within themselves upon their pasturage and tillage, and having no business with distant nations, no one interrupted their quiet. The territories of the Chaldees reached most probably but a little way from Ur; for kingdoms were but small in these times. Terah's family lived far from their borders and plantations, and that gave them the peace which they enjoyed. But, 2, "In the time of the Judges of Israel, Mesopotamia was under its own king."[h] I answer, so was Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar, in the days of Abraham; yet all the kings of these cities had served Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, twelve years.[i] But it may be said, Chushanrishithaim the king of Mesopotamia warred against,[k] and enslaved the Israelites, and therefore does not seem to have been himself subject to a foreign power. To this it may be replied: the princes, who were subject to the Assyrian empire, were altogether kings[l] in their own countries, for they made war and peace with other nations, not under the protection of the Assyrians, as they pleased, and were not controlled, if they paid the annual tribute or service required from them. But 3. "When Jonah prophesied, Nineveh contained only about one hundred and twenty thousand persons." I answer; when Jonah prophesied, Nineveh contained more than one hundred and twenty thousand persons, that could not discern between

[f] Newton's Chronol. p. 269. [g] Judith v. 8. [h] Newton, p. 269.
[i] Gen. xiv, 4. [k] Judges iii, ver. 8. [l] Isaiah x, ver. 8.

their right hand and their left;[m] for there were thus many children not grown up to years of discretion; how far more numerous then were all the persons in it? A city so exceeding populous must surely be the head of a very large empire in these days. But, "the king of Nineveh, was not yet called king of Assyria, but king of Nineveh only." I answer, Chedorlaomer is called in Scripture only king of Elam,[n] though nations about nine hundred miles distant from that city were subject to him; for so far we must compute from Elam to Canaan. But, "the fast kept to avert the threatenings of the prophet was not published in several nations, nor in all Assyria, but only in Nineveh."[o] I answer, the Ninevites and their king only fasted because the threatenings of Jonah were not against Assyria nor against the nations that served the king of Nineveh, but against the city of Nineveh only.[p] But, 4. "Homer does not mention, and therefore knew nothing of, an Assyrian empire."[q] If I were to consider at large how little the Assyrian empire extended towards those nations, with which Homer was concerned, it would be no wonder that he did not mention this empire in his account of the Trojan war, or travels of Ulysses; yet since it can in nowise be concluded that Homer knew no kingdoms in the world, but what he mentioned in his poems, I think I need not enlarge much in answer to this objection.

There is one objection more of our learned author which ought more carefully to be examined; for,

6. He contends, that "the Assyrians were a people[r] no ways considerable, when Amos prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, about ten or twenty years before the reign of Pul; for God then threatened to raise up a nation against Israel. The nation here intended was the Assyrian, but it is not once named in all the book of Amos. In the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Zechariah, after the empire was grown up, it is openly named upon all occasions. But as Amos names not the Assyrians in all the prophecy; so it seems most probable, that the Assyrians made no great figure in his days; they were to be raised up against Israel after he prophesied. The true import of the Hebrew word, which we translate

[m] Jonah iv, ver. 11. [n] Gen. xiv, 1. [o] Newton's Chron. p. 270.
[p] Jonah iii. [q] Newton's Chron. p. 270. [r] Ibid. p. 271.

raise up, expresses, that God would raise up the Assyrians from a condition lower than the Israelites, to a state of power superior to them; but since the Assyrians were not in this superior state when Amos prophesied, it must be allowed, that the Assyrian empire began and grew up after the days of Amos." This is the argument in its full strength: my answer to it is; the nation intended in the prophecy of Amos was not the then Assyrian, I mean not the Assyrian, which flourished and was powerful in the days of Amos. Sir Isaac Newton says, that Amos prophesied ten years before the reign of Pul. Pul was the father of Sardanapalus;[s] therefore the Assyrian king, in whose reign Amos prophesied, was probably the grandfather of Sardanapalus; but it was not any of the descendants of these kings, nor any of the possessors of their empire, who were to afflict the Jews. Their empire was to be dissolved; and we find it was so on the death of Sardanapalus, and a new empire was to be raised on its ruins, which was to grow from small beginnings to great power. Tiglath-Pileser, who had been deputy-governor of Media, under Sardanapalus, was raised first to be king of part of the dominions which had belonged to the Assyrian empire; and some time after his rise, he conquered Syria, took Damascus, and reduced all that kingdom under his dominion. Thus he began to fulfil the prophecy of Amos, and to afflict the Jews from the entering in of Hamath;[t] for Hamath was a country near Damascus, and here he began his invasions of their land;[u] some time after this he seized all that belonged to Israel beyond Jordan, and went forward towards Jerusalem, and brought Ahaz under tribute. After the death of Tiglath-Pileser, his son Salmanezer conquered Samaria; and after him Sennacherib took several of the fenced cities of Judah, laid siege to Lachish, threatened Jerusalem, and reduced Hezekiah to pay him tribute, and marched through the land against Egypt. Under him the prophecy of Amos may be said to have been completed, and the affliction of the Israelites carried on to the river of the Wilderness,[x] *i. e.* to the river Sihor at the entrance of Egypt on the Wilderness of Etham. Thus the Israelites were indeed greatly afflicted by the

[s] Usher's Chronol. [t] Amos vi, 14. [u] Prideaux's Connect: vol. i, b. i.
[x] Amos, ubi sup.

kings of the Assyrian empire; but not by kings of that Assyrian empire which flourished in the days of Amos, but of another empire of Assyria, which was raised up after his days, upon the ruins and dissolution of the former. The whole strength of our great author's argument lies in this fallacy. He supposes what is the point to be proved; namely, that there was but one Assyrian empire, and so concludes from Amos's having intimated that an Assyrian empire should be raised after his time, that there was no Assyrian empire in and before his time; whereas the truth is, there were two Assyrian empires, different from each other, not only in the times of their rise and continuance, but in the extent of their dominions, and the countries which were subject to them. The former began at Ninus, and ended at the death of Sardanapalus; the latter began at Tiglath-Pileser, and ended about one hundred and thirty-five years after, at the destruction of Nineveh by Nabopolassar.[y] The former empire commanded Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Media, and the eastern nations toward India; the latter empire began at Nineveh, reduced Assyria, and extended itself into Media and Persia, then conquered Samaria, Syria, and Palestine, and afterwards subdued Babylon also, and the kingdoms belonging to it.[z]

Our learned author has observed the conquests obtained over divers nations by the kings of Assyria. He remarks from Sennacherib's boast to the Jews[a], that these conquests were obtained by Sennacherib and his fathers. He represents Sennacherib's fathers to have been Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Salmanezer; and says, that these kings were great conquerors, who with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about Assyria, and hereby set up this monarchy.[b] I answer; Pul was not an ancestor of Sennacherib; he was of another family, king of a different empire from that which the fathers of Sennacherib erected. Pul was the father of Sardanapalus:[c] Tiglath-Pileser, the grandfather of Sennacherib, ruined Sardanapalus, the son of Pul, got possession of his royal city, and part of his dominions; and he and his posterity erected upon this foundation a far greater empire than Pul had ever been in possession of. 2. Pul conquered none of the countries

y Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. i.
z Prideaux, ubi sup.
a 2 Kings xix, 11.
b Newton, p. 273—277.
c Usher's Chron.

mentioned by Sennacherib, as having been subdued by him and his fathers. Pul is, I think, mentioned but twice by the sacred historians. We are told that God *stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria,*[d] and we are informed what Pul did.[e] He came against the land of Israel, when Menahem the son of Gadi had gotten the kingdom; and Menahem gave him a thousand talents of silver, so Pul turned back and stayed not in the land.[f] Our great and learned author says, that Pul was a great warrior, and seems to have conquered Haran and Carchemish, and Reseph, and Calneh, and Thelassar, and might found or enlarge the city of Babylon, and build the old palace.[g] I answer; Pul made the expedition above mentioned, but he was bought off from prosecuting it; and we have no one proof that he conquered any one kingdom upon the face of the earth. He enjoyed those dominions which his ancestors had left him, and transmitted them to his son or successor Sardanapalus; therefore, 3. All the fresh victories obtained by the kings of Assyria, by which they appear after these times to have conquered so many lands, began at Tiglath-Pileser, and were obtained by him and his successors, after the dissolution of the ancient Assyrian empire. The hints we have of them, indeed, prove, that a great monarchy was raised in these days, by the kings of Assyria; but they do not prove that there had been no Assyrian empire before. The ancient Assyrian empire was broken down about this time, and its dominions divided amongst those, who had conspired against the kings of it. Tiglath-Pileser got Nineveh, and he and his successors by degrees, and by a current of new victories, subdued kingdom after kingdom, and in time raised a more extensive Assyrian empire than the former had been.

From a general view of what both Sir Isaac Newton and Sir John Marsham have offered about the Assyrian monarchy, it may be thought, that the sacred and profane history differ irreconcileably about it; but certainly the sacred writers did not design to enter so far into the history of the Assyrian empire, its rise or dominions, as these great and most learned authors are desirous to represent. The books of the Old Testament are chiefly

[d] 1 Chron. v, 26.
[e] 2 Kings xv, 19.
[f] 2 Kings xv, 20.
[g] Newton, p. 278.

confined to the Jews and their affairs: and we have little mention in them of other nations, any farther than the Jews happened to be concerned with them; but the little we have is, if duly considered, capable of being brought to a strict agreement and clear connection with the accounts of the profane historians, except in points wherein these have apparently exceeded or deviated from the truth. A romantic humour of magnifying ancient facts, buildings, wars, armies, and kingdoms, is what we must expect in their accounts; and if we make due allowance for it, we shall find in many points a greater coincidence of what they write, with what is hinted in Scripture, than one, who has not examined, would expect. The sacred history says, that Nimrod began a kingdom at Babel,[h] and the time of his beginning it must be computed to be about A. M. 1757.[i] To this agrees in a remarkable manner the account which Callisthenes formed of the astronomical observations, which had been made at Babylon before Alexander took that city; who supposed them to reach one thousand nine hundred and three years backward from Alexander's coming thither; so that they began at A. M. 1771,[k] about fourteen years after the rise of Nimrod's kingdom. I have already remarked, that the writers, who deny the Babylonian antiquities, endeavour, as their hypothesis requires they should, to set aside this account of Callisthenes. Sir J. Marsham would prefer the accounts of Berosus or Epigenes before it,[l] but to them I have already answered.[m] Our illustrious author seems best pleased with what Diodorus Siculus relates,[n] "that when Alexander the Great was in Asia, the Chaldeans reckoned four hundred and seventy-three thousand years, since they first began to observe the stars."[o] This I allow might be the boast of the Chaldeans; but I would observe from what Callisthenes reported, that a stranger, when admitted accurately to examine their accounts, could find no such thing. The ancients, before they computed the year by the Sun's motion, had many years of various lengths, calculated from divers estimates, and among the rest the Chaldeans are remarkable for having had years so short, that they imagined

[h] Gen. x, ver 10.
[i] See vol. i, b. iv, p. 118.
[k] See vol. i, b. iv, p. 118.
[l] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 474.
[m] See pref. to vol. i, p. 19.
[n] Lib. ii, p. 83.
[o] Newton's Chron. p. 265.

their ancient kings had lived or reigned above six, seven, or ten thousand of them.[p] Something of a like nature might be the four hundred and seventy-three thousand years ascribed to their astronomy; and Callisthenes, upon reducing them to solar years, might judge they contained but one thousand nine hundred and three real years, and so conclude that their observations reached no farther backward. This seems the most probable account of those observations; and I think that our great author's inclination to his hypothesis was the only reason, which induced him to produce the four hundred and seventy-three thousand years of the Chaldeans, and to seem to intimate that Callisthenes's report of one thousand nine hundred and three reached only to a part of them,[q] the largest number being most likely to make the Assyrian antiquities appear extravagant. The profane historians generally carry up their kingdom of Assyria, to Ninus,[r] and Ninus reigned when Abraham was born.[s] Now we are well assured from the Scriptures, that the Assyrian antiquities are not hereby carried up too high; for, in the time of Nimrod, Ashur erected a kingdom and built several cities in this country.[t] The profane historians represent Ninus as having been a very great conqueror, and relate, that he subjected the Asiatic nations to his empire. The sacred history confirms this particular very remarkably; for it informs us, that the king of Elam, in the days of Abraham, had nations subject to his service, about eight or nine hundred miles distant from the city of his residence; for so far we must compute from Elam to the five cities, which served Chedorlaomer twelve years.[u] We find from Scripture, that Chedorlaomer lost the obedience of these countries; and after Abraham's defeating his armies, until Tiglath-Pileser, the Assyrian kings appear to have had no dominion over the nations between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. This indeed seems to confine the Assyrian empire within narrower bounds, than can well agree with the accounts which the heathen writers give of it; but then it is remarkable, that these enlarged accounts come from hands comparatively modern. Diodorus informs us, that he took his from Cte-

[p] See pref. to vol. i, p. 15; Euseb. in Chron.
[q] Newton's Chron. p. 44.
[r] See Diodor. Sic. l. ii; Justin. lib. i; Euseb. Chron.
[s] Ηρσιμ. Euseb.
[t] Gen. x. ver. 11.
[u] Gen. xiv.

sias:[x] Ctesias might have the number of his ancient Assyrian kings, and the time or length of their reigns, from the Persian Chronicles;[y] but as all writers have agreed to ascribe no great actions to any of them from after Ninus to Sardanapalus, so it appears most reasonable to suppose, that the Persian registries made but a very short mention of them; for ancient registries afforded but little history,[z] and therefore I suspect that Ctesias's estimate of the ancient Assyrian grandeur was rather formed from what he knew to be true of the Persian empire, than taken from any authentic accounts of the ancient Assyrian. The profane historians relate, that the Assyrian empire was broken down at the death of Sardanapalus; but the Jews having at this time no concern with the Assyrians, the sacred writers do not mention this great revolution. However, all the accounts in Scripture of the kings of Assyria, and of the kings of Babylon, which are subsequent to the times of Sardanapalus, will appear to be reconcileable to the supposition of such a subversion of this ancient empire, to any one who reads the first book of the most learned Dean Prideaux's Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament.

I have now gone through what I proposed to offer at this time against Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology; and hope I shall not appear to have selected only two or three particulars out of many, such as I might easily reply to, omitting others more weighty and material; for I have considered the very points, which are the foundation of this new scheme, and which, if I have sufficiently answered, will leave me no very difficult task to defend my adhering to the received chronology. If the argument formed from Chiron's constellations were stripped of its astronomical dress, a common reader might be able to judge, that it cannot serve the purpose for which it is alleged. If (as the most celebrated Dr. Halley represents) the ancient astronomers had done nothing which could be serviceable either to Hipparchus or Ptolomy, in their determination of the celestial motions; if even Thales could give but a rude account of the motion; if before Hipparchus there could scarce be said to be such a science as astronomy; how can it be supposed that Chiron, who most probably lived one thousand

[x] Lib. ii. [y] Id. ibid. [z] See Gen. v, x, xi, xxxvi, &c.

one hundred years before Hipparchus, and almost three thousand years ago, should have really left a most difficult point of astronomy so exactly calculated and adjusted, as to be a foundation for us now to overturn by it all the hitherto received chronology? If Chiron and all the Greeks before, and for six hundred years after his time, put together, could not tell when the year began, and when it ended, without mistaking above five days and almost a quarter of a day in every year's computation; can it be possible for Chiron to have settled the exact time of mid-summer and mid-winter, of equal day and night in spring and autumn, with such a mathematical exactness, as that at this day we can depend upon a supposed calculation of his, to reject all that has hitherto been thought the true chronology? As to our illustrious author's argument from the length of reigns, I might have observed, that it is introduced upon a supposition, which can never be allowed, namely, that the ancient chronologers did not give us the several reigns of their kings, as they took them from authentic records; but that they made the length of them by artificial computations, calculated according to what they thought the reigns of such a number of kings, as they had to set down, would amount to at a medium one with another. This certainly never was fact; but, as Acusilaus, a most ancient historian mentioned by our most illustrious author,[a] wrote his genealogies out of tables of brass; so it is by far most probable that all the other genealogists, who have given us the length of the lives or reigns of their kings or heroes, took their accounts either from monuments, stone pillars, or ancient inscriptions, or from other antiquaries of unsuspected fidelity, who had faithfully examined such originals. But as I had no occasion to pursue this fact, so I omitted mentioning it, thinking it would be sufficient to defend myself against our learned author's scheme, to show, that the length of the kings' reigns, which he supposed so much to exceed the course of nature, would not really appear to do so, if we consider what the Scriptures represent to be the length of men's lives and of generations in those ages, to which these reigns belong. As to the ancient empire of Assyria, I submit what I have offered about it to the reader.

[a] Chronol. p. 46.

After so large digressions upon these subjects, I cannot find room to enter upon the particulars which are contained in the following sheets. I wish none of them may want a large apology; but that what I now offer the public may meet with the same favour, as my former volume; which if it does, I shall endeavour, as fast as the opportunities I have will enable me, and my other engagements permit, in two volumes more to finish the remaining parts of the undertaking.

SHELTON, NORFOLK,
Dec. 10, 1729.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK VI.

WHEN Abram was[1] entering into Egypt, he was full of thoughts of the evils which might befal him in a strange land; and considering the beauty of his wife, was afraid that the king, or some powerful person of the country, might fall in love with her, and kill him in order to marry her. He therefore desired her to call him brother. They had not been long in Egypt, before the beauty of Sarai was much talked of; she was therefore brought to court, and the king of Egypt had thoughts of marrying her: but in some time he found out that she was Abram's wife. Hereupon he sent for, and expostulated with him the ill consequences which might have happened from the method he had taken; and generously restored Sarai, and suffered Abram to leave his country, and carry with him all that belonged to him. Abram's stay in Egypt was about three months. The part of Egypt where he travelled was the land of Tanis, or lower Egypt; for this bordered on Arabia and Philistia, from whence Abram had journeyed. His coming hither was about the tenth year of the fifth king of this country; for Menes, or Mizraim, being, as before said, king of all Egypt until A. M. 1943, and the reigns of the three next kings of Lower Egypt taking up (according to Sir John Marsham's tables) one hundred and thirty three years; the tenth year of their successor will carry us to A. M. 2086, in which year Abram came into Egypt.[2]

Abram, after coming out of Egypt, returned into Canaan, and came to the place where he formerly first stopped,[3] between Bethel and Hai; and here he offered a sacrifice of thansgiving for the happy events of his travels.

[1] Gen. xii, 11. [2] See vol. i, b. v. [3] Gen. xiii, 3.

Lot and Abram had hitherto lived together; but by this time their substance was so much increased, that they found it inconvenient to be near one another. Their cattle[4] mingled, their herdsmen quarrelled, and the land was not able to bear them; their stocks, when together, required a larger tract of ground to feed and support them, than they could take up, without interfering with the property of the inhabitants of the land in which they sojourned. They agreed therefore to separate. The land of Canaan had spare room sufficient for Abram, and the plains of Jordan for Lot; therefore upon Lot's choosing to remove towards Jordan, Abram agreed to continue where he was, and thus they parted. After Lot was gone from him, God commanded Abram to lift up his eyes and view the country of Canaan,[5] promising that the whole of it should be given to his seed for ever, and that his descendants should exceedingly flourish and multiply in it. Soon after this Abram[6] removed his tent, and dwelt in the plain of Mamre in Hebron, where he built an altar to the Lord. His settling at Mamre might be about A. M. 2091.

About this time Abram became instrumental of great service to the king, in whose dominions he sojourned. The Assyrian empire, as we have observed, had in these times extended itself over the adjacent and remote countries, and brought the little nations in Asia under tribute and subjection. The seat of this empire was at this time at Elam in Persia, and Chedorlaomer was king of it; for to him the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and of the three other nations mentioned by Moses,[7] had been in subjection. They had *served him twelve years*, but *in the thirteenth they rebelled.*[8] We meet nowhere in profane history the name Chedorlaomer, nor any names of the kings mentioned by Moses, as confederate with him; but I have formerly observed how this might be occasioned. Ctesias, from whom the profane historians took the names of these kings, did not use their original Assyrian names in his history; but rather such as he found in the Persian records, or what the Greek language offered instead of them.

If we consider about what time of Abram's life this affair happened (and we must place it about his eighty-fourth or eighty-fifth year,[9] *i. e.* A. M. 2093,) we may easily see who was the supreme king of the Assyrian empire at the time here spoken of. Ninyas the son of Ninus and Semiramis began his reign A. M. 2059,[1] and he reigned thirty-eight years,[2] so that the year of this transaction falls four years before his death. Ninyas therefore was the Chedorlaomer of Moses,

[4] Ver. 7. [5] Gen. xiii, 14. [6] Ver. 18.
[7] Gen. xiv, 4. [8] Ibid.
[9] *i. e.* about a year or two before the birth of Ishmael, who was born when Abram was eighty-six. Gen. xvi, 16.
[1] See vol. i, b. iv, p. 119. [2] Euseb. in Chron. p. 18.

head of the Assyrian empire; and Amraphel was his deputy at Babylon in Shinaar, and Arioch and Tidal his deputies over some other adjacent countries. It is remarkable, that Ninus first appointed under him such deputies,[3] and there is no absurdity in Moses calling them kings; for it is observable, from what Isaiah hinted afterwards,[4] that the Assyrian boasted that his deputy princes were equal to royal governors; *are not my princes altogether kings?* The great care of kings in these ages was to build cities; and thus we find almost every new king erecting a new seat of his empire. Ninus fixed at Nineveh, Semiramis at Babylon, and Ninyas at Elam; and hence it happened in after-ages, that Ctesias, when he came to write the Assyrian antiquities, found the names of their ancient kings amongst the royal records of Persia; which he could hardly have done, if some of their early monarchs had not had their residence in this country. Ninyas therefore was the Chedorlaomer of Moses; and these kings of Canaan had been subject to him for twelve years. In the thirteenth year they endeavoured to recover their liberty; but within a year after this their attempt (which is a space of time that must necessarily be supposed, before Chedorlaomer could hear at Elam of their revolt, and summon his deputies with an army to attend him,) in the fourteenth year, the king of Elam with his deputy princes, the governor of Shinaar, and of Ellasar, and of the other nations subject to him, brought an army, and over-ran the kingdoms in and round about the land of Canaan. He subdued the Rephaims, who inhabited the land afterwards called the kingdom of Bashan, situate between Gilead and Hermon; the Uzzims, between Arnon and Damascus; the Emmims, who inhabited what was afterwards called the land of Ammon; the Horites, from Mount Seir to El paran; then he subdued the Amalekites and the Amorites; and last of all came to a battle with the king of Sodom, the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, the king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela or Zoar in the valley of Siddim, and obtained a complete and entire conquest over them. Lot, who at that time dwelt in Sodom, suffered in this action; for he and all his family and substance were taken by the enemy, and in great danger of being carried away into captivity, had not Abram very fortunately rescued him. The force which Abram could raise was but small; three hundred and eighteen trained servants being his whole retinue; yet with these he pursued the enemy unto Dan. We do not read that Abram attacked the whole Assyrian army; which, without doubt, would have been an attempt too great for the little company which he commanded; but coming up with them in the night,[5] he artfully divided his attendants into two companies, with one of which most probably he attacked those that were appointed

[3] Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, sec. 21. [4] Isaiah x, 8. [5] Gen. xiv, 15.

to guard the captives and spoil; and with the other made the appearance of a force ready to attempt the whole body of the enemy. The Assyrians, surprised at finding a new enemy, and pretty much harassed with obtaining their numerous victories, and fatigued in their late battle, not knowing the strength which now attacked them, retired and fled. Abram pursued them unto Hobah on the left hand of Damascus;[6] and, being by that time master of the prisoners and spoil, he did not think fit to press on any further, or to follow the enemy until daylight might discover the weakness of his forces: therefore he returned back, having rescued his brother Lot,* *and his goods, and the women, and the people*[7] who were taken captive. We hear no more of the Assyrian army; which most probably returned home, designing to be reinforced, and come another year sufficiently prepared to make a more complete conquest of the kingdoms of Canaan; but Ninyas or Chedorlaomer dying soon after this, the new king might have other designs upon his hands, and so this might be neglected or laid aside. When Abram returned with the captives and the spoil, the king of Sodom and the king of Salem[8] went out to meet him with great ceremony. Melchizedec, king of Salem, was the priest of the Most High God;[9] for which reason Abram gave him the tenth of the spoil. The remainder he returned to the king of Sodom, refusing to be himself a gainer by receiving any part of what this victorious enterprize had gotten him.

God Almighty continued his favour to Abram, and in divers and sundry manners, sometimes by the appearance of angels, at other times by audible voices or remarkable dreams, declared in what manner he designed to bless his posterity, and to raise them in the world. Abram at this time had no son, but upon his desiring one, he received not only a promise of one, but was informed, that his posterity should be so numerous as to be compared to the very stars of the Heaven.[1] Abram was so sincerely disposed to believe all the intimations and promises which God thought fit to give him, that it was *counted to him for righteousness*,[2] that he obtained by it great favour and acceptance with God; so that God was pleased to give him a still further discovery of what should befal him and his descendants in future times. He was ordered to offer a solemn sacrifice,[3] and at the going down of the sun a deep sleep fell upon him, when it was revealed to him in a dream,[4] that he himself would die in peace in a good old age; but that his descendants would for four hundred years be strangers in a land not their own, would suffer hard-

[6] Gen. xiv, 15.
* Lot was the son of Haran, and nephew to Abraham. Edit.
[7] Gen. xiv, 16. [8] Ver. 17. [9] Ver. 18.
[1] Gen. xv, 5. [2] Ver. 6. [3] Ver. 9. [4] Ver. 12.

ships, and even bondage; but that after this, the nation which would oppress them should be severely punished, and that they would be brought out of all their difficulties in a very rich and flourishing condition, and that in the fourth generation they would return again into Canaan, and take possession of it; that they could not have it sooner, because *the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full.*[5] GOD ALMIGHTY could foresee, that the Amorites would by that time have run into such an excess of sin, as to deserve the severe expulsion from the land of Canaan, which was afterwards appointed for them; but he would in nowise order their punishment until they should have filled up the measure of their iniquities, so as to deserve it. After Abram awoke from this dream, a fire kindled miraculously[6] and consumed his sacrifice; and GOD covenanted with him to give to his seed all the land of Canaan, from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates.[7]

Ten years after Abram's return into Canaan,[8] in the eighty-sixth year of his life, A. M. 2094,[9] he had a son by Hagar, Sarai's maid. Sarai herself had no children, and expecting never to have any, had given her maid to Abram to be his wife,[1] to prevent his dying childless. Abram was exceedingly rejoiced at the birth of his son; and looked upon him as the heir promised him by GOD, who was to be the father of that numerous people who were to descend from him; but about thirteen years after Ishmael's birth (for so was the child named) GOD appeared unto Abram.[2] The person who appeared to him called himself the ALMIGHTY GOD,[3] and can be conceived to be no other person than our Blessed Saviour.[4] As he afterwards thought fit to take upon him our flesh, and to dwell amongst the Jews,[5] in the manner related in the Gospels; so he appeared to their fathers in the form of an angel, in the first ages of the world, to reveal his will to them, as far as he then thought fit to have it imparted. In the first and most early days he took the name of GOD ALMIGHTY, by which name he was known to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob;[6] but afterwards he called himself by a name more fully expressing his essence and deity, and was known to Moses by the name JEHOVAH.[7]

GOD ALMIGHTY at this appearance unto Abram entered into covenant with him, promised him a son to be born of Sarai, repeated the promise of Canaan before made to him, and gave him fresh assurances of the favours and blessings designed for him and his posterity; but withal acquainted him that the descendants of the son whom Sarai should bear, should be

[5] Ver. 16. [6] Gen. xv, 17, see vol. i, book v. [7] Ver. 18.
[8] Chap. xvi, 3. [9] Ver. 16. [1] Ver. 3. [2] Chap. xvii, ver. 1
[3] Ibid. [4] See vol. i, b. v. [5] John i, 14.
[6] Gen. xvii, 1; xxviii, 3; xxxv, 11; xlviii, 3; xlix, 25; Exodus vi, 3.
[7] Exodus vi, 3, & iii, 14

heirs of the blessings promised to him. That Ishmael should, indeed, be a flourishing and happy man, that twelve princes should descend from him; but that the covenant made at this time should be established with Isaac, whom Sarai should bear about a year after the time of this promise. Abram's name was now changed into Abraham, and Sarai's into Sarah, and circumcision was enjoined him and his family.[8]

The same divine appearance (for Abraham called him the Judge of all the Earth,[9]) accompanied by two angels, was some little time after this seen again by him in the plains of Mamre, as he sat at his tent door in the heat of the day. They came into Abraham's tent, and were entertained by him, and ate with him,[1] and confirmed to him again the promise which had been made him of a son by Sarah; and after having spent some time with him, the two angels went towards Sodom;[2] but the Lord continued with Abraham, and told him how he designed to destroy in a most terrible manner that unrighteous city. Abraham was here so highly favoured as to have leave to commune with GOD, and was permitted to intercede for the men of Sodom.[3] As soon as the LORD had left communing with Abraham, he went his way, and Abraham returned to his place.[4] The two angels before-mentioned came to Sodom at even, made a visit to Lot, and staid in his house all night;[5] where a monstrous violence was offered them by the wicked inhabitants of Sodom; upon which they acquainted Lot on what account they had been sent thither; and after they had ordered him, his wife and children and all his family to leave the place, about the time of sun-rising, or a little after,[6] the LORD rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah, and upon some other cities in the plain, *fire and brimstone from the* LORD *out of heaven*,[7] and wholly destroyed all the inhabitants. Lot's wife was unhappily lost in this calamity; whether she only looked back, contrary to the express command of the angel,[8] or whether it may be inferred from our Saviour's mentioning her,[9] that she actually turned back, being unwilling to leave Sodom, and to go and live at Zoar; GOD was pleased to make her a monument of his vengeance for her disobedience, and she was turned into a pillar of salt.[1] Lot's sons-in-law, who had married his daughters, refused to go with him out of Sodom:[2] therefore they and their wives perished in the city. Two of his daughters, who lived with him[3] and were unmarried,[4] went to Zoar, and were preserved. Lot lived at Zoar but a little while; being afraid that Zoar also might some time or other be destroyed;[5] therefore he retired with his two daughters, and lived in a cave upon a mountain, at a distance

[8] Gen. xvii, 10. [9] Gen. xviii, 25. [1] Gen. xviii, 8. [2] Ver. 16.
[3] Ver. 23, &c. [4] Ver. 33. [5] Chap. 19. [6] Ver. 23.
[7] Gen. xix, 24. [8] Gen. xix, 17. [9] Luke xvii, 32.
[1] Gen. xix, 26. [2] Ver. 14. [3] Ver. 15. [4] Ver. 8.
[5] Ver. 30.

from all converse with the world. His daughters grew uneasy at this strange retirement, and thinking that they should both die unmarried, from their father's continuing resolved to go on in this course of life, and so their father's name and family become extinct,[6] they intrigued together, and imposing wine upon their father, went to bed to him,[7] and were with child by him, and had each a son, called Moab and Ammon. The two children grew up, and in time came to have families; and from these two sons of Lot the Moabites and the Ammonites were descended.

About this time Abraham removed southward, and sojourned between Cadesh and Shur at Gerar, a city of the Philistines; where he pretended that Sarah was his sister,[8] as he had formerly done in Egypt; for he thought the Philistines were a wicked people. Abimelech the king of Philistia intended to take Sarah to be his wife; but it pleased GOD to inform him in a dream, that she belonged to Abraham. Abimelech appears to have been a man of eminent virtue, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah had made a deep impression upon him. He appealed to GOD, for the integrity of his heart, and the innocency of his intentions. He restored Sarah to her husband, and gave him sheep, oxen, men-servants and women-servants, and a thousand pieces of silver, and free liberty to live where he would in his kingdom, and reproved Sarah for concealing her being married. He told her, that if she had not disowned her husband, she would have been protected from any other person's fixing his eyes upon her to desire her. *He is to thee*, said he, *a covering of the eyes to, or* of *all that are with thee; and with all others*,[9] i. e. he shall cover or protect thee, from any of those, that are of thy family or acquaintance, or that are not, from looking at thee, to desire thee for their wife.

A year was now accomplished, and, A. M. 2108, a son was born of Sarah,[1] and was circumcised on the eighth day, and named Isaac. When he grew old enough to be weaned, Abraham made a very extraordinary feast. Ishmael laughed at seeing such a stir made about this infant;[2] which so provoked Sarah, that she would have both him and his mother turned out of doors. Abraham had the tenderness of a father for his child;[3] he loved Ishmael, and was loth to part with him, and therefore applied himself to GOD for direction. GOD was pleased to assure him, that he would take care of Ishmael, and ordered him not to let his affection for either Hagar or her son prevent his doing what Sarah requested; intimating that Ishmael should for his sake be the parent of a nation of people; but that his portion and inheritance was not to be in that land, which was to be given to the descendants of Isaac,[4]

[6] Ver. 31, 32. [7] Ver. 33, 34, 35. [8] Gen. xx, 2. [9] Ver. 16.
[1] Gen. xxi, 2. [2] Ver. 9. [3] Ver. 11. [4] Ver. 12, 13.

and therefore that it was proper for him to be sent away, to receive the blessings designed him in another place. Abraham hereupon called Hagar, and gave her water and other necessary provisions, and ordered her to go away into the world from him, and to take her son with her; whereupon she went away, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba.[5]

Some commentators are in pain about Abraham's character[6] for his severity towards Hagar and Ishmael in the case before us. It may perhaps be thought, that the direction by God given in this particular may rather silence the objection, than answer the difficulties; but a little consideration will be sufficient to clear it. It would indeed, as the circumstances of the world now are, seem a very rigorous proceeding to send a woman into the wide world, and a little child in arms, with only a bottle of water, and such a quantity of bread as she could carry out of a family where she had been long maintained in plenty, not to mention her having been a wife to the master of it. But it must be remarked, that though the ambiguity of our English translation, which seems to intimate, that Hagar when she went from Abraham took the child upon her shoulder,[7] and afterwards that she cast the child under one of the shrubs,[8] does indeed represent Hagar's circumstance as very calamitous; yet it is evident, that they were far from being so full of distress as this representation makes them. For, 1. Ishmael was not an infant at the time of their going from Abraham, but at least fifteen or sixteen years old. Ishmael was born when Abraham was eighty-six,[9] Isaac when he was a hundred ;[1] so that Ishmael was fourteen at the birth of Isaac, and Isaac was perhaps two years old when Sarah weaned him, therefore Ishmael might be sixteen when Abraham sent him and his mother away. Hagar therefore had not a little child to provide for, but a youth capable of being a comfort, and assistant to her. 2. The circumstances of the world were such at this time, that it was easy for any person to find a sufficient and comfortable livelihood in it. Mankind were so few, that there was in every country ground to spare; so that any one, who had flocks, and a family, might be permitted to settle any where, and feed and maintain them, and in a little time might grow and increase and become very wealthy. Besides, the creatures of the world were so numerous, that a person, who had no flocks or herds, might in the wild and uncultivated grounds kill enough of all sorts for maintenance, without injuring any one, or being molested for so doing. And thus Ishmael dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer.[2] Again, they might let themselves for hire to those who had a great stock of cattle to look after, and find an easy and sufficient maintenance in their service; as good as Hagar

[5] Ver. 14. [6] Pool's Synopsis in loc. [7] Gen. xxi, 14.
[8] Ver. 15. [9] Gen. xvi, 16. [1] Gen. xxi, 5. [2] Gen. xxi, 20.

and Ishmael had had even with Abraham. We see no reason to think that Hagar met with many difficulties in providing for herself, or her son. In a few years she saw him in so comfortable a way of living, that she got him a wife out of another country to come and live with him: she took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.[3] 3. Ishmael, and consequently Hagar with him, fared no worse than the younger children used to fare in those days, when they were dismissed, in order to settle in the world; for we find, that in this manner the children which Abraham had by Keturah were dealt by.[4] Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac; but unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the East country. And much in this manner even Jacob, who was to be heir of the blessing, was sent away from his father. Esau was the eldest son, and as such was to inherit his father's substance: accordingly, when his father died, he came from Seir to take what was gotten for him by his father in the land of Canaan;[5] for we have no reason to suppose, that Jacob received any thing at Isaac's death; his brother left him only his own substance to increase with in the land; yet we find he had enough to maintain his wives and a numerous family, and all this the mere product of his own industry. When he first went from his father, he was sent a long journey to Padan-aram; we read of no servants nor equipage going with him, nor any accommodations prepared for his journey: he was sent, as we now-a-days might say, to seek his fortune, only instructed to seek it amongst his kinsfolk and relations;[6] and he went to seek it upon so uncertain a foundation, that we find him most earnestly praying to God to be with him in the way that he was to go, and not suffer him to want the necessaries of life to support him, but to give him bread to eat and raiment to put on;[7] yet we see, by letting himself for hire to Laban, he both married his daughters, and in a few years became the master of a very considerable substance.[8] 4. We mistake, therefore, not duly considering the circumstances of these times, in supposing that Hagar and Ishmael had been such sufferers by Abraham's dismissing them. At first it might perhaps be disputed, whether Ishmael the firstborn, or Isaac the son of his wife, should be Abraham's heir; but after this point was determined, and God himself had determined that in Isaac Abraham's seed was to be called,[9] a provision was to be made, that Ishmael should go and plant a family of his own, or he must have been Isaac's bondman or servant, if he had continued in Abraham's family. Here then was only that provision made for him, which the

[3] Ver. 21.
[4] Gen. xxv, 6.
[5] Chap. xxxvi, 6.
[6] Chap. xxviii, 2.
[7] Gen. xxviii, 20.
[8] Chap. xxx, 43.
[9] Chap. xxi, 12.

then circumstances of the world directed fathers to make for their younger children, and not any hardship put upon either Hagar or her son. And though their wandering in the wilderness until they wanted water had almost destroyed them, yet that was only an accident, and no fault of Abraham; and after it pleased GOD to extricate them out of this difficulty, we have no reason to suppose that they met with any farther hardships; but being freed from servitude, they easily, by taking wild beasts and taming them, and by sowing corn, got a stock, and became in a few years a very flourishing family.

Abimelech saw the increasing prosperity of Abraham, and fearing that he would in time grow too powerful a subject, made him swear, that he would never injure him or his people. Some little disputes had arisen between Abimelech's servants and Abraham's about a well, which Abraham's servants had dug; but Abimelech and Abraham, after a little expostulation, quickly came to a good understanding, and both made a covenant, and sware unto each other.[1] Abraham continued still to flourish; and his son Isaac being now near a man, it pleased GOD to make a very remarkable trial of Abraham's fidelity: he required him to offer his son Isaac[2] for a burnt-offering; which, without doubt, must at first be a great shock to him. He had before been directed to send away Ishmael, and assured that the blessings promised to his posterity were not to take place in any part of that branch of his family; but that Isaac should be the son of the promise, and that his descendants should be the heirs of that happiness and prosperity, which GOD had promised him; and now GOD was pleased to require him with his own hands to destroy this his son, his only son Isaac. How could these things be? What would become of GOD's promises, if this child, to whom they were appropriated, were thus to perish? The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews gives a very elegant account of the method by which Abraham made himself easy in this particular: *By faith*, says he, *Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that hath received the promises offered up his only begotten son, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called; accounting that* GOD *was able to raise him up even from the dead, from whence also he received him in a figure.*[3] He considered, that GOD had given him his son in a very extraordinary manner; his wife, who bare him, being past the usual time of having children;[4] and that the thus giving him a son was in a manner raising him one from the dead; for it was causing a mother to have one, who was, naturally speaking, dead in this respect, and not to be conceived capable of bearing: that GOD Almighty could as certainly raise him really from the dead, as at first cause him

[1] Gen. xxi, 22, &c.
[2] Chap. xxii.
[3] Heb. xi, 17, 18, 19.
[4] Chap. xi, 11.

to be born of so aged a parent. By this way of thinking he convinced himself, that his faith was not unreasonable, and then fully determined to act according to it; and so took his son and went to the place appointed, built the altar, and laid his son upon the wood, and took the knife, with a full resolution to kill the victim; but here his hand was stopped by a distinct and audible voice from Heaven. The angel of the LORD called to him out of Heaven, and said, *Abraham, Abraham; and he said here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest* GOD, *seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me.*[5] Abraham hereupon looked about, and seeing a ram caught in a thicket, took it, and offered that instead of his son.[6] GOD was pleased in an extraordinary manner to approve of his doing so, and by another voice from Heaven confirmed the promises, which had been before made to him.[7] Abraham being deeply affected with this surprising incident, called the place Jehovah-jireh, in remembrance of it; and there was a place in the mountain called by that name many ages after.[8] Soon after this Abraham went to live at Beersheba.

Some writers remark upon this intended sacrifice of Abraham in the following manner. They hint that he was under no surprise at receiving an order to perform it,[9] and think that we have no reason to extol him for this particular, as if he had hereby showed an uncommon readiness and devotion for GOD's service. For they say, that if he had really sacrificed his son, he would have done only a thing very common in those times wherein he lived; because it was customary, as Philo represents,[1] for private persons, kings, and nations to offer these sacrifices. The barbarous nations, we are told,[2] for a long time thought it an act of religion, and a thing acceptable to their gods, to sacrifice their children. And Philo-Biblius informs us, that in ancient times it was customary for kings of cities and heads of nations, upon imminent dangers, to offer the son, whom they most loved, a sacrifice to the public calamity, to appease the anger of the gods.[3] And it is remarked from Porphyry, that the Phœnicians, when in danger

[5] Gen. xxii, 11, 12. [6] Ver. 13. [7] Ver. 16, 17, 18.

[8] Our English translation of the 14th verse is very obscure: *As it is said to this day, in the Mount of the* LORD *it shall be seen.* If we take the word יֵאָמֵר to be a future tense, the whole verse may be translated thus: *And called the name of the place Jehovah-jireh, because it will be said* (or told hereafter, that) *this day the* LORD *was seen in the Mountain.* The LXX favour this translation: they render the place, και εκαλεσεν Αβρααμ το ονομα τω τοπω εκεινω, Κυριος ειδεν· ινα ειπωσιν σημερον εν τω ορει κυριος ωφθη. Or the Hebrew word may be Englished verbatim thus: *And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh, which* (i. e. place) *in the mountain is called at this day Jehovah-jireh.*

[9] Lord Shaftesbury's Characterist. vol. iii, Misc. 2. Sir John Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 76.

[1] Philo Judæus lib. de Abraham.

[2] Id. ibid.

[3] See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iv, c. 16.

of war, famine, or pestilence, used to choose, by public suffrage, some one person, whom they most loved, and sacrifice him to Saturn; and Sanchoniathon's Phœnician History, which Philo-Biblius translated into Greek, is, he says, full of these sacrifices. Now from this seeming citation of divers writers, one would expect a variety of instances of these sacrifices before Abraham's days; but after all the forwardness of these writers in their assertions upon this point, they produce but one particular instance, and that one most probably a misrepresentation of Abraham's intended sacrifice, and not a true account of any sacrifice really performed by any person that ever lived in the world. Or, if this may be controverted, and it be thought, that the person they mention did really offer the sacrifice which they mention; yet it must appear from the historian from whom they have it, that he did not live earlier, nor so early as Abraham; and therefore his sacrifice might be designed in imitation of Abraham's, and not Abraham's in conformity to any known practice of the nations where he lived.

The instance they offer is this. They say, that Chronus, whom the Phœnicians call Israel,[4] and who, after his death, was deified, and became the star called Saturn, when he reigned in that country, had an only son by the Nymph Anobret, a native of the land, whom he called Jeud (that word signifying in the Phœnician language only begotten,) and that when he was in extreme peril of war, he adorned his son in the royal apparel, and built an altar with his own hands, and sacrificed him.[5] Philo-Biblius, from Sanchoniathon, in another place represents it thus; that Chronus, upon the raging of a famine and pestilence, offered his only son for a burnt-offering to his father Ouranus.[6] Now upon this fact we may observe,

I. That the Chronus here mentioned was not more ancient than the times of Abraham; for if any one consults Sanchoniathon's account given us by Philo,[7] he will find, that after Sanchoniathon has brought down his genealogy to Misor, that is, to the Mizraim of Moses,[8] with whom he makes Sydec contemporary; he then informs us, that Sydec was father of the Dioscuri, Cabiri, or Corybantes, and that κατα τουτους, or in their life-time, Eliun was born.[9] Ouranus was son of Eliun, and Ilus, or Chronus, was son of Ouranus. Thus, supposing this Chronus to be the person who sacrificed his only son, it will be evident, that the grandfather of this person was born in the life-time of the sons of Mizraim the grandson of Noah.

[4] Sir John Marsham writes it Ιλ, and translates it *Ilus*; but Eusebius writes it Ισραηλ. Can. Chron. p. 77.

[5] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iv, c. 16.

[6] Id. lib. i, c. 10. [7] Id. ibid. [8] See vol. i, b. i.

[9] This expression κατα τουτους implies that Eliun was younger than the Corybantes. Abraham was born in the forty-third year of the reign of Ninus, and so Eusebius says he was born κατα τουτον. Præf. ad. Chronic.

by his son Ham; and parallel to this, Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham, was born three hundred and forty two years before the death of Salah, the son of Arphaxad, who was Noah's grandson by his son Shem.[1] Or we may compute this matter another way: Mizraim died A. M. 1943,[2] his son Taautus lived forty-nine years after Mizraim's death, *i. e.* to A. M. 1992. Taautus was contemporary with the Dioscuri; for they were said to be sons of one contemporary with the father of Taautus. Abraham was born A. M. 2008, *i. e.* only sixteen years after Taautus's death, so that Abraham's grandfather must have been long before the deaths of these men. Thus, by both these accounts, Ilus or Chronus cannot be more ancient than Abraham; rather Abraham appears to have been more ancient than he. And this must be allowed to be more evidently true, if we consider that it was not Ilus or Chronus the son of Ouranus who made this sacrifice of his only son; but rather Chronus, who was called Israel, and was the son of Chronus, called Ilus, and therefore still later by one generation. Philo-Biblius in Eusebius does indeed hint, that Chronus offered his son to his father Ouranus; from whence it may be inferred, that the elder Chronus or son of Ouranus was the sacrificer; but we must not take the word father in this strict sense; for both sacred and profane writers often mean by that word, not the immediate father, but the head of any family, though the grandfather, or a still more remote ancestor. Sir John Marsham asserts that no one but Eusebius called this sacrificer Israel, that Philo wrote it *I l* meaning *Ilus*, not *Israel*, and that Eusebius mistook in thinking *I l* to be a short way of writing *Israel*. But to this it may be answered, that Ilus could not be the person that offered his son, because Ilus had more sons than one, for he had three sons, Chronus, Belus, and Apollo.[3] His son Chronus had but one only begotten son by Anobret, and this Chronus therefore was the person who sacrificed his only son, as he was likewise the person who circumcised himself and family.[4] Thus Eusebius, in calling this Chronus Israel, only distinguishes him from his father, who was called Ilus; and if Philo did indeed write him *I l*, he could not mean Ilus, because, by his own account of Ilus's children, he was not the person who offered his only son. The person therefore, whom these writers mention upon this occasion, can in nowise serve their purpose; for if they will credit their historian, he must be later than the days of Abraham, and what he did, and what can be said about him, will not prove that these sacrifices had been customary in the days of Abraham; but rather that the

[1] This may easily be collected from Moses's account of the births and deaths of the post-diluvians. Gen. xi.

[2] See vol. i, b. iv.

[3] Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 38.

[4] Id. ibid

heathen nations, having a great opinion of Abraham and his religion, fell into this barbarous practice of sacrificing their children, upon a supposition that he had sacrificed Isaac, and set them an example. I need offer nothing further about Sanchoniathon's Chronus; what is already said will indisputably prove him too modern to furnish objections and cavils against Abraham's religion. However I cannot but think,

II. That this account of Sanchoniathon is really a relation of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, with only some additions and mistakes, which the heathen writers frequently made in all their relations. Sanchoniathon's history is long ago lost, and the fragments of it, which are preserved in other writers, are not intire as he wrote them, but have many mixtures of false history, allegory, and philosophy; such as the son of Thabio and other commentators upon his work had a fancy to add to him.[5] And very probably, if we had Sanchoniathon himself we should not find him exact in chronology or in the facts which he related, so that we must not examine his remains with too great a strictness; but if we throw away what seems the product of allegory, philosophy, and mistaken history in his remains, we may collect from him the following particulars about Chronus, whom the Phœnicians called Israel. 1. He was the son of a father, who had three children,[6] and so was Abraham. 2. Chronus had one only son by his wife,[7] and so had Abraham. 3. He had another son, by another person,[8] so had Abraham. 4. This Chronus circumcised himself and family,[9] so did Abraham. 5. Chronus sacrificed his only son,[1] so was Abraham reported to have done, by some of the heathen historians. 6. Chronus' son who was sacrificed was named Jehud,[2] and thus Isaac is called by Moses.[3] 7. Chronus was by the Phœnicians called Israel;[4] here indeed is a small mistake; Israel was the name of Abraham's grandson; but the heathen writers commit greater errors in all their accounts of the Jewish affairs. They had a general notion that Israel was the name of some one famous ancestor of the Israelites, but were not exact upon fixing it upon the right person. Justin,[5] after Trogus Pompeius, comes nearer the truth than Sanchoniathon, but he mistakes one generation, and gives the name of Israel to the son of Abraham. Sir John Marsham hints some little objections[6] against taking Chronus here spoken of to be Abraham; but I cannot think, that, after what has been offered, they can want an answer. The History of Sanchoniathon's Chronus, and Moses' Abraham, do evidently

[5] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, p. 39. [6] Ibid. p. 38. [7] Ibid. p. 40.
[8] Ibid. p. 38. [9] Id. ibid. [1] Ibid. et lib. iv, c. 16.
[2] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 10, p. 40.
[3] Gen. xxii, 2. God said to Abraham, take now thy son, Jehud ka, *i. e.* thine only son.
[4] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 40; l. iv, c. 16, p. 155.
[5] Justin. lib. xxxvi, c. 2. [6] Can. Chron. p. 77.

agree in so many particulars, that there appears a far greater probability of their being one and the same person, than there does of the truth of any circumstance hinted by Sanchoniathon, which may seem to make them differ one from the other.

Sarah was now one hundred and twenty-seven years old, and died in Kirjath-arba in Hebron. Abraham hereupon bought a field of the sons of Heth,[7] which had a cave in it, and therein deposited the remains of his wife. He was now desirous to see his son Isaac married[8] and therefore sent the head servant of his house into Padan-Aram, or Mesopotamia, to choose a wife for him from amongst his relations there. The servant went with a train and equipage, and carried presents suitable to the wealth and circumstances of his master;[9] and obtained for Isaac Rebekah the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother. Isaac was forty years old when he married, and therefore married A. M. 2148.

After Abraham had thus married his son to his satisfaction, he took himself another wife, whose name was Keturah;[1] and had several children by her, *viz.* Zimran, Jockshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. He took care in his life-time to send these children into the world; *he gave them gifts, and sent them away, while he yet lived, from Isaac his son, eastward unto the East country.*[2] This is the substance of what Moses has given us of the life of Abraham.

It is very remarkable, that the profane writers give us much the same accounts of him. Berosus indeed does not call him by his name, but describes a person of his character living ten generations after the Flood;[3] and so Moses makes Abraham, computing him to be the tenth from Noah. Nicolaus Damascenus calls him by name, and says that he came out of the country of the Chaldees, settled in Canaan, and upon account of a famine went into Egypt.[4] Eupolemus[5] agrees, that Abraham was born at Uria (or Ur) of the Chaldees; that he came to live in Phœnicia;[6] that some time after his settling here, the Armenians (or rather the Assyrians) overcame the Phœnicians, and took captive Abraham's nephew; that Abraham armed his servants and rescued him; that he was entertained in the sacred city of Argarise by Melchisedec priest of God, who was king there; that some time after, on account of a famine, he went into Egypt with his whole family, and fixing there he called his wife his sister; that the king of Egypt

[7] Gen. xxiii, 16. [8] Chap. xxiv. [9] Ver. 10.
[1] Gen. xxv. [2] Ver. 6.
[3] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix, c. 16: Berosus' words are, Μετα τον κατακλυσμον δεκατη γενεα παρα Χαλδαιοις τις ην δικαιος ανηρ και μεγας και τα ουρανια εμπειρος.
[4] Josephus Antiquitat. lib. i, c. 8; Euseb. Præp. Evang. ut sup.
[5] Ibid. c. 17, p. 418.
[6] The ancient heathen writers often call Syria, Canaan, and Phœnicia, by the same name.

married her, but that he was forced by a plague to consult his priests, and finding her to be Abraham's wife, he restored her. Artapanus, another of the heathen writers, does but just mention him; he says the Jews were at first called Hermiuth, afterwards Hebrews by Abraham, and that Abraham went into Egypt,[7] and afterwards returned into Syria again. Melo, who wrote a book against the Jews, and therefore was not likely to admit any part of their history, that could possibly be called in question, gives a very large account of Abraham.[8] He relates, that his ancestors were driven from their native country: that Abraham married two wives, one of them of his own country and kindred, the other an Egyptian, who had been a bond-woman; that of the Egyptian he had twelve sons, who became twelve Arabian kings;[9] that of his wife he had only one son, whose name in Greek is Gelos (which answers exactly to the word Isaac.) After other things interspersed he adds, that Abraham was commanded by God to sacrifice Isaac; but just when he was going to kill him, he was stopped by an angel, and offered a ram in his stead. Now, as these writers agree with Moses in their accounts of the transactions of Abraham's life, so is it also remarkable that they give much the same character of him; as they all allow that he was eminent for his virtue and religion; and they add moreover, that he was a person of the most extraordinary learning and wisdom. He was δικαιος και μεγας και τα ουρανια εμπειρος, says Berosus.[1] Nicolaus Damascenus says, that his name was famous all over Syria; and that he increased the fame and reputation which he had acquired, by conversing with the most learned (λογιωτατοις) of the Egyptian priests, confuting their errors, and persuading them of the truths of his own religion, so that he he was admired amongst them[2] as a person of the greatest wit and genius, not only readily understanding a thing himself, but very happy in an ability to convince and persuade others of the truth of what he attempted to teach. Eupolemus says, that in eminence and wisdom he excelled all others, and that by his extraordinary piety, or strict adherence to his religion, επι την ευσεβειαν αρμησαντα he obtained the favour of the Deity: εναρεσησαι τω Θεω are his words.[3] Both Melo and Artapanus agree likewise in testifying that Abraham had been eminent for his wisdom and religion. There are several particulars of no great moment, in which these writers either differ from Moses, or relate circumstances which he has omitted. Nicolaus Damascenus relates,

[7] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 18, p. 420. [8] Id. c. 19.

[9] This is but a small mistake; the descendants of Ishmael were twelve kings, Gen. xvii, 20, and settled near Arabia.

[1] Euseb Præp. Evang. l. ix, c xvi, p 417.

[2] Θαυμασθεις υπ αυτων εν ταις συνουσιαις ως συνετωτατος και δεινος ανηρ, ου νοησαι μονον αλλα και πεισαι λεγων, περι ων αν επιχειρησειε διδασκειν Euseb. in loc sup. cit.

[3] Euseb. sup. citat. This was the character, which Enoch obtained by his faith. Heb. xi, 5.

that Abraham came with an army out of the country of the Chaldees; that he reigned for some time a king at Damascus, and afterwards removed into Canaan. The little difference between this account and that of Moses may be easily adjusted. Abraham was indeed no king, but Moses observes that his family and appearance and prosperity in the world was such, that the nations he conversed with treated him, and spake of him as of a mighty prince. And when his family came first from Ur, and consisted both of those who settled at Haran, and those who removed with him into Canaan, he might be reported, as the circumstances of the world then were, to be the leader of an army; for very probably few armies were at that time more numerous than his followers. As to his reigning king at Damascus, it is easy to see how he made this mistake. The land of Haran, where Abraham made his first settlement, was a part of Syria, of which Damascus was afterwards the head city. Hence it might happen, that the heathen writers, finding that he made a settlement in this country, were not so exact about the place of it as they might have been; but readily took the capital city to have been inhabited by him. Damascenus relates farther, that when Abraham went to Egypt, he went thither partly upon account of the famine in Canaan, and partly to confer with the Egyptian priests about the nature of the gods; designing to go over to them, if their notions were better than his own, or to bring them over to him, if his own sentiments should be found to be the best grounded; and that he hereupon conversed with the most learned men amongst them. Moses relates nothing of this matter; but what we meet with about Syphis, a king of Egypt,[4] who reigned a little after Abraham's time and was very famous for religious speculations, makes it exceeding probable, that Abraham might be very much celebrated in Egypt for his religion; and that his conversation there might occasion the kings of Egypt to study these subjects with a more than ordinary care. One thing I would remark before I leave these writers, namely, the life of Abraham was such, that even the profane writers found sufficient reason to think him not only famous for his piety, and adherence to the true religion, but very conspicuous also for his learning and good sense, far above and beyond his contemporaries. He was accounted not a man of low and puerile conceptions, nor a bigotted enthusiast; but one of temper proper to converse with those who differed from him, and able to confute the most learned opposers. He had a reason for his faith, and was able to give an answer to all objections, which the most learned could make to it.[5] And not only Damascenus, but all the other writers I have mentioned lay a foundation for this

[4] See vol. i, b. v; Euseb. in loc. sup. citat.
[5] See Damascenus's account of him, in Euseb. loc. citat.

character. They all suppose him a great master of the learning which then prevailed in the world; abundantly able to teach and instruct the wisest men of the several nations with whom he conversed. This is the substance of what these writers offer about Abraham; in all which they so agree with Moses, as to confirm the truth of his history; and the more so, because in small matters they so differ from him, as to evidence, that they did not blindly copy after him, but searched for themselves; and at last could find no reason in matters of moment to vary from him. Abraham lived to be a hundred threescore and fifteen years old, and died A. M. 2183.

If we look back, it will be easy to see, who were Abraham's contemporaries in all the several parts of his life. He was born, according to Eusebius,[6] in the forty-third year of Ninus's reign; and Ninus reigning fifty-two years, died when Abraham was nine years old. The five next succeeding heads of the Assyrian empire were[7] Semiramis, who governed forty-two years; Ninyas, who reigned thirty-eight; Arius, who reigned thirty; Aralius, who reigned forty; and Xerxes, who reigned thirty years. Abraham was contemporary with all these; for the years of all their reigns put together amount only to one hundred and eighty, and Abraham lived one hundred and seventy-five; therefore having spent but nine of them at the death of Ninus, his life will extend to the sixteenth year of the reign of Xerxes. And if we go into Egypt, and allow, as I have before computed, that Menes or Mizraim began to reign there A. M. 1772, and that he reigned there until A. M. 1943; it will follow that Abraham was born in the reigns of Athothes, Cencenes, and Mesochris, kings of Egypt, that kingdom being at this time parted into several sovereignties; and he lived long enough to see three or four successions in each of their kingdoms, as will appear to any one who consults Sir John Marsham's tables of these kings, making due allowance for the difference between my account and his of the reign of Menes. Abraham was born, according to Castor in Eusebius, in the thirty-sixth year of Europs the second king of Sicyon; for, according to that writer,[8] Ægialeus the first king of Sicyon began his reign in the fifteenth year of Belus king of Assyria, *i. e.* A. M. 1920. Ægialeus reigned fifty-two years; so that Europs succeeded him A. M. 1972, and the thirty-sixth year of Europs will be A. M. 2008, in which year Abraham was born. Europs reigned forty-five years, and Abraham lived to see five of his successors, and died ten years before Thurimachus the seventh king of Sicyon. Cres is said to have been king of Crete about the fifty-sixth year of Abraham, and about twenty-nine years before Abraham's death. Inachus reigned first king of Argos about A. M. 2154.

[6] In Chronic. [7] Euseb. in Chronic. [8] Euseb. in Chronic. p. 19.

I am sensible, that some writers think the kings of Greece, whom I have mentioned, were not thus early. As to the first king of Crete, there can be but little offered; for we have nothing of the Cretan history which can be depended upon before Minos. Eusebius[9] indeed places Cres in the fourth or fifth year of Ninyas; but afterwards he seems in some doubt whether there really was such a person, and remarks,[1] that some writers affirmed Cres to be the first king of Crete, others that one of the Curetes governed there about the time at which he imagined Cres to begin his reign; so that he found more reason to think that there was a king in Crete at this time, than to determine what particular persons governed it. We meet the names of three other kings of Crete in Eusebius; Cydon, Apteras, and Lapes; but we have little proof of the times of their reigns. There is a large account of the first inhabitants of Crete in Diodorus;[2] the history is indeed in many things fabulous, and too confused to be reduced into such order as might enable us to draw any consistent conclusions from it; but there seem to be hints of generations enough before Minos to induce us to think, that they might have a king as early as Eusebius supposes; but whether their first king was called Cres, or who he was, we cannot conjecture. Inachus is said to be the first king of Argos. He scarcely indeed deserves the name of king; for in his days the Argives lived up and down the country in companies. Phoroneus the son of Inachus gathered the people together, and formed them into a community.[3] Very probably Inachus might be a very wise and judicious man, who instructed his countrymen in many useful arts of living, and he might go frequently amongst them, and head their companies in several parts of the country, teaching them to kill or take, and tame the wild beasts for their service, and instructing them in the best manner of gathering and preserving the fruits of the earth for their occasions. In this manner he might take the first steps towards forming them into society; and having been a leader and director of many companies, as he happened to fall in amongst them, he might be afterwards commemorated as their king, though strictly speaking it was his son who completed his designs, and brought the people to unite in forming a regular society, under the direction of one to govern them for the public good. Some writers think, that there was no such person as Inachus. Inachus is the name not of a king, but of a river, says Sir John Marsham;[4] but here I think that learned gentleman is mistaken. Inachus being the name of a river, may be offered as an argument, that there had been some very eminent person so called before the naming the river from him; for thus the ancients endeavoured

[9] Chronic. p. 91. Numb. 56. [1] P. 94. ad Num. 129. [2] Lib. v.
[3] Pausanias in Corinthiacis, p. 112. [4] Canon. Chronic. p. 15.

to perpetuate the memories of their ancestors, by giving their names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers. Haran being the name of a country,[5] and Nahor the name of a city,[6] is no proof that there were no men thus called, but rather the contrary; and abundance of like instances might be offered from the profane historians. Other writers allow, that there was such a person as Inachus; but they do not think him near so ancient as we here suppose him. Clemens Alexandrinus places him about the time of the children of Israel's going out of Egypt;[7] and this was the opinion of Africanos, and of Josephus, or Josippus, and of Justus, who wrote a history of the Jews;[8] which was espoused by Clemens, and by Tatian also, most probably out of a zeal to raise the antiquity of Moses as high as any thing the heathens could pretend to offer. Porphyry took advantage of this mistake, and was willing to improve it. He not only allowed Moses to be as ancient as Inachus, but placed him even before Semiramis. And Eusebius hints that he had endeavoured to do that out of zeal against the sacred writers.[9] Thus no endeavours have been wanting to puzzle and perplex the accounts of the sacred history. At first the heathen writers endeavoured to pretend to antiquities beyond what the sacred writers could be thought to aim at; but when the falsity of this pretence was abundantly detected, then Porphyry thought he could compass the end aimed at another way, by endeavouring to show, that the heathen history did not reach near so far back as had been imagined; but that the times of which Moses treated were really so much prior to the first rise of the most ancient kingdoms, that all possible accounts of them can at best be but fiction and mere fancy. This put Eusebius upon a strict and careful review of the ancient history;[1] and in order hereto, he first collected the particulars of the ancient histories of all nations, that had made any figure in the world, and then endeavoured to arrange them with one another. And if any one will take the pains to look over the materials which Eusebius collected,[2] he will see that the first year of the reign of Inachus must be placed about the time where I have above fixed it. The writers, who had treated of the Argive accounts before Castor, could not find[3] what to synchronize the first year of Inachus with, and therefore could at best but guess where to fix it. But Castor has informed us, that Inachus began to reign about the time of Thurimachus the seventh king of Sicyon,[4] I suppose about his sixth year, as Eusebius computes.[5]

[5] Gen. xi, 31. [6] Chap. xxiv, 10. [7] Strom. lib. i, sect. 21.
[8] See Proœm. ad Euseb. Chron [9] Ibid.

[1] Εγω δε περι πολλα τον αληθη λογον τιμωμενος και το ακριβες ανιχνευσαι δια σπουδης ποιουμην. Euseb. Proœm.

[2] Chron. λογ. πρωτ εν P. I.

[3] Ο χρονος αυτε βασιλειας ασυμφωνος φερεται παρ Ελλησι δια την αρχαιοτητα. Chron. p. 23.

[4] Chron. p. 24. [5] Ad Numb. Euseb. 161, p. 96.

This will place him in the year above-mentioned; for Ægialeus the first king of Sicyon began his reign A. M. 1920; and from the first year of Ægialeus to the first year of Thurimachus are two hundred and twenty-eight years.[6] Carry this account forward to the sixth year of the reign of Thurimachus, and you will place the first year of Inachus, A. M. 2154, as above; and this seems to be a just and reasonable position of it. All writers agree in making Danaus the tenth king of Argos,[7] and Pausanias[8] has given a very clear account of the several kings from Inachus to Danaus, so as to leave no room to doubt that there were so many. Now the time of Danaus coming into Greece,[9] being near the time when Moses visited the Israelites, A. M. 2494, Inachus must evidently be long before Moses, and most probably not earlier than the latter end of Abraham's life. Moses was the sixth in descent from Abraham, being the third from Levi,[1] and was contemporary with Danaus; and it is not improbable to suppose ten successions of kings in any country within the compass of the generations between Abraham and Moses. In like manner the accounts we have of the kings of Sicyon have no apparent inconsistency or improbability, to give any seeming colour of prejudice against them. Ægialeus, the first king of Sicyon, according to Castor, began to reign A. M. 1920, that is, two hundred and thirty-four years before Inachus at Argos; according to the same writer, the Sicyonians had had six kings in that space of time, and the seventh had reigned a few years. Therefore these first kings of Sicyon must have reigned thirty-eight years each, one with another; which is no extravagant length of time for their reigns, considering the length of men's lives in those ages. Moses gives an account of eight successive kings of Edom, who reigned one with another much longer.[2] Sir John Marsham[3] endeavours to set aside these ancient kings of Sicyon, but his arguments are very insufficient. His inference, that there could be no kings of Sicyon before Phoroneus reigned at Argos, because Acusilaus, Plato, or Syncellus, have occasionally spoken at large of the antiquity of Phoroneus, calling him the first man, or in the words of the poet cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, the father of mortal men,[4] can require no refutation. For these writers did not mean to assert that there were no men before Phoroneus; but

[6] This will appear by putting together the years of the reigns of the kings of Sicyon, from Ægialeus to Thurimachus.

[7] Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. sect. 59, p. 131; Euseb. in Chronic. p. 24; Pausanias in Corinthiacis, p. 112.

[8] Pausan. ibid.

[9] See vol. i, b. v; and hereafter, b. viii.

[1] 1 Chron. vi, 1—3.

[2] Gen. xxxvi, 31—39; and see hereafter, b. vii.

[3] Can. Chron. p. 16.

[4] Ἀκυσίλαος Φορωνέα πρῶτον Ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι λέγει, ὅθεν ὁ τῆς Φορωνίδος ποιητὴς εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔφη Πατέρα σύνολον Ἀνθρώπων. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i, sec. 21.

only that he was of great antiquity. Sir John Marsham, from the following verse of Homer,[5]

Και Σικυων, οθ' αρ' Αδραστος πρωτ εμβασιλευεν,

would insinuate, that Adrastus was the first king of Sicyon. Scaliger had obviated this interpretation of Homer's expression, but our learned author rejects what Scaliger offers upon it; yet certainly no one can infer what he would have inferred from it. Had Homer used πρωτος instead of πρωτ', there would have seemed more colour for his interpretation; but πρωτ', which is the same as τα πρωτα, can signify no more than *formerly*, or *heretofore*, *in the first or ancient days*. Adrastus was, according to Pausanias[6] (for Castor has misplaced him,) the eighteenth king of Sicyon; and Homer did not mean to assert that he was the first king that ever reigned there, but only that Sicyon was a country of which Adrastus had anciently been king; and thus our English poet expresses Homer's meaning, calling Sicyon

——————Adrastus' ancient reign.[7]

Our learned writer makes objections against some particular kings in the Sicyonian roll: but it is observable, that Castor and Pausanias differ in some particular names; and if we suppose that both gave true accounts in general, but that each might make some small mistakes, misnaming or misplacing a king or two, his objections will all vanish; for they do not happen to lie against the particular names in which Castor and Pausanias agree. I was willing to mention the objections of this learned writer because he himself seems to lay some stress upon them, though certainly it must appear unnecessary to confute objections of this nature. And it is surprisingly strange to see, what mere shadows of argumentation even great and learned men will embrace, if they seem to favour their particular notions. Castor's account of the Sicyonian kings will appear, when I shall hereafter further examine it, to be put together with good judgment and exactness: it has some faults, but is not therefore all error and mistake. When we shall come down to the Trojan war, and have seen how far he and Pausanias agree, and where they differ; and shall consider from them both, and from other writers, what kings of Sicyon we have reason to admit, before that country became subject to Agamemnon; we shall find abundant reason to extend their history thus far backwards, and to believe that Ægialeus reigned as early as Castor supposes.

The ages in which these ancients lived were full of action.

[5] Il. ii, ver. 572. [6] In Corinthiacis, p. 96. [7] Pope's Homer.

If we look into the several parts of the world, we find in all of them men of genius and contrivance, forming companies, and laying schemes to erect societies, and to get into the best method of teaching a multitude to live together in community, to reap the benefits of social life. Nimrod formed a kingdom at Babel, and soon after him Ashur formed one in Assyria, Mizraim in Egypt, and there were kingdoms in Canaan, Philistia, and in divers other places. Abraham was under the direction of an extraordinary providence, which led him not to be king of any country; but we find that he got together under his direction a numerous family; so that he could at any time form a force of three or four hundred men, to defend himself, or offend his enemies. Ægialeus raised a kingdom at Sicyon, Inachus at Argos, and divers other persons in other different parts of the world; but the most ancient polity was that established by Noah, in the countries near to which he lived, and which his children planted about the time, or before the men who travelled to Shinaar left him.

Noah, as has been said,[8] came out of the ark in the parts near to India; and the profane historians inform us, that a person, whom they call Bacchus, was the founder of the polity of these nations.[9] He came, they say, into India, before any cities were built in that country, or any armies or bodies of men sufficient to oppose him;[1] a circumstance which duly considered will prove, that whoever this person was, he came into India before the days of Ninus. For when Ninus, and after him Semiramis, made attempts upon these countries, they found them so well disciplined and settled, as to be abundantly able to defend themselves, and to repel all attacks, which could be made upon them.[2] I am sensible that some writers have supposed that the time of Bacchus's coming to India was much later than Ninus. But then it must be observed, that they cannot mean, by their Bacchus, the person here spoken of, who came into India before any cities were built, or kingdoms established in it; because from the times of Ninus downwards, all writers agree, that the Indians were in a well ordered state and condition, and did not want to be taught the arts, which this Bacchus is said to have spread amongst them; nor were they liable to be over-run by an army in that manner, in which he is said to have subdued all before him. And farther; if we look over all the famous kings and heroes, celebrated by the heathen historians, we can find no one between the times of Ninus and Sesostris, who can with any show of reason be supposed to have travelled into these eastern nations, and performed any very remarkable actions in them. Ninus, and after him Semiramis, attempted to

[8] Vol. i, b. ii, p. 83.
[9] Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, sec. 38.
[1] Id. ibid. p. 123, edit. Rhodoman.
[2] See vol. i, b. iv, p. 126; Diodorus Sic. lib. ii, sec. 6, 7, &c.; Justin. lib. i.

penetrate these countries, but they met with great repulses and obstructions; and we do not read, that the Assyrian or Persian empires were ever extended farther East than Bactria; so that none of the kings of this empire can be the Bacchus so famous in these eastern kingdoms. If we look into Egypt, there were no famous warriors before Sesostris.[3] Mizraim and his sons peopled Egypt, Libya, Philistia, and the bordering countries, and they might probably be known in Canaan and Phœnicia; but we have no reason to suppose, that any of them made an expedition into India. The Assyrian empire lay as a barrier between Egypt and India; and we have no hints either that the Assyrians conquered India, or that the Egyptians before Sesostris made any conquests in Asia, or passed through Assyria into the more eastern nations.

It may, perhaps, be here said, that Sesostris was Bacchus, who conquered the East, and founded the Indian polity. But to this I answer; 1. India was not in so low and unsettled a state in the time of Sesostris, as it is described to have been, when this Bacchus came into it; for, as I remarked before, these nations were powerful in the days of Ninus, and so continued until Alexander the Great; and it is remarkable, that even he met a more considerable opposition from Porus, a king of this country, than any which had been made to his victorious arms by the whole Persian empire. 2. All the writers, who have offered any thing about Bacchus and Sesostris, are express in supposing them to be different persons. Diodorus Siculus[4] refutes at large a mistake of the Greeks, who imagined that the famous Bacchus was the son of Jupiter and Semele; and intimates how and upon what foundation Orpheus and the succeeding poets led them into this error. Though there were persons in after-ages called Bacchus, Hercules, and by other celebrated names, yet he justly observes, that the heroes so first called, lived in the first ages of the world.[5] As to Sesostris, the same writer, after he has brought down the history of Egypt from Menes to Myris,[6] then supposes that Sesostris was seven generations later than Myris,[7] which makes him by far too modern to be accounted the Bacchus, who lived according to his opinion in the first ages of the world. 3. But Sesostris cannot be the Indian Bacchus, because Sesostris never came into India at all. Diodorus, indeed, says, that Sesostris passed over the Ganges, and conquered all India as far as the ocean; but he must have been mistaken in this particular. Herodotus has given a very particular account of the expeditions of Sesostris,[8] and it does not appear from him, that he went farther east than Bactria, where he turned aside to the Scythians, and, extending his conquests

[3] Diodorus, lib. i, sec. 52, 53. [4] Lib. i, sec. 23, p. 20. Edit. Rhodoman.
[5] Κατα την εξ αρχης γενεσιν Ανθρωπων. Id. ibid. sec. 24.
[6] Id. p. 35, sec. 55. [7] Id. p. 35. [8] Lib. ii, c. 103

over their dominions, returned into Asia at the river Phasis, which runs into the Euxine Sea. Now this account agrees perfectly well with the reason assigned by the priest of Vulcan for not admitting the statue of Darius to take the place of the statue of Sesostris;[9] because, he said, Sesostris had been master of more nations than Darius, having subdued not only all the kingdoms subject to Darius, but the Scythians besides. India was no part of the Persian empire, and therefore had Sesostris conquered India, here would have been another considerable addition to his glory, and the priest of Vulcan would have mentioned this, as well as Scythia, as an instance of his exceeding the power and dominion of Darius. But the truth was, neither Darius nor Sesostris had ever subjugated India; for, as Justin remarks, Semiramis and Alexander the Great were the only two persons that entered this country.[1] The accounts of the victories of Sesostris given by Manetho, both in the Chronicon of Eusebius,[2] and in Josephus,[3] agree very well with Herodotus, and confine his expeditions to Europe and Asia, and make no mention of his entering India. To this agree all the accounts we have of the several pillars erected by him in memory of his conquests, which were found in every country where he had been;[4] but we have no account of any such monuments of him in India. Ctesias, perhaps, might imagine he had been in this country, and from him Diodorus might have it; but though Ctesias's Assyrian history has by the best writers been thought worthy of credit, yet his accounts of India were not so well written, but were full of fiction and mistakes.[5] It appears from what all others writers have offered about Sesostris,[6] that he never was in India, and therefore he cannot be the person who first settled the polity of these kingdoms.

It may perhaps be thought more difficult to say who this Indian Bacchus was, than to prove that Sesostris was not the person. The ancient writers have made almost an endless confusion, by the variety of names which they sometimes give to one person, and sometimes calling various persons by one and the same name. Diodorus Siculus was sensible of the many difficulties occasioned hereby when he was to treat of the Egyptian gods.[7] Several persons have been called by the name of Bacchus, at least one in India, one in Egypt, and one in Greece; but we must not confound them one with the other, especially when we have remarkable hints by which we may sufficiently distinguish them. For, 1. the Indian Bac-

[9] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 110.

[1] Justin. lib. i, c. 2. Indiæ bellum intulit; quò præter illam et Alexandrum nemo intravit. [2] Chronic. p. 15. [3] Contra Apion. l. i.

[4] Herodot. ubi sup. [5] Hen. Steph. de Ctesia Disquisit.

[6] I have followed the accounts which are given of Sesostris; though I shall have occasion hereafter to remark how far they go beyond what is true; Sesostris was not so great a conqueror as he is represented.

[7] Lib. i, sec. 24, p. 21.

chus was the first and most ancient of all who bore that name.[8] 2. He was the first who pressed the grape and made wine.[9] 3. He lived in these parts before there were any cities in India.[1] 4. They say he was twice born, and that he was nourished in the thigh of Jupiter. These are the particulars which the heathen writers give of the Indian Bacchus; and from all these hints it must unquestionably appear that he was Noah, and no other. Noah being the first man in the post-diluvian world, lived early enough to be the most ancient Bacchus; and Noah, according to Moses,[2] was the first who made wine. Noah lived in these parts as soon as he came out of the ark, earlier than any cities were built in India; and as to the last circumstance, of Bacchus being twice born, and brought forth out of the thigh of Jupiter, Diodorus gives us an unexpected light into the true meaning of this tradition. He says,[3] "That Bacchus was said to be twice born, because in Deucalion's flood he was thought to have perished with the rest of the world, but God brought him again, as by a second nativity, into the sight of men, and they say mythologically, that he came out of the thigh of Jupiter." It seems very probable that this had been the ancient tradition, in order to perpetuate the memory of Noah's preservation; and Diodorus, or the writers, from whom he took it, have corrupted it but very little. Deucalion's flood is a western expression; the Greeks indeed called the ancient flood, of which they had some imperfect traditions, sometimes the flood of Ogyges, and sometimes of Deucalion; but I cannot think, that the name of Deucalion was ever in the ancient Indian antiquities; and the tradition itself, not being understood by the Greeks, is applied to the vine of Bacchus, instead of himself. For it was not the vine more than any other tree, but the vine-planter, who was so wonderfully preserved, as is hinted by this mythological tradition. I think I need offer no more upon this particular; for any one, who impartially weighs what I have already put together, will admit that Noah was the Indian Bacchus; and that the heathen writers had at first short hints or memoirs, that after the deluge he came out of the ark in the place I have formerly hinted near to India; that he lived and died in these countries, and that his name was famous amongst his posterity, for the many useful arts he taught them, and instructions he gave them, for their providing and using the conveniences of life; though we now have in the remains of these writers little more than this and a few other fabulous relations about him. The particular which

[8] Id. lib. iii, sec. 63, p. 197. Edit. Rhodoman.
[9] Id. lib. iv, sec. 4.
[1] Id. lib. ii, sec. 37.
[2] Gen. ix, 20.
[3] Δις δ' αυτε την γενεσιν εκ Διος παραδεδοσθαι, δια το δοκειν μετα των αλλων εν τω κατα τον Δευκαλιωνα κατακλυσμω φθαρηναι και τετες της καρτες, και μετα την επομβριαν παλιν αναφυηναι, ωσπερει δευτεραν επιφανειαν ταυτην υπαρξαι τε Θεε παρ' ανθρωπις, καθ' ην εκ τε Διος μηρε γενεσθαι παλιν τον Θεον τετον μυθολογησι. Diodor. lib. iii, sec. 62, p. 196.

Diodorus mentions, that Bacchus went out of the West into India with an army, is a fiction of some western writer: no western king or army ever conquered India, before Alexander the Great; for Semiramis only made some unsuccessful attempts towards it. And it is remarkable, that Diodorus himself was not assured of this fact; for he expressly informs us, that though the Egyptians contended that this Bacchus was a native of their country, yet the Indians, who ought to be allowed to know their own history best, denied it, and asserted as positively, that Bacchus was originally of their country;[4] and that having invented and contrived the culture of the vine, he communicated the knowledge of the use of wine to the inhabitants of the other parts of the world.

Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood,[5] and died about the time when Abraham was born. He began to be a husbandman and planted a vineyard[6] soon after the flood; he was the first that obtained leave for men to eat the living creatures;[7] and, by teaching this, and putting his children upon the study and practice of planting and agriculture, he laid the first foundation for raising a plentiful maintenance for great numbers of people in the several parts of the world. It is very probable that men, whilst they were but few, lived a ranging and unsettled life, moving up and down, killing such of the wild beasts of the field, or fowls of the air, as they liked for food, or which came in their way; and gathering such fruits of the earth, as the wild trees or uncultivated fields spontaneously offered.[8] But when mankind came to multiply, this course of life must grow very inconvenient; therefore Noah, as his children increased, taught them how to live a settled life, and by tilling the ground increase the quantity of provision, which the earth could produce, that hereby they might live comfortably, without breaking in upon one another's plenty. At what particular time Noah instructed his children to form civil societies, we cannot certainly say; but I imagine, it might be about the time when the persons who travelled to Shinaar[9] left him; and that they left him, because they were not willing to come into the measures, and submit to the appointments which he made for those who remained with him. These men perhaps thought, that the necessity of tilling the ground was occasioned only by too many living too near each other; and that, if they separated and travelled, the earth could still afford them sufficient nourishment, without the

[4] Diodorus, lib. iv, p. 210.
[5] Gen. ix, 29.
[6] Ver. 20.
[7] Gen. ix; see vol. i, b. ii.
[8] See Ovid. Metam. Fab. 3.

Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fraga legebant,
Cornaque & in duris hærentia mora rubetis;
Et quæ deciderant patulâ Jovis arbore glandes.

[9] See book ii.

labour of tilth and culture; and this notion very probably brought them to Shinaar.

Diodorus Siculus has given us such an account of the ancient Indian polity, as may lead us to conjecture what steps Noah directed his children to take, in order to form nations and kingdoms.[1] The Chinese kingdom seems to stand upon these regulations even to this day; being, as they themselves report, little different now from what it was when framed by their legislators, as they compute, above four thousand years ago. The ancient writers called all the most eastern nations by the name of India. They accounted India to be the largest of all the nations in the world,[2] nay, as large as all Asia besides;[3] so that they took under that name a much larger tract than what is now called India, most probably all India, and what we now call China; for they extended it eastward to the Eastern Sea,[4] not meaning hereby what modern geographers call the Eastern Indian Ocean, but rather the great Indian Ocean, which washes upon the Philippine Isles. The ancients had no exact knowledge of these parts of the world, but thought that the land ran, in some parts, farther East than it is now supposed to do, and in others not so far; but still, as they all agreed to bound the earth everywhere with waters, according to Ovid,

> ——————— Circumfluus humor
> Ultima possedit, solidumque coercuit orbem,

so their *Mare Eoum*, or Eastern Sea, was that which terminated the extreme eastern countries, however imperfect a notion they had of their true situation; and all the countries from Bactria up to this Eastern Ocean were their India. Though the ancient antiquities of the countries we now call India are quite lost or defaced, yet it is remarkable, that, if we go farther East into China, to which so many incursions of the more western kingdoms and conquerors have not so frequently reached, or so much affected, we find great remains of what Diodorus calls the ancient Indian polity, and which very probably was derived from the appointments of Noah to his children. But let us inquire what these appointments probably were. Now,

The Indians are divided into seven different orders or sorts of men. Their first legislator considered what employments were necessary to be undertaken and cultivated for the public welfare, and he appointed several sets or orders of men, that each art or employment might be duly taken care of, by those whose proper business it was to employ themselves in it. 1. Some were appointed to be philosophers and to study astro-

[1] Lib. ii.
[2] Strabo, lib. ii.
[3] Strabo, lib. xv.
[4] Strabo, lib. ii, ubi sup.

nomy. In ancient times, men had no way of knowing when to sow or till their grounds, but by observing the rising and setting of particular stars; for they had no calendar for many ages, nor had they divided the year into a set of months; but the lights of heaven were, as Moses speaks, for signs to them, and for seasons,[5] and for days, and for years. They gradually found by experience, that when such or such stars appeared, the seasons for the several parts of tillage were come; and therefore found it very necessary to make the best observations they could of the heavens, in order to cultivate the earth, so that they might expect the fruits in due season. That this was indeed the way which the ancients took to find out the proper seasons for the several parts of the husbandman's employment is evident, both from Hesiod and Virgil. The seasons of the year were pretty well settled before Hesiod's time, and much better before that of Virgil; as may appear from Hesiod's mentioning the several seasons of spring, summer, and winter, and the names of some particular months. But both these poets have given several specimens of the ancient directions for sowing and tillage, which men at first were not directed to perform in this or that month, or season of the year: for these were not so early observed or settled, but upon the rising or setting of particular stars. Thus Hesiod advises to reap and plough by the rising and setting of the Pleiades,[6] to cut wood by the dog-star,[7] and to prune vines by the rising of Arcturus. And thus Virgil lays it down for a general rule, that it was as necessary for the countryman as for the sailor to observe the stars;[8] and gives various directions for husbandry and tillage in the ancient way, forming rules for the times of performing the several parts of husbandry from the lights of heaven. Men had but little notion of the seasons of the year, whilst they did not know what the true length of the year was; or at least, they must after a few years' revolutions be led into great mistakes about them. About a thousand years passed after the flood, before the most accurate observers of the stars in any nation were able to guess at the true length of the year, without mistaking above five days[9] in the length of it; and in some nations they mistook more, and found out their mistake later. Now it is easy to see, what fatal mismanagement such ignorance as this would, in six or eight years time, introduce into our agriculture, if we really thought summer and winter should come about five or six days sooner every year than their real revolution. And I think, that they who first attempted to till the ground must do it with great uncertainty; and perhaps occasion many of the famines, which were so frequent in ancient times, being not well apprised of the true course of the seasons, and there-

[5] Gen. i.
[6] Hesiod Εργων και Ημερων, lib. ii.
[7] Id. ibid.
[8] Virgil. Georg. lib. i.
[9] Pref. to vol. i.

fore tilling and sowing in unseasonable times, and in an improper manner. They observed in a little time that the stars appeared in different positions at different times; and, by trying experiments, they came to guess under what star, so to speak, this or that grain was to be sown and reaped; and thus by degrees fixed good rules for their Geoponics, before they attained a just and adequate notion of the revolution of the year. But then it is obvious, that any one who could give instructions in this matter, must be highly esteemed, being most importantly useful in every kingdom. And since no one was able to give these instructions, unless he spent much time in carefully making all sorts of observations (the best that could be made at first being but very imperfect,) it seems highly reasonable that every king should set apart and encourage a number of diligent students, to cultivate these studies with all possible industry; and agreeably hereto, they paid great honours to these astronomers in Egypt, and at Babylon, and in every other country where tillage was attempted with any prudence or success. Noah must be well apprised of the usefulness of this study, having lived six hundred years before the flood; and was without doubt well acquainted with all the arts of life which had been invented in the first world, of which the observation of the stars had been one; so that he could not only apprise his children of the necessity, but also put them into some method of prosecuting these studies.

Another set of men were to make it their whole business to till the ground; and a third sort to keep and order the cattle, to chase and kill such of the beasts as would be noxious to mankind, or destroy the tillage, and incommode the husbandman; and to take, and tame, and feed such as might be proper for food or service. A fourth set of men were appointed to be artificers, to employ themselves in making all sorts of weapons for war, and instruments for tillage, and to supply the whole community in general with all utensils and furniture. A fifth set were appointed for the arts of war, to exercise themselves in arms, to be always ready to suppress intestine tumults and disorders, or repel foreign invasions and attacks, whenever ordered for either service; and this their standing force was very numerous, for it was almost equal to the number of the tillers of the ground. A sixth sort were the Ephori, or overseers of the kingdom, a set of persons employed to go over every part of the king's dominions, examining the affairs and management of the subjects, in order to report what might be amiss, that proper measures might be taken to correct and amend it. And lastly, they had a set of the wisest persons to assist the king as his council, and to be employed, either as magistrates or officers to command his armies, or in governing and distributing justice amongst his people. The ancient Indians were, as Diodorus tells us, divided into these seven different orders or sorts of men; and

the Chinese polity, according to the best accounts we have, varies but little in substance from these institutions; and, according to Le Compte, it was much the same when first settled as it is now, and therefore very probably Noah formed such a plan as this for the first kingdoms. The Chinese say, that Fohi their first king reigned over them one hundred and fifteen years; therefore supposing Noah to be this Fohi,[1] he began to reign in China one hundred and fifteen years before his death, *i. e.* A. M. 1891, for Noah was born A. M. 1056,[2] and he lived nine hundred and fifty years;[3] therefore, according to this account, we may well allow the truth of what they say, that their government was first settled about four thousand years ago. If we begin the Christian æra, with archbishop Usher, A. M. 4004, this present year, 1727, will be A. M. 5731; and the interval between this year, and that in which Noah first reigned in China, is three thousand eight hundred and forty years. But we are not to suppose that Noah began the first kingdom which he erected in China. He came out of the ark three hundred and fifty years before his death,[4] he settled in China but one hundred and fifteen, and it is most probable that he acted in these countries as Mizraim did in Egypt. He directed his children to form societies, first in one place, and then in another; and he might begin in countries not so far East as China, at the time when part of his descendants removed westward towards Shinaar, about A. M. 1736.[5] Now, if we date the rise of the kingdoms founded by Noah about this time, it will in truth be very near four thousand years ago; so that there seems upon the whole but very little mistake in the Chinese account. They only report things done by Noah before he was, strictly speaking, their king; but hardly before he had performed those very things in places adjacent and bordering upon them. Some remarks may be added before I dismiss this account of the plan, upon which it seems so probable, that Noah erected the first kingdoms. And,

I. The king in these nations had the sole property of all the lands in the kingdom. All the land, says Diodorus,[6] was the king's, and the husbandmen paid rent for their lands to the king, της χωρας μισθας τελεσι τω βασιλει; and he adds farther, that no private person could be the owner of any land; and even still the lands in China[7] are held by soccage, and the persons who have the use of them pay duties and contributions for them.

Now these began very early, or rather were at first appointed; for, 2, according to Diodorus, over and above the rent, the ancient Indians paid a fourth part of the product of

[1] See vol. i, b. ii. [2] Vol. i, b. i. [3] Gen. ix, 29.
[4] Ib. ver. 28. [5] See vol. i, b. ii.
[6] Lib. ii, sec. 39, p. 88, ed. Rhodoman. [7] Le Compte, p. 248, ed. 1697.

their ground to the king; and with the income arising hence, the king maintained the soldiers, the magistrates, the officers, the students of astronomy, and the artificers who were employed for the public.[8] The ground rent, as I might call it, of the lands seems to have been the king's patrimony, and the additional or income tax was appointed for the public service. 3. They had a law against slavery;[9] for no person amongst them could absolutely lose his freedom, and become a bondsman. Many of the heathen writers thought, that this was an original institution in the first laws of mankind. Lucian says, that there was such an appointment in the days of Saturn,[1] *i. e.* in the first ages; and Athenæus observes, that the Babylonians, Persians, as well as the Greeks, and divers other nations, celebrated annually a sort of Saturnalia, or feasts instituted most probably in commemoration of the original state of freedom, in which men lived before servitude was introduced;[2] and as Moses revived several of Noah's institutions, so there are appointments in the law to preserve the freedom of the Israelites.[3] 4. We do not find any national priests appointed in the original institutions of these nations. This I think a very remarkable particular; because we have early mention of the priests, in the accounts we have of many other nations. In Egypt they were an order of the first rank, and had a considerable share of the lands in the time of Joseph; according to Diodorus, they had the third part of the whole land of Egypt settled upon them.[4] Dionysius of Halicarnassus has given us the institutions of Romulus, and of Numa, for the establishing the Roman priesthood; and in the times of Plato[5] and Aristotle,[6] though the political writers were not unanimous how they were to be created, yet they were agreed, that an established priesthood was necessary in every state or kingdom. But the ancient Indians, according to Diodorus, had originally no such order. Diodorus indeed says, that the philosophers were sent for by private persons of their acquaintance, to their sacrifices and funerals, being esteemed persons much in favour with the gods, and of great skill in the ceremonies to be performed on such occasions.[7] But we must observe, that they were sent for, not as priests to sacrifice, but as learned and good men, able to instruct the common unlearned people how to pay their worship to the Deity in the best manner. There-

[8] Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.

[9] Diodor. lib. ii, sec. 39, p. 88, ed. Rhod. Νενομοθετηται παρ' αυτοις δουλον μηδενα το παραπαν ειναι.

[1] Lucian. in Saturnal.

[2] Athenæus Deipnos. lib. xiv, p. 639.

[3] Leviticus xxv, et in loc. al.

[4] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 73, p. 47, ed. Rhodoman.

[5] Lib. ii, Rom. Antiq.

[6] De Repub. lib. vii, c. 8.

[7] Lib. ii, sec. 32, p 125. His words are, οι φιλοσοφοι——παραλαμβανονται υπο των ιδιων εις τε τας εν τω βιω θυσιας και εις τας των τετελευτηκοτων επιμελειας, ως θειοις γεγονοτες προσφιλεστατοι, και περι των εν Αδου μαλιστα εμπειρως εχοντες.

fore Diodorus justly distinguishes, and calls the part they performed on these occasions, not λειτυργια, which would have been the proper term had they been priests for the people, but υπουργια, because they only assisted them on these occasions.[8] It will be asked, how came these nations to have no national priests appointed, as there were in some other kingdoms? I answer; God originally appointed who should be the priest to every family, or to any number of families when assembled together, namely the first born or eldest;[9] and as no man could justly take this honour to himself, but he that was called or appointed by God to it;[1] and as God gave no farther directions in this matter until he appointed the priesthood of Aaron for the children of Israel; so Noah had no authority to make constitutions in this matter, but was himself the priest to all his children, and each of his sons to their respective families in the same manner, as before civil societies were erected. This I think must have been the true reason for their having no established priests originally in these nations. And from this circumstance, as well as from those before-mentioned, I imagine, 5. That civil government was in these kingdoms built upon the foundation of paternal authority. Noah was the father, the priest, and became the king of all his people; which was an easy transition; for who could possibly have authority to set up against him? It is not likely that his children who continued with him would not readily obey his orders, and rank themselves in political life according to his appointment. At his death the priesthood descended to the eldest son, and the rule and authority of civil governor followed of course; for how could it well be otherwise? Something extraordinary must happen before any particular person would attempt to set himself above one, to whom his religion had in some measure subjected him: therefore the eldest son at the father's death being the only person who could of right be priest to his brethren and their children, unto him only must be their desire, and he must be the only person who could without difficulty and opposition rule over them. This method of erecting governments is so easy and natural, that some very learned writers cannot conceive how civil government could possibly be raised upon any other foundation. However, the most convincing evidences against their opinion will appear, when we come to examine the kingdoms erected by the men who lived at, and dispersed from, the land of Shinaar. It is natural to think, that Noah formed his children, who lived under him, in this method. And if he had even divided the world between his three sons, as some writers have without any reason supposed, giving Africa to Ham, Europe to Japhet, and placing Shem in Asia,

[8] Diodor. Sic. ibid. [9] See vol. i, b. v. [1] Hebrews v, 4.

he no doubt would have instructed them to observe this method all over the world. But how can we imagine that Noah ever thought of making any other division of the world, than merely to direct his children to remove and separate from one another, when they found it inconvenient to live together? He taught them a method by which many families might join, and make their numbers of use and service to the whole community; but they who would not follow his directions took their own way, and travelled to a place far distant, where they afterwards settled upon different maxims, and at different times, as accidental circumstances directed and contributed to it. But, 6. By supposing that Noah founded the eastern kingdoms of India and China upon the model I have mentioned, we see clearly how these nations came to be so potent and able to resist all attacks made upon them; as Ninus and Semiramis experienced, when they attempted to invade and over-run them.[2] If Noah appointed a soldiery in each of these kingdoms almost as numerous as their husbandmen, and they began to form and exercise themselves so early as about A. M. 1736; since it appears that Ninus did not invade Bactria and India until almost three hundred years after this time; these nations must, before he invaded them, have become very considerable for their military strength, and far superior to any armies that could come from Shinaar. 7. The supposing these kingdoms to differ very little at present in their constitution, from what they were at their first settlement, is very consistent with the accounts we have of their present letters and language. In both these they seem to have made very little or no improvement,[3] but have adhered very strictly to their first rudiments; and why may we not very justly suppose that they have been equally tenacious of their original settlement and constitution? But let us now come to the nations and governors, which arose from and in the land of Shinaar.

Nimrod was the first of them. Polybius has conjectured, that the first kings in the world obtained their dominion by being superior to all others in strength and courage;[4] and it very evidently appears, that this was the foundation of Nimrod's authority. He was a *mighty hunter*, and from hence he began to be a mighty one in the earth.[5] When the confusion of tongues caused the builders of Babel to separate, they must have known that it was necessary not to break into very small companies; for if they had, the wild beasts would have been too hard for them. Plato thinks, that mankind in the first ages lived up and down, one here and another there, until the fear of the wild beasts compelled them to unite in bodies

[2] See vol. i, b. iv.
[3] Ibid. b. ii; b. iv.
[4] Polybius, lib. vi, p. 361.
[5] Gen. x, 8, 9.

for their preservation.[6] This does not seem to be true in fact; for mankind always from the beginning lived in some sort of companies; and the beasts, which in time became wild and ravenous, do not appear to have been so at first, or at least not knowing the strength of man, they were not so ready to assault him: but the fear of man, and the dread of man was upon them.[7] And mankind, in the ages before the flood, tamed them, or reduced them to a great degree; which is evident both from Noah's being able to get all sorts of living creatures into his ark, and from its being capable of containing some of every kind and species. But after the flood, near a hundred years had passed before any human inhabitant had come to dwell in these countries; and the beasts, which might have roved hither, had had time to multiply in great numbers, and to contract a wild and savage nature, and prodigious fierceness; so that it could not be safe for individuals, or very small companies of men, to hazard themselves amongst them. But Nimrod taught his followers how they might attempt to conquer and reduce them; and being a man of superior strength, as well as courage, it was as natural for the rest of the company to follow him as their captain, or leader, as it is, to use Polybius's comparison,[8] for the cattle to follow the stoutest and strongest in the herd. And when he was thus become their captain, he quickly became their judge in all debates which might arise, and their ruler and director in all the affairs and offices of civil life.[9] In a little time he turned his thoughts from hunting to building cities, and endeavoured to instruct those, who had put themselves under him, in the best and most commodious way of living;[1] but whoever considers what age he could be of, when he began to be a ruler,[2] and the hint which Moses gives of his hunting, must think it most reasonable to found his dominion upon his strength and valour, which certainly was the cause of his first rise. In the early ages a large stature, and prodigious strength were the most engaging qualifications to raise men to be commanders and kings. We read in Aristotle,[3] that the Ethiopians anciently chose persons of the largest stature to be their kings; and though Saul was made king of Israel by the special appointment of God, yet it appears to have been no inconsiderable circumstance in the eyes of his people, that he was *a choice and goodly young man: and there was not among the*

[6] Ουτω δε παρεσκευασμενοι οι κατ αρχας ανθρωποι, ωκȣν σποραδην πολεις δε ȣκ ησαν· απωλλυντο ȣν υπο των θηριων, δια το παντaχη αυτων ασθενεςεροι ειναι· η δημιȣργικη τεχνη αυτοις προς μεν τροφην ικανη βοηθος ην, προς δε τον των θηριων πολεμον ενδεης. Plato. in Protag. p. 224.

[7] Gen. ix, 2.

[8] Lib. vi, sec. iii, p. 631.

[9] Οταν ο προεςως και την μεγιςην δυναμιν εχων αει συνεπισχυη τοις προειρημενοις κατα τας των πολλων διαλεξεις, και δοξη τοις υποταττομενοις διανεμητικος ειναι τȣ κατ' αξιαν εκαςοις· ȣκ ετι την βιαν διδιοτες, τη δε γνωμη ευδοκȣντες υποταττονται, και συσσωζȣσι την αρχην αυτȣ. Polyb. Histor. lib. vi, sec. 4.

[1] See vol. i, b. iv.

[2] Ib. ibid.

[3] Aristot. de Repub. lib. iv, c. 4

children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people.[4] Polybius remarks, that whenever experience convinced them, that other qualifications besides strength and a warlike disposition were necessary for the people's happiness, then they chose persons of the greatest prudence and wisdom for their governors;[5] which seems to have been the fact in the land of Shinaar, when Nimrod died, and Belus was made king after his decease.[6]

All the kingdoms, which were raised by the men of Shinaar, were not built upon this foundation. Nimrod began as a captain, his subjects being at first only soldiers under him; but probably some other societies began in the order of masters and servants. Some wise and understanding men, who knew how to contrive methods for tilling and cultivating the ground, for managing cattle, and for pruning and planting fruit trees, and preserving and using the fruits, took into their families and promised to provide for such as would become their servants, and be subject to their direction. Servitude is very justly defined by the Civilians to be a state of subjection *contra naturam*,[7] very different from and contrary to the natural rights of mankind; and they endeavour to qualify the assertion of Aristotle,[8] who thought that some persons were by nature designed for servitude. The established politics of all nations, with which Aristotle was acquainted, could hardly fail to bias him in this opinion. We have now a truer sense of things than to think, that God has made some persons to be slaves and the mere property of others. God has indeed given different abilities both of mind and body to different men. Some are best able by their powers of mind to invent and contrive, and others more fit to execute with strength those designs, which are, by the directions of other people, marked out and contrived for them. In this way all mankind are made serviceable to one another, without absolute dominion in some, or slavery in others; which is fully experienced in Christian kingdoms. Busbequius,[9] a very ingenious writer, queries much, whether the abolishing servitude has been advantageous to the public; but I cannot think what he has said for his opinion is at all conclusive. The grandeur of particular persons may be greater, where they are surrounded with multitudes of slaves; but a community, which consists of none but citizens, is in a better capacity to procure and improve the advantages, which arise from government and society; such a body is, I may say, politically alive in all its parts and members, and every individual has a real interest of its own depending in the public good. As to all the incon-

[4] 1 Sam. ix, 2. [5] Polyb. lib. vi, c. 5. [6] See vol. i, b. iv.
[7] Justinian. Institut. lib. i, tit. 3. [8] Politic. lib. i, c. 5.
[9] Epist. 3.

veniences arising from, or miscarriages of the low vulgar people; not their liberty, but an abuse of it is the cause of them, and they may be as easily taught to be good citizens in their stations, as good servants. Now this sense of things prevailed in the parts were Noah settled;[1] but his children, who left him and travelled to Shinaar, quickly fell into other politics. At the time of the confusion of tongues, they had practised or cultivated but few arts to provide for the necessaries of life. They had travelled from Ararat to Shinaar, and engaged in a wild project to little purpose of building a tower, but had not laid any wise schemes for a settled life. But when they resolved to till the earth, it naturally occurred that those, who knew how to manage and direct in ordering the ground, should take under their care those who were not so skilful, and provide for them, employing them to work under their direction. Husbandry, in the early days, before the seasons were known, was, as I have said, very imperfect, and there were but few whom we can suppose to have had much skill in it; so that those who had, must everywhere have as many hands at their disposal as they knew how to employ, and were soon attended with a great number of servants. It is very evident, that the heads of Abraham's family acquired servants in this manner very early; for Abraham himself, though perhaps the greatest part of his father's house remained at Haran,[2] and some part were gone with Lot,[3] before he had lived half his life, was master of three hundred and eighteen servants; nay they were (Chanikei) trained servants[4] or brought up to be warriors. He had probably many others besides these, and all these were born in his house,[5] and he had others bought with his money;[6] from whence it appears plainly, that servitude arose very early amongst these men. The confusion of tongues broke all their measures of living together; and they had lived a wandering life, without cultivating any useful arts to provide themselves a livelihood. So when they came to settle, the unskilful multitude found it their best way to take the course which Posidonius the Stoic mentions; to become voluntary servants to others, obliging themselves to be at their command, bargaining to receive the necessaries of life for it; εβελον δ' ανευ μισθ παρ αυτοις καταμενειν επι σιτιοις, says Eubulus.[7] They knew not how to provide themselves food and raiment, and were therefore desirous to submit to masters, who could provide these things for them. It was no easy thing for men of little genius and low parts to live independent in those early days; therefore multitudes of people thought it far safer to live under the care and provision of those who

[1] Diodorus Siculus says of the ancient Indians, that they every one took care, ελευθερον υπαρχονθα την ισοτητα τιμαν εν πασι· τους γαρ μαθονθας μηθ' υπερεχειν μηθ' υποπιπτειν αλλοις, κρατιστον εξειν βιον προς απασας τας περισασεις.

[2] Gen. xi, 31. [3] Gen. xiii. [4] Gen. xiv, 14. [5] Ibid.

[6] Gen. xvii, 27. [7] Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii, c. v, sec. 27.

knew how to manage than to set up for themselves. They thought, like Chalinus in Plautus, who would not part with the person promised him in marriage, though he might have had his liberty for her; but replied to his master, *Liber si sim, meo periculo vivam, nunc vivo tuo.*[8] He was well contented with his condition; a security of having necessaries was in his opinion a full recompense for all the inconveniences of a servile state. Many families were raised in this manner, perhaps, amongst Nimrod's subjects; some of whom, when they thought themselves in a condition for it, removed from under him, and planted kingdoms in countries at a distance. Thus Ashur went out of his land into Assyria, and with his followers built cities there;[9] and many other leading men, who had never been subject to him, formed companies in this manner, and planted them in places where they chose to settle. Abraham had a very numerous company, before he had a paternal right to govern any one person; for he was not the eldest son of his father;[1] nor was he the father of one child, when he led his men to fight with the king of Elam and his confederates.[2] Thus Esau, who had but five sons by his three wives, besides some daughters,[3] though he did not marry nor attempt to settle in the world until he was forty years old, had, before he was a hundred, when he went to meet Jacob on his return from Laban, a family so numerous, as to afford him four hundred men to attend him upon any expedition,[4] and with these and the increase of them, his children made themselves dukes, and in time kings of Edom.[5]

Thus it is certain that kingdoms were raised by men of prudence and sagacity, in taking and providing for a number of servants. Sometimes a very potent kingdom arose from several of these families agreeing to settle under the direction of him who had the superior family at the time of their settlement, or was best able to manage for the public welfare. At other times one family became a kingdom, nay, and sometimes one family branched and divided itself into several little nations; for thus there were twelve princes; descended from Ishmael.[6] In all these cases, the first masters of the families began with a few servants, increased them by degrees, and in time their servants grew too numerous to be contained in one and the same family with their masters; and when they did so, their masters appointed them a way of living, which should not intirely free them from subjection, but yet give them some liberty and property of their own. Eumæus in Homer, the keeper of Ulysses's cattle, had a little house, a wife and family, and perquisites, so as to have wherewith to entertain a stranger in a manner suitable to the condition of a servant,[7]

[8] Plautus Casina, Act. ii, Scen. 4. [9] Gen. x, 11. [1] Vol. i, b. v.
[2] Gen. xiv. [3] Gen. xxxvi. [4] Gen. xxxiii, 1.
[5] Gen. xxxvi. [6] Gen. xvii, 20, xxv, 16. [7] Odyss. lib. xiv.

whose business was to manage his master's cattle, and supply his table from the produce. Tacitus[8] informs us, that the servants of the ancient Germans lived in this manner; who were not employed in domestic attendance, but had their several houses and families; and the owner of the substance committed to their care required from them a quantity of corn, a number of cattle, or such clothing or commodities as he had occasion for. At first a family could wander like that of Abraham; but by degrees it must multiply to too great a bulk to be so moveable or manageable; and then the master or head of it suffered little families to grow up under him, planting them here and there within the extent of his possessions, and reaping from their labours a large and plentiful provision for his own domestics. In time, when the number of these families encreased, he would want inspectors or overseers of his servants in their several employments; and by degrees the grandeur and wealth of the master increased, and the privileges of the servants grew with it. Heads of families became kings, and their houses, together with the near habitations of their domestics, became cities; then their servants, in their several occupations and employments, became wealthy and considerable subjects; and the inspectors or overseers of them became ministers of state, and managers of the public affairs of kingdoms. If we consider the ancient tenures of land in many nations, we shall find abundant reason to suppose that the property of subjects in divers kingdoms began from this origin. Kings, or planters of countries, employed their servants to till the ground; and in time both the masters and servants grew rich and increased; the masters gave away their land to their servants, reserving only to themselves portions of the product, or some services from those who occupied them. Thus servants became tenants, and tenants in time became owners, and owners held their lands under various tenures, daily emerging into more and more liberty; and in length of time getting quit of all the burden, and even almost of the very marks of servitude, with which estates were at first encumbered. There may, I think, be many reasons assigned for thinking that the kingdom of Assyria, first founded by Ashur, the kingdom of the Medes, and particularly that of Persia, as well as other kingdoms, remarkably subject by their most ancient constitutions to despotic authority, were at first raised upon these foundations. And perhaps the kingdoms of the Philistines, governed by Abimelech in Abraham's time, was of the same sort; for that king seems to have had the property of all the land of Philistia, when he gave Abraham leave to live where he would,[9] for Abimelech's subjects seem everywhere to be called his servants;[1] and his fear and con-

[8] Lib. de moribus Germanorum.
[9] Gen. xx, 15.
[1] Ver. 8, and xxi, 25.

cern about Abraham was not upon account of his people, but of himself, and of his son's son.[2] In the days of Isaac, when he went into the land of the Philistines to sojourn, about a hundred years after the time when Abraham lived there, the Philistines seem from servants to have become subjects, in the way I have before mentioned, and accordingly Moses's style about them is altered. The persons who in Abraham's time were called Abimelech's servants,[3] were in Isaac's time called Abimelech's people,[4] or the men of Gerar,[5] or the Philistines,[6] or the herdsmen of Gerar. In Abraham's time the kingdom of Philistia was in its infancy; in Isaac's days, the king and his servants with him were in a better condition.[7]

Most of the kingdoms in and near Canaan seem to have been originally so constituted, that the people in them had great liberty and power. One would almost think that the children of Heth had no king, when Abraham petitioned them for a burying place;[8] for he did not make his address to a particular person, but *stood up and bowed himself to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth.*[9] And when Ephron and he bargained, their agreement was ratified by a popular council.[1] If Heth was king of this country, his people had a great share in the administration. Thus it was at Shechem, where Hamor was king; the prince determined nothing wherein the public was concerned, without communing with the men of his city about it.[2] The kingdom of Egypt was not at first founded upon despotic authority; where the king had his estates or patrimony, the priests had their lands, and the common people had their patrimony independent of both. Thus we read of the land of Rameses,[3] which was the king's land, so called from a king of that name.[4] The priests had their lands, which they did not sell to Joseph;[5] and that the people had lands independent of the crown is evident from the purchases which Joseph made.[6] For we may conclude from these purchases, that Pharaoh had no power to raise taxes upon his subjects to increase his own revenue, until he had bought the original right, which each private person had in his possessions, for this Joseph did for him; and when this was done, Joseph raised the crown a very ample revenue, by granting all the lands, reserving a fifth part of the product to be paid to the king.[7] We may observe likewise that the people of Egypt well understood the dis-

[2] Ver. 23. [3] Gen. xx, 8, and xxi, 25. [4] Chap. xxvi, ver. 11
[5] Ver. 7. [6] Ver. 14.
[7] I need not observe that Abimelech seems to be a proper name for the kings of Philistia, as Pharaoh was for those of Egypt. And Phicol was so likewise for one employed in the post which the persons so named enjoyed.
[8] Gen. xxiii. [9] Ver. 7. [1] Ver. 10, 13
[2] Chap. xxxiv, 20, 24. [3] Chap. xlvii, 11.
[4] Rameses was the eighteenth king of Lower Egypt, according to Sir John Marsham, from Syncellus, p. 20.
[5] Gen. xlvii, 22, 26. [6] Ver. 19, 20. [7] Ver. 24.

tinction between subjects and servants; for when they came to sell their land, they offered to sell themselves too; and desired Joseph, saying, *buy us and our land, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh.*[8] Diodorus Siculus has given a full and true account of the ancient Egyptian constitution;[9] where he says the land was divided into three parts. 1. One part was the priest's, with which they provided all sacrifices, and maintained all the ministers of religion. 2. A second part was the king's, to support his court and family, and supply expenses for wars, if they should happen; and he remarks, that the king having so ample an estate, raised no taxes upon his subjects. 3 The remainder of the land was divided amongst the subjects, whom Diodorus calls soldiers, not making a distinction, because soldiers and subjects in most nations were the same; and it was the ancient practice for all that held lands in a kingdom, to go to war when occasion required. He says, likewise, that there were three other orders of men in the kingdom, husbandmen, shepherds, and artificers; but these were not, strictly speaking, citizens of the kingdom, but servants, or tenants, or workmen to those who were the owners of the lands and cattle. When Mizraim led his followers into Egypt, it is most probable that many considerable persons joined their families and went with him; and these families being independent, until they agreed upon a coalition for their common advantage, it is natural to think, that they agreed upon a plan which might gratify every family, and its descendants, with a suitable property, which they might improve as their own. Herodotus gives an account of the Egyptian polity;[1] where he says, that the Egyptians were divided into seven orders of men; but he takes in the tillers of the ground or husbandmen, the artificers, and the shepherds, who were at first only servants employed by the masters of the families to whom they belonged, and not free subjects of the kingdom; and adds an order of seamen, which must be of later date. Herodotus's account might perhaps be true respecting their constitution, in times much later than those of which I am treating. There is one thing very remarkable in the first polity of kingdoms; namely, that the legislators paid a surprising deference to the paternal authority, or jurisdiction which fathers were thought to have over their children, and were extremely cautious how they made any state-laws which might affect it. When Romulus had framed the Roman constitution, he did not attempt to limit the powers which parents were thought to have over their children; so that, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus observes, a father had full power, either to imprison, or enslave, or to sell, or to inflict the severest corporal punishment upon, or to kill his son, even

[8] Ver. 18.
[1] Lib. ii, c. 163, &c.
[9] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 72, 73, &c., p. 66.

though the son at that very time was in the highest employments of the state, and bore his office with the greatest public applause.[2] And when Numa attempted to limit this extravagant power, he carried his limitation no farther than to appoint, that a son, if married with his father's consent, should in some measure be freed from so unlimited a subjection.

The first legislators cannot be supposed to have attempted any other improvements of their country, than what would naturally arise from agriculture, pasturage, and planting; for traffic began in after-ages. Hence it soon appeared, that in fertile and open countries, they had abundance of people more than they could employ; for few hands would quickly learn to produce a maintenance for more than was necessary for the tillage of the ground, or the care of the cattle. But in mountainous and woody countries, where fruitful and open plains were rarely met with, men multiplied faster than they could be maintained. Hence it came to pass that these countries commonly sent forth frequent colonies and plantations, when their inhabitants were so numerous, that their *land could not bear them;* i. e. could not produce a sufficient maintenance for them. But in more fruitful nations, where greater multitudes could be supported, the kings had at their command great bodies of men, and employed them either in raising prodigious buildings, or formed them into powerful armies. Thus in Egypt they built pyramids, at Babylon they encompassed the city with walls of an incredible height and thickness, and they conquered and brought into subjection all the nations round about them.

The first kings laid no sort of tax upon their subjects, to maintain either soldiers or servants; for all the tribute they took was from strangers, and their own people were free. But they had in every country larger portions of land than their subjects, and whenever they conquered foreign kingdoms they encreased their revenue by laying an annual tribute or tax upon them. Ninus was the first king who took this course;[3] he overran all his neighbours with his armies, and obliged them to buy their peace by paying yearly such tribute as he thought fit to exact from them. The conquered nations, however free the subjects of them were at home, with regard to their own king, were yet justly said to be under the yoke of foreign servitude, and were looked upon by the king, who had conquered them, as larger farms, to yield him such an annual product as he thought fit to set upon them; and the king and all the people of them, though they were commonly permitted to live according to their own laws, were yet reputed the conqueror's servants. Thus the kings of Canaan, when they became tributary, were said to serve Chedorlaomer;[4] and thus Xerxes, when Pythius the Lydian, presuming

[2] Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii, c. 26, 27. [3] Justin. lib. i, c. 1. [4] Gen. xiv, 4.

upon his being in great favour with the king, ventured to petition to have one of his sons excused from following the army, remonstrated to him, that he was his servant.[5] The Persians are frequently called by Cyrus in Xenophon Ανδρες Περσαι, or *men of Persia*, Φιλοι, *the king's friends;* and Xerxes keeps up in his answer to Pythius the same distinction, when he mentions that his children, his relations, his domestics, and then his natural subjects, whom he calls his φιλες, went with him to the war. And dare you, says he, who are my servant, εμος δουλος, talk of your son? Lydia was a conquered kingdom; and so Pythius and all the Lydians were the king's property, to do with them as he thought fit. And they sometimes used those they had conquered accordingly, removing them out of one nation into another as they pleased. But I think, that the extravagances of ambitious conquerors are not so much to be wondered at as the politics of Aristotle, who has laid down such principles as, if true, would justify all the wars and bloodshed that an ambitious prince can be guilty of. He mentions war as one of the natural ways of getting an estate; for he says, "It is a sort of hunting, which is to be made use of against the wild beasts, and against those men, who, born by nature for servitude, will not submit to it; so that a war upon these is naturally just."[6]

Diodorus Siculus remarks,[7] that it was not the ancient custom for sons to succeed their fathers, and inherit their crowns. This observation was fact in many kingdoms; but then it could be only where kingdoms were not raised upon paternal or despotic authority. Where paternal authority took place, the kingdom would of course descend as that did, and the eldest son become at his father's death the ruler over his father's children. Where kingdoms arose from masters and their servants, the right heir of the substance would be the right heir to the crown; which we find was the Persian constitution. The subjects, having originally been servants, did not apprehend that they had any right or pretence ever to become kings; but that the crown was always to be given to one of royal blood.[8] But in kingdoms, which were founded by a number of families, uniting together by agreement to form a civil society, the subjects upon every vacancy chose a king as they thought fit; and the personal qualifications of the person to be elected, and not his birth, procured his election. Many instances of this might be produced from the ancient kingdoms of Greece; and very convincing ones from the first Roman kings, of whom Plutarch observes, that none of them succeeded in his kingdom by his son;[9] and Florus has remarked of each of them severally,

[5] Herodot. lib. vii, c. 99.
[6] Aristot. Politic. lib. i, c. 8.
[7] Hist. lib. i, p. 28.
[8] Brissonius de Regno Persarum, lib. i.
[9] Plutarch. lib. de Animi Tranquillitate, p. 467.

what the qualifications were which recommended them to the choice of the people.[1] That Egypt was anciently an elective kingdom is evident from Plutarch,[2] who remarks, that their kings were taken either from amongst their soldiers or their priests, as they had occasion for a prince of great wisdom or valour. But, whatever were the original constitutions of kingdoms, it is certain, that power has always in all nations, been more or less fluctuating between the prince and the people; and many states have from arbitrary kingdoms become in time republics, and from republics, become in length of time arbitrary kingdoms again, from various accidents and revolutions, as Polybius has observed at large.[3]

It has been an ancient opinion, that kings had the right to their crowns by a special appointment from Heaven. Homer is everywhere full of this. The sceptres of his kings were commonly given either to them or some of their ancestors by Jupiter. Thus Agamemnon's sceptre was made by Vulcan, and by Vulcan given to Jupiter, by Jupiter to Mercury, by Mercury to Pelops, by Pelops to Atreus, by Atreus to Thyestes, and by Thyestes to Agamemnon.[4] And this account came to be so firmly believed, that the men of Chæronea paid divine worship to a spear, which they said was this celestial sceptre of Agamemnon.[5] Homer places the authority of all his kings upon this foundation, and he gives us his opinion at large in the case of Telemachus.[6] He introduces Antinous, one of the suitors, as alarmed at the threatenings of Telemachus; and therefore, though he acknowledges his paternal right to the crown of Ithaca, when Ulysses should be dead, yet he wished that there might not be a vacancy for him for many years. Telemachus, in his reply, is made to speak as if he depended but little upon hereditary right, and says, that he should willingly accept the crown if Jupiter should give it; but that there were kings of Greece, and many persons of Ithaca, both young and old, who perhaps might have it at the death of Ulysses; but that he would be master of his father's house, servants, and substance. Eurymachus replies, and con-

[1] L. Flor. Hist. lib. i, c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; see also Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. i.

[2] Οι δε βασιλεις απεδεικνυντο μεν εκ των ιερεων η των μαχιμων, τε μεν δι ανδρειαν, τε δε δια σοφιαν γενος αξιωμα και τιμην εχοντος.

[3] Historiar. lib. vi, c. 5, 6, &c.

[4] Il. ii, ver. 101.

[5] Pausanias in Bœoticis, p. 795.

[6] Odyss. i, ver. 388:

Τον δ' αυ Τηλεμαχος πεπνυμενος αντιον ηυδα·
Και κεν τουτ εθελοιμι Διος γε διδοντος αρεσθαι.
'Αλλ' ητοι βασιληες 'Αχαιων εισε και αλλοι
Πολλοι εν αμφιαλω 'Ιθακη, νεοι ηδε παλαιοι·
Των κεν τις τοδ' εχησιν, επει θανε διος 'Οδυσσευς·
Αυταρ εγων οικοιο αναξ εσομ' ημετεροιο,
Και δμωων· ους μοι κλισσητο διος 'Οδυσσευς.

Τον δ' αυ 'Ευρυμαχος Πολυβε παις αντιον ηυδα·
Τηλεμαχ', ητοι ταυτα θεων εν γουνασι κειται,
Οστις εν αμφιαλω 'Ιθακη βασιλευσει 'Αχαιων.

firms what Telemachus had said, asserting, that Telemachus should certainly possess his father's house, servants, and substance; but that, as to who should be king of Ithaca, it must be left to the gods. Romulus endeavoured to build his authority upon the same foundation; and therefore, when the people were disposed to have him for their king, he refused to take the honour until the gods should give some sign to confirm it to him. So, upon an appointed day, after due sacrifice and prayers offered to the gods, he was consecrated king by an auspicious thunder.[7] At what time the heathen nations embraced these sentiments I cannot certainly say, but I suppose not before GOD had appointed the Israelites a king. For the ancient writers speak of the kings who reigned before that time in no such strain, as may be seen from Pausanias's account of the first kings of Greece, as well as from other writers. But when GOD had by a special appointment given the Israelites a king, the kings of other nations were fond of claiming to themselves such a designation from Heaven, lest they should seem to fall short in honour and glory of the Jewish governors. Homer, who, according to Herodotus, introduced a new theology,[8] introduced also the account of the origin of the authority of their kings into Greece. Virgil embraced this scheme of Homer, and in compliment to Augustus, the Roman republic being overthrown, laid the foundation of Æneas's right to govern the Trojans, who fled with him from the ruins of their city, upon a divine designation of him to be their king, revealed to him by the apparition of Hector,[9] and confirmed by Pantheus, the priest of Apollo, who brought and delivered to him the *sacra* and sacred images,[1] of which Hector had declared him the guardian and protector.

It has been the opinion of some modern writers, that these ancients were very weak politicians in matters of religion, and were an easy prey to priest-craft. The Earl of Shaftesbury is very copious upon this topic,[2] and his followers commonly think that his argumentations of this sort are conclusive. Let us, therefore, examine how well they are grounded.

We have as full and large an account of the first settlement of the Roman priesthood as of any; so that I shall examine this first, and then add what may be offered about the established priesthood of other nations. And, first of all, Romulus appointed, that the king should be the head and controller of all the *sacra* and sacrifices;[3] and under himself he appointed proper persons for the due performance of the offices of reli-

[7] Dionysius Halicarnassus, lib. ii, c. 5.
[8] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 53.
[9] Virg. Æn. ii, ver. 268.
[1] Ibid. ver. 321, &c.
[2] Characteristics, vol. iii, Misc. 2.
[3] Βασιλει μεν ην εξηρητο ταδε τα γερα· πρωτον μεν ιερων και θυσιων ηγεμονιαν εχειν, και παντα δι εκεινε πρατ[illegible]εσθαι τα προς τους θεους οσια. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 14.

gion, having first made a general law, that none but the nobility should be employed either in offices of state or of religion.[4] The particular qualifications of the priests were,[5] 1. They were to be of the best families. 2. They were to be men of the most eminent virtue. 3. They were to be persons who had an estate sufficient to live on. 4. And without any bodily blemish or imperfection. 5. They were to be above fifty years of age. These were the qualifications requisite for their being admitted into the religious order. Let us now see what they were to get by it: and, 1. They were put to no expense in the performance of their ministrations; for as the king had in his hands lands set apart on purpose for the providing the public sacrifices, building and repairing temples, altars, and bearing all the expenses of religion, so a set sum was paid to the priests of each division, to bear the expenses of their sacrifices. 2. They themselves were exempted from the fatigue of going to war, and from bearing city offices. 3. Besides these slender privileges, I do not find that they received any profits from their office; for it is evident they had no stipend nor salaries. Ministers of state, and ministers of religion also, had no advantages of this sort in early times,[6] as is abundantly evident from one of the reasons given for choosing the nobility only to these employments; namely, because the plebeians or common people could not afford to give away their time in attending upon them. As to their number, which Lord Shaftesbury thinks was without end or measure, Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that no city ever had so many originally as Rome; and he observes, that Romulus appointed sixty;[7] telling us withal, elsewhere, that his people were, when he first settled the commonwealth, two thousand three hundred men, besides women and children; and when he died they were above forty thousand.[8] There were, indeed, over and besides these, three Augurs, or ιεροσκοποι, appointed by Romulus; and there were afterwards three Flamens, who, I think, were first instituted by Numa; as were the Vestal Virgins, who were in number four;[9] and the Salii, who were in number twelve.[1] He instituted also the college of the Feciales, who were in number twenty:[2] but these were chiefly employed in civil affairs; for they were the arbitrators of all controversies relating to war or peace, and heralds and ambassadors to foreign states.[3] Lastly, Numa appointed the Pontifices Maximi, being four in number, of which himself was the first;[4] and these persons were the supreme judges of all matters, civil or religious. But all these officers were chosen out of the noblest and weal-

[4] Διεταξεν τους μεν ευπατριδας ιερασθαι τε, και αρχειν και δικαζειν, και μεθ' αυτα τα κοινα πραττειν. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 9.

[5] Id. ibid. c. 21.
[6] Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 9.
[7] Id. ibid. c. 21.
[8] Id. ibid. c. 16.
[9] Id. ibid. c. 67.
[1] Id. ibid. c. 70.
[2] Id. ibid. c. 72; Plutarch. in Numa.
[3] Id. ibid. c. 63.
[4] Id. ibid.; Plut. in Numa.

thiest families; and they brought wealth into, and added lustre to the offices they bore, instead of coming into them for the sake of lucre and advantage. If we were to look farther into the Roman state, we should find some additions made to the number of the ministers of religion, as the city grew in wealth and power; for when the plebeians grew wealthy, and were able to bear them, they would not be excluded from religious offices; and so there were in time twelve Flamens elected from the commons, and twelve Salii were added to Numa's twelve by Tullus Hostilius. Tarquinius Superbus appointed two officers to be the keepers of the Sibylline oracles; and their number was afterwards increased to ten, and by Sylla to fifteen, and in later ages they had particular Flamens for particular deities. But take an estimate of the Roman religion, when their priests were most numerous, at any time from the building of the city to Julius Cæsar, and it will appear, that ancient Rome was not overburthened with either the number or expense of the religious orders.

Let us in the next place look into Greece. Dionysius of Halicarnassus frequently remarks concerning Romulus's religious institutions, that they were formed according to the Greek plans; so that we may guess in general, that the Greeks were not more burthened in these matters than he burthened the Romans; especially if we consider what he remarks upon Numa's institutions, that no foreign city whatever, whether Grecian or of any other country, had so many religious institutions as the Romans,[5] a remark he had before made, even when Romulus settled the first orders.[6] The writers of the Greek antiquities are pretty much at a loss to enumerate the several orders of their priests;[7] they name but few, and these were rather the assistants than the priests who offered the sacrifices. And I imagine, that the true reason why we have no account of them is, because there were in the most ancient times no particular persons set apart for these offices in the Grecian states, but the kings and rulers performed the public offices of religion for their people, and every master of a family sacrificed in private for his children and servants. If we look over Homer's poems, we shall find this observation verified by many instances. After Agamemnon was constituted the head of the Grecian army, we find him everywhere at the public sacrifices performing the priest's office,[8] and the other Grecian kings and heroes had their parts under him in the ministration. Thus Peleus the father of Achilles performed the office of priest in his own kingdom, when Nestor and Ulysses went to see him, and Patroclus, Achilles, and Menœtius ministered;[9] and Achilles offered the sacrifices, and

[5] Dionys. Halicarn. lib. ii, sec. 63.
[6] Id. ibid. sec. 21.
[7] See Potter's Antiquities, b. ii, c. 3.
[8] Iliad. γ, Iliad. ν, et in al. loc.
[9] Iliad. λ.

performed the funeral rites for Patroclus.[1] Thus again in the Odyssey, when Nestor made a sacrifice to Minerva, Stratius and the noble Echephron led the bull to the altar, Aretus brought the water, and canisters of corn, Perseus brought the vessel to receive the blood; but Nestor himself made the libations, and began the ceremony with prayers. The magnanimous Thrasymedes, son of Nestor, knocked down the ox; then the wife of Nestor, his daughters, and his sons' wives, offered their prayers; then Pisistratus, ορχαμος ανδρων, perhaps the captain of the host an officer in such a post as Phichol under Abimelech,[2] stabbed the beast: then they all joined in cutting it in pieces, and disposing it upon the altar, and after all was ready,

Καιε δ' επι σχιζης ο γεξων, επι δ' αιθοπα οινον
Λειβε·

Nestor himself was the priest, and offered the sacrifice.[3] Many instances of this sort might be brought from both Iliad and Odyssey. If we examine the accounts which the best historians give us, they all tend to confirm this point. Lycurgus was remarkably frugal in the sacrifices he appointed;[4] and the Lacedemonians had no public priests in his days, nor for some time after, but their kings. Plutarch tells us, that when they went to battle, the king performed the sacrifice;[5] and Xenophon says, that the king performed the public sacrifices before the city,[6] and that in the army his chief business was, to have the supreme command of the forces, and to be their priest in the offices of religion.[7] This was the practice when Agesilaus was chosen king of Sparta; for after he was made king, he offered the usual sacrifices for the city.[8] And in his expedition against the Persians, he would have sacrificed at Aulis, a town of Bœotia, as Agamemnon did upon undertaking the Trojan war; but the Thebans, not being well affected to him or to the Lacedemonians, would not permit him.[9] In a word, we have no reason to think, from any thing we can find in the Greek history, that the ancient Greeks, until some ages after Homer, had any other public ministers of religion, than those who were the kings and governors of the state. Fathers of families (even though they were in reality but servants) were priests to those who lived under their direction; and offered all sorts of sacrifices for them, and performed all the ministrations of religion at their domestic altars; and thus the practice of religious offices was performed in the several parts of every kingdom amongst the several families that inhabited

1 Iliad. ψ. 2 Gen. xxvi, 26. 3 Odyss. γ, ver. 460, &c.
4 Plutarch in Lycurgo, p. 52. 5 Ibid. p. 53.
6 Xenoph. lib. de Repub. Lacedæm. p. 688. 7 Id. ibid.
8 Xenoph. Hellenic. l. iii, p. 496. 9 Id. ibid.

it. The public or national religion appeared at the head of their armies, or at the court only, where the king was personally present, and performed the offices of it for himself and all his people.

There are some persons mentioned by Homer, and called ιερεες, or priests, who offered the sacrifices, even when kings and the greatest commanders attended at the altars. Thus Chryses, the priest of Apollo, burnt the sacrifice, which Ulysses and his companions went to offer at Chrysa, when they restored Briseis to her father;[1] but this is so far from contradicting what I have mentioned, that it entirely coincides with and confirms it. Chrysa was a little isle in the Egean sea, of which Chryses was priest and governor; and when Ulysses was come into his dominions, it was Chryses' place to offer the sacrifice, and not Ulysses's. There were in ancient times many little islands, and small tracts of land, where civil government was not set up in form; but the inhabitants lived together in peace and quiet, by and under the direction of some very eminent person, who ruled them by wise admonitions, and by teaching them religion; and the governors of these countries affected rather the name of priests than kings. Thus Jethro is called by Moses not the king, but the priest of Midian; and thus Chryses is called the priest of Apollo, at Chrysa, and not the king of Chrysa; though both he and Jethro were the governors of the countries where they lived. If at any time they and their people came to form a political society, upon more express terms and conditions, then we find these sort of persons called both priests and kings; and in this manner Melchisedec was king of Salem, and priest of the most high God,[2] and Anius was king of Delos, and priest of Apollo.[3] These small states could have but little power to support themselves against the incroachment of their neighbours. Their religion was their greatest strength; and it was their happiest circumstance, that their kings or governors were conspicuous for their religion, and thought sacred by their neighbours, being reputed in an eminent sense to be high in the favour of the god, whom they particularly worshipped; so as to render it dangerous for any to violate their rights, or to injure the people under their protection, as the Grecians are said to have experienced, when they refused to restore Briseis to her father.

It is thought by some very judicious writers, that the word ιερευς is sometimes used for a person, who was not, strictly speaking, a priest, but a diviner from the entrails of victims. Thus Achilles in Homer,[4] when the pestilence raged in the Grecian camp, advised

> . . . . . τινα μαντιν εξειομεν η ιερηα
> Ἠ και ονειροπολον· . . . . . .

[1] Homer Il. i. [2] Gen. xiv, 18. [3] Virgil. Æn. iii, ver. 80. [4] Il. i.

to send for either a μαντις, or prophet, or an ιερευς, or an ονειροπολος, a diviner by dreams, to inform them how to appease Apollo. But I imagine that the ιερευς here mentioned, was some one of these insular priests or kings, of whom all their neighbours had a high opinion, for their great skill in matters of religion; upon which account they used to be frequently sent to, or sent for, as the occasion of their neighbour-states required the assistance of their advice and direction. Such a king and priest was Rhamnes in Virgil,[5]

Rex idem, et regi Turno gratissimus auger.

Amongst the true worshippers of GOD, some persons were very signally distinguished from others by extraordinary revelations of GOD's will made to them. Abraham was received by Abimelech as a prophet;[6] and GOD was pleased to make his will known to these persons by visions or by dreams,[7] and sometimes by audible voices and divine appearances. And when any persons were known to be thus highly favoured of GOD, kings and great men paid regard to them, and were willing to consult them upon difficulties and emergent occasions, and were glad to have them, not to sacrifice for them, which there was no occasion they should do, but to pray for them, for their prayers were thought more than ordinarily available with GOD;[8] and this order of men, namely, the prophets, are frequently mentioned in Scripture. Now as GOD was pleased to distinguish his true servants by the gifts of prophecy, so in all the heathen nations divers persons imitated these powers, and made it their business in various manners by art and study to qualify themselves to know the will of their gods, and to discover it to men. Persons thought to be thus qualified were in every kingdom retained by kings and rulers; or, if they had them not at hand, they sent for them upon occasion, to direct in emergent affairs and difficult circumstances. Balaam the son of Beor had the character of a prophet in the nations round about the place where he lived, and therefore Balak, in his distress about the Israelites, sent for him *to Pethor, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people*;[9] and when Balaam was come to Balak, Balak was ordinarily the sacrificer; and Balaam's employment was to report to him any revelation which GOD should please to make him about the Israelites.[1] Thus when the chiefs of Greece offered their sacrifices, Calchas attended, and explained an omen, which put them in great surprise.[2] In length of time, the number of the heathen prophets increased greatly: there were many of them in Egypt in the days of Moses, and of several orders;[3] and there were four orders of them at

[5] Æn. ix, ver. 327.
[6] Gen. xx, 7.
[7] Numb xii, 6.
[8] Gen. xx, 7.
[9] Numb. xxii, 5.
[1] Ibid. xxiii, 30.
[2] Il. ii.
[3] Exod. vii, 11.

Babylon in the time of Daniel, namely, the Chartummim or magicians, the Ashapim or astrologers, the Chasdim or Chaldeans, and the Mechasepim or sorcerers.[4] But they were not numerous in Greece until after the times which I am to treat of; for when Agesilaus was made king of Sparta, about A. M. 3600, which is above three hundred years after the building of Rome, and near as much later than the time where I am to end this undertaking, when Agesilaus was to offer the sacrifices for the city, he had only one μαντις or prophet attending to inform him of what might be revealed to him at the time of his sacrifices, as Agamemnon in Homer is described to have had at the Trojan war. There was another sort of officers attending upon the sacrifices, called the κηρυκες, or in Latin *præcones*, whose business was to call together the people, when assemblies were appointed, and they were frequently sent ambassadors, or rather as heralds from state to state; and they assisted at sacrifices in dividing the victims, and disposing the several parts of the offering in due form upon the altar[5] before the priests kindled the fire to burn it. But I cannot find any reason to think that the Greeks had, at the time when Rome was built, so many persons set apart to attend upon the religious offices as even Romulus appointed at the first building of his city.

If we go into Asia: as men were planted there, and cities built, and governments established earlier than in Greece, so we find, as I just now hinted, that the wise men of Babylon were numerous in the days of Daniel. When they began there I cannot say; but I am apt to think their first rise was from Belus the Egyptian, the son of Neptune and Libya, who travelled from Egypt, and carried with him a number of the Egyptian priests, and obtained leave to sit down at Babylon, where the king, who then ruled there, gave them great encouragement upon account of their skill in astronomy. Of this Belus I shall speak more hereafter. His coming to Babylon was about the time of Moses;[6] but I would observe, that the kings of these nations had not parted with their priesthood in the days of Cyrus; for Xenophon is very express in his accounts of that prince's performing the public sacrifices, in many places.[7]

Egypt was the parent of almost all the superstitions which overflowed the world; and it is particularly remarked, that the priests in the most ancient times were more numerous here, and far more magnificently provided for than in other nations. They had lands settled upon them in the time of Joseph;[8] and, according to Diodorus Siculus, a third part of the whole land of Egypt was theirs.[9] Lord Shaftesbury's

[4] Dan. ii, 2.
[5] Homer. Il. in loc. var.
[6] See book viii.
[7] Lib. de Cyropæd. lib. ii, iii, viii, &c.
[8] Gen. xlvii.
[9] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 72, 73, &c.

triumphs here run very high against the church lands, and the landed clergy, as he is pleased to call the Egyptian priests of these times. This right honourable writer asserts, "that the magistrate, according to the Egyptian regulation, had resigned his title or share of right in sacred things, and could not govern as he pleased, nor check the growing number of these professors.[1] And that in this mother land of superstition the sons of these artists were by law obliged always to follow the same calling with their fathers. Thus the son of a priest was always a priest by birth; as was the whole lineage after him without interruption." Many other particulars are enlarged upon by this author, which I choose to pass over. If I give an account of the Egyptian priesthood, from what the ancient writers hint about it, this alone will show how widely some writers err in their account of ancient facts, out of humour, and inclination to reflect upon the clergy and the church. Religion was in the early times looked upon by all the nations in the world as a positive institution of GOD; and it was as firmly believed, that none could be the ministers in it but those persons whom GOD himself had appointed to perform the offices of it. Aristotle, indeed, who threw off tradition, and founded his opinions upon what he thought to be the dictates of right reason, seems to give every state or community a power of appointing their ministers of religion; hinting, at the same time, that the citizens of an advanced age, who were past engaging in laborious employments for the service of the public, were the proper persons to be appointed to the sacred offices.[2] But Plato, who had a greater regard to the ancient customs and traditions, makes a divine designation absolutely necessary for the rightly authorising any person to perform the offices of religion. He advises the founders of cities, if they could find any priests, who had received their office from their fathers, in a long succession backward, to make use of them; but if such could not be had, and some must be created, that they would leave the choice to the gods, appointing proper candidates, and choosing out of them by lot such as the deity should cause the lot to fall upon; and that they should send to the oracle at Delphos to be directed what rites, ceremonies, and laws of religion they should establish.[3] This was the ancient universal sense of all nations; and we may observe, that both Romulus and Numa took care at least to seem to act according to these maxims. Romulus built his city by consultation with the Etruscan *haruspices*;[4] and upon his appointing new orders of priests, he made a law to devolve the confirming them to the *vates*, or augurs, who were to declare to the people the will of the gods about them.[5]

[1] Miscellaneous Reflect. Characteristics, vol. iii; Mis. ii, p. 42.
[2] Aristot. de Repub. lib. vii, cap. 9. [3] Platon. de Legibus, lib. vi, p. 860.
[4] Plutarch in Vita Romuli.
[5] Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 12.

And Numa was thought to do nothing but by inspiration, pretending the directions of the goddess Egeria for all his institutions.[6] The most ancient priesthood was that which fathers or heads of families exercised in and for their own families and kindred; and the divine institution of this was what all nations were so fully convinced of, that the public and established religions did not supersede it, but left it as they found it. So that though private persons, who were not publicly called to that office, might not offer sacrifices on the public altars, yet each head of a family was priest for his own family at his private focus, or domestic altar; and these private or family priests, I imagine, were the persons whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of, as having τας συγγενικας ιεροσυνας, or a priesthood over those of the same lineage with themselves.[7] And what reverence and regard was paid them may be guessed by the observation of Athenæus, who remarks, that of all sacrifices those were esteemed the most sacred which a man offered for his own domestics.[8] Indeed they might well be so accounted, the persons who offered them being perhaps the only persons in the heathen nations who had a just right to offer any sacrifices.

As this sense of things appears not to have been extinguished even in the time of Romulus, nay, even ages after him, so it is most probable that men kept very strict to it in the first times. We must not suppose, that at the first erecting kingdoms and civil societies, the several bodies of men appointed whom they would to be their priests. It is more likely, that they thought, as Plato the great master of the ancient customs and traditions of all nations did, that the priesthood which had descended from father to son was still to be retained.[9] Accordingly, where kingdoms were originally planted by but one single family, the king or head of that one family might be the sole public minister of religion for all his people; but where the kingdoms were originally peopled by many families independent of each other, they might agree to institute, that the persons who in private life had been priests of the several families of which the body politic was constituted, should become jointly national priests for all the land. Thus the Egyptian priests might be originally the heads of the several families which constituted the kingdom. That this conjecture does not err much, if any thing, from the truth, will appear to any one who considers duly the ancient Egyptian polity. For, 1, They thought their priests almost equal in dignity to their kings; and the priest had a

[6] Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 60; Plutarch in Vit. Numæ; Florus, lib. i, c. 2.

[7] Dionys Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, cap. 21.

[8] Ὁσιωτατη γαρ η θυσια θεοις και προσφιλεστερα η δια των οικειων. Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. i, cap. 8.

[9] Ιερων δε ιερεας οις μεν εισι πατριαι ιεροσυναι μη κινειν. Plat. de Legibus, lib. vi, p. 860.

great share in the administration of affairs; for they continually attended to advise, direct, and assist in the weighty affairs of the kingdom.[1] 2. They thought it an irregularity to have any one made their king who was not one of their priests; but if it did so happen, as in length of time it sometimes did, the person who was to[2] be king was obliged to be first received into the order of priests, and then was capable of the crown. 3. Whenever a priest died, his son was made priest in his room.[3] I am sensible, that the very particulars I have produced are frequently made use of to hint the great ascendancy which priestcraft and religion gained over king and people in the land of Egypt; but no one truly versed in antiquity can use them to this purpose. It was not the priesthood, which by religious craft raised the possessors of it in ancient times to the highest stations and dignity, but rather, none but persons of the highest stations and dignity were thought capable of being priests; and of consequence the men of this order could not but shine with double lustre; they were as great as the civil state could make them before they entered upon religious ministrations, for it was reckoned a monstrous thing to make priests of the meanest of the people.[4] Accordingly, Romulus appointed the noblest and the wealthiest of the senators for these offices;[5] and Josephus was sensible, that this was the universal practice of all heathen nations, and therefore remarks how equitably the Jewish priesthood was at first founded, that great wealth and possessions were not the requisites to qualify the persons, who were put into it, for their admission into the sacred order,[6] which he must know was required in all heathen nations, or his argument had been of little force. Divine appointment placed the priesthood at first in the head of every family, and men did not for many ages take upon them to make alterations in this matter. When Mizraim and his followers sat down in Egypt, he was the priest and governor of his own family; and the leading men who followed him were, by the same right, each head of a family, priest and governor of those who belonged to him. Now what coalition could be more easy, or what civil government or religious hierarchy better grounded, unless they had had a special direction for their polity from Heaven, as the Israelites afterwards had, than for Mizraim and his followers to agree, that one of them should have the presidency or superiority, and that they should all unite to promote religion, order, and government amongst their chil-

[1] Καθολου γαρ περι των μεγιστων αιει προβουλευομενοι συνδιατριβουσι τω βασιλει, των μεν συνεργοι, των δε εισηγηται και διδασκαλοι γινομενοι. Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 73, p. 66.

[2] Plato in Politico, p. 550; Plutarch, lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 354.

[3] Herodot, lib. ii, c. 37.

[4] 1 Kings xiii, 33.

[5] Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. ii, c. 18.

[6] Josephus contra Apion, lib. ii, sec. 21, 22, p. 1379.

dren and their descendants? This was the first polity in Egypt, which, if duly considered, will give a clear account of what I have observed concerning the honour paid to the Egyptian priests. 1. Their priests were thought almost equal in dignity to their kings; and were joined with them in the public counsels and administrations. And surely it cannot be thought a great usurpation for them to claim this honour, since they were, every one, heads of families like the king himself, and subordinate to him alone, for the purposes of civil life. 2. The kings were commonly chosen out of the priests; or if any other person became king, he was obliged to be admitted into the priest's order before he received the crown. This appointment was not improper, if we consider, that, according to this constitution of the Egyptian government, all but the priests were by nature subject to some or other of the priests, for they alone were the persons who could have a paternal right to govern; and every other order of men in Egypt owed to them a filial duty and obedience. 3. Whenever a priest died, his son was appointed priest in his room; Herodotus says, επεαν δε τις αποθανη, τοτε ο παις αντικατιζεται,[7] not, as Lord Shaftesbury represents it, that all the children of the priests were obliged by law to follow the calling of their fathers: but the ο παις, not παιδες, not the sons, but the eldest son, was appointed priest in his room. Therefore they only endeavoured to preserve that order, which God himself originally appointed; and their priesthood could not hereby become more numerous, than the original families which first planted the land. It is remarkable, that the service of the altar would naturally have descended much in this manner amongst the Israelites, if God had not thought fit, by a new institution, to have the whole tribe of Levi set apart for the ministry, instead of the first-born of their several families. The Egyptian priesthood, thus considered, will not appear so extravagant as some writers have imagined; nor will the division of the land, supposing that even a third part of it was the priests, be liable to so much censure and odium as these authors delight to throw upon it; for the persons, who as priests seem to have had too much, were in truth the whole body of the nobility of the land, and the Egyptian polity was really this and no other: the king had a third part of the land for his share as king, to enable him to defray his public expenses without tax or burthen to his subjects: the nobility, or heads of the several families, had a third part, who were to furnish all the expenses for religion, and to perform all the offices of it, without any charge to the people: the common subjects had the remaining third part, not encumbered with either any tax to the king or expense upon account of religion. Now I imagine, that the commons,

[7] Herodot. lib. ii, cap. 37.

or plebeians, have in few kingdoms had a larger property in land than this.

The Asiatic priesthoods are in general said to have had a very exorbitant power over the state. I wish the authors of this opinion were particular in pointing out the times and places when and where. I cannot apprehend, that the religious orders had such overbearing influence or interest at Babylon in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, when he threatened to cut them all in pieces, and to make their houses a dunghill,[8] and gave orders to destroy them all, because they did not answer him in a point, in which it was impossible they could answer him;[9] for as Daniel observed, *the secret was not revealed to* him *for any wisdom, that he had more than any living;*[1] and he remarked that the wise men of Babylon could not possibly discover it.[2] A fair and just representation of the ancient heathen religion, would show that it was not priestcraft which ruled the heathen world, but that kings and great men, having had originally in their hands the offices of religion, turned the whole into state policy, and made it a mere art whereby to govern their kingdoms, and to carry forward their designs. These were Plutarch's thoughts upon this subject, when he imagined that all the arts of divination from dreams, prodigies, omens, &c. were of service, not to the religious orders, but to statesmen, in order to their[3] managing the populace, as the public affairs should require. Now to this use kings and rulers did in these times put all their power and presidency in the offices of religion, until they had vitiated and corrupted every part and branch of it. It is indeed true, that GOD in the first ages made so many revelations of his will to particular persons, as might, one would think, have checked the career of idolatry and superstition; but we do not find, that the rulers of nations were often willing to allow an order of prophets in their kingdom to be employed purely to find out and publish to them the will of Heaven, any farther than their political views might be served by it. When Balak the son of Zippor sent for Balaam, the employment he had for him was to curse the Israelites, in order to put life and courage into his people, whose spirits were sunk by the conquests which Israel had obtained over the Amorites;[4] and we see in him an early instance what an estimate the heathen kings had formed of prophets and their inspiration. When Balak thought that Balaam might have been won to serve his purpose, he complimented him, with pretending to believe,

[8] Dan. ii, 5.
[9] Ver. 10, 11, 27, 28, 30.
[1] Ver. 30.
[2] Ver. 27.

[3] Ονειρατα και φασματα, και τουτων αλλον ουκον——ο πολιτικοις μεν ανδρασι, και προς αυθαδη και ακολαστον οχλον ηναγκασμενοις ζην, εκ αρχης ισως εστιν, ωσπερ εκ χαλινε της δεισιδαιμονιας προς το συμφερον αντιστασαι και μεταστησαι τας πολλας. Plutarch. lib. de Genio Socratis, p. 580.

[4] Numb. xxii, 3, 4, 5.

that *He, whom he blessed, was blessed, and he, whom he cursed, was cursed.*[5] But when Balaam did not answer his expectation, he paid no regard to him, but dismissed him in anger; *Therefore now flee thou to thy place: I thought to promote thee to great honour, but lo, the* LORD *hath kept thee back from honour.*[6] Thus their priests or prophets were promoted to very great honours, if they could serve political views and designs; but if they really *would not go beyond the commandment of the* LORD *to do either good or bad of their own mind, but what the* LORD *said, that they would speak,*[7] then they were neglected, and anti-prophets, magicians, Chaldeans, or other artificers, were opposed to them, to take off all impressions which they might make upon the people, contrary to the public views and interest. Thus the magicians of Egypt were employed against Moses, when Pharaoh was not willing to part with so great a number of slaves as the Israelites. And by these means, religion and the offices of it were much perverted, before the time that GOD thought fit to make a change in the priesthood, and to have a particular order of men set apart for the service of the altar.[8] In the later ages, the heathen nations copied after this pattern; for temples were built, and orders of priests appointed for the service in them in every country; and the annual revenues settled, together with the numerous presents of votaries, raised immense wealth to the religious orders. But I do not apprehend, that the affairs of kingdoms were made subject to their arbitrament and disposal; or that kings and statesmen in the later times of the heathen superstition paid more deference or regard to them than what they thought was requisite for the public good.

It has indeed been thought in all ages to be both the duty and interest of magistrates to establish the worship of a deity amongst their people. It is certainly their duty to do it as men, who are bound to promote the glory of GOD; and there is more sound of words than force of argument in the pretence of some writers, that the magistrate, as magistrate, has nothing to do in this matter; for if it be undeniably certain, that every man is obliged to promote the glory of GOD, it will follow, that the magistrate is not exempted; but moves in a station of greater influence, and has therefore ability to perform this in a more effectual manner, which is a duty universally incumbent upon all men. If these writers would gain their point, they must prove, that the being a magistrate cancels that duty, which the magistrate, as a man, owes to GOD, which is a part of his reasonable service to the Deity, and which he is indispensably obliged to perform in the best manner he can; only taking due care, that a zeal for his duty does not

[5] Ver. 6.
[6] Numb. xxiv, ver. 10, 11.
[7] Ver. 13.
[8] Exodus xxviii; Numbers ii.

lead him into unjust or wicked measures about it. But it is the interest of the magistrate to establish religion; for it is the surest way to obtain the protection of God's Providence,[9] without which no wise and prudent writer ever reputed the public affairs of kingdoms to be in a safe and flourishing condition. And it is the only, or by far the best way to cultivate those moral principles of duty amongst a people, without which no community can be either happy or secure.[1] Thus Tully thought upon this subject, concluding the happiness of a community to be founded upon religion, and very judiciously querying whether, *pietate adversus deos sublata*, if a general neglect of religion were introduced, a looseness of principle, destructive of all society would not quickly follow; an evil, which if the magistrate does not prevent, he can do nothing very effectual to the public welfare. Of this all the heathen magistrates have ever been apprised; and therefore never were so wild as to attempt to discharge themselves from the care of it. Their only fault was, that their care of it was too political. When they themselves were the ministers of religion, they set up their fancies instead of religion, as their speculations led them, or their interests directed; and afterwards, when they appointed other persons to the ministrations, they so managed as to have them at their direction for the same purposes; as will appear to any one, who will fairly examine this subject.

There should be something said, before I close this book, about the right which female heirs may be supposed to be thought by these ancients to have to crowns and kingdoms. Semiramis was the first queen we read of in any nation, and Justin supposes that she obtained the crown by deceit upon her people, by her being mistaken for her son Ninyas;[2] but Diodorus gives a much better and more probable account of her advancement, who says, that Ninus appointed her to be queen at his death.[3] It is indeed true, that the original constitution of some kingdoms, if they were founded upon the maxims, which I have supposed, do not seem to admit of any

[9] 1 Sam. ii, 30. Ταυτα τε δη τε ανδρος ακαμαι, και ετι προς τουτοις α μελλω λεγειν, οτι τε καλως οικεισθαι τας πολεις αιτιας υπολαβων, ας Θρυλλασι μεν απαντες οι πολιτικοι, κατασκευαζεσι δ' ολιγοι· πρωτην μεν παρα των Θεων ευνοιαν, ης παρουσης απαντα τοις Ανθρωποις επι τα κρειττω συμφερεται. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquit. Rom. l. ii, c. 18.——Diis deabusque immortalibus, quorum ope et auxilio, multo magis hæc respublica, quam ratione hominum et consilio gubernatur. Cicero Orat. pro. C. Rabirio. Etenim quis est tam vecors, qui——cum deos esse intellexerit, non intelligat eorum Numine hoc tantum imperium esse natum et auctum, et retentum? Quam volumos licet, P. C. ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos, sed pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. Cicero Orat. de Haruspicum Responsis.

[1] Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i, c. 2, et in al. loc. innum.

[2] Justin. lib. i, c. 2.

[3] Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, sec. 7.

female governors. Thus in Egypt they did not think of having queens, at the forming their first settlement, for which reason, in order to make a way for them, there was a law made when Binothris was king of *This*,[4] i. e. about A. M. 2232, that they should not be excluded. In nations, where civil government began from despotic authority, queens may be supposed to have succeeded naturally upon defect of male heirs; but they have been commonly excluded in elective kingdoms. Two things are remarkable: 1. That in ancient times, whenever queens reigned, they presided in religion, and were priestesses to their people, as kings were priests; and thus Dido in Virgil[5] made the libation at the entertainment of Æneas and his companions, as the kings of Greece in Homer did upon like occasions. 2. Divine Providence has generally distinguished the reigns of queens with uncommon glory to themselves, and happiness to their people, of which both our own, and the history of other nations afford almost as many instances as there have been queens upon their thrones.

[4] Syncellus, p. 54.

[5] Æneid. i, ver. 740.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK VII.

ISAAC, after Abraham was buried, continued to live where his father left him. Rebekah for some years had no children; but about twenty years after her marriage with Isaac, A. M. 2168, she had two sons, Esau and Jacob.[1] The two children grew up to be men: were of a very different genius and temper: Jacob was very studious and much versed in religious contemplation; Esau had but little thought to care about them. Jacob, upon seeing Esau, in some absence of his father, officiate at the sacrifice, was very desirous to obtain this employment himself, which he thought so honourable. Esau on the other hand had no value at all for it; so they bargained together, and for a small refreshment Esau sold Jacob all his right and title to it.[2] Esau is for this action called the profane Esau;[3] because he despised his birth-right, by parting with it for a trifling consideration. Some writers suppose, that the birth-right, which Esau here sold, was his right to be the heir of his father's substance. If this were true, and he had only sold that, he might indeed be called a foolish and inconsiderate person to make so unwise a bargain; but why profane? It is evident, that this could not be the fact; for when Isaac died, and Esau came from mount Seir, where he lived,[4] to join with Jacob in assisting at his father's funeral, at his going away from his brother, he carried with him not only his wives, his sons, his daughters, his cattle, and all his beasts; but besides these, all *his substance which he had got in the land of Canaan.*[5] Esau had no substance in the land of

[1] Gen. xxv, 24. Isaac was forty years old when he married, and he was sixty when Jacob and Esau were born, ver. 26. [2] Gen. xxv, 33.
[3] Heb. xii, 16. [4] Gen. xxxii, 3. [5] Gen. xxxvi, 6.

Canaan of his own getting; for he lived at Seir in the land of Edom, beyond the borders of Canaan; the substance therefore which was gotten in the land of Canaan, must be the substance of which Isaac died possessed, and which as heir Esau took along with him. Therefore after his birth-right was sold, he was still heir to his father's substance, and as heir had it delivered to him, so that his right to this was not what Jacob had bought of him. Others think that the birth-right was the blessing promised to the seed of Abraham; and the words of the writer of the Epistle the Hebrews seem very much to favour this opinion.[6] *Lest there be any fornicator or profane person as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birth-right; for ye know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.* In these words, not inheriting the blessing seems to be connected with his having sold his birth-right; as if having parted with the one, he could not possibly obtain the other. But I am in great doubt, whether this be the true meaning of these words. Esau himself, when he had sold his birth-right, did not imagine that he had sold his right to the blessing with it; for when his father told him, that his brother had come with subtlety and taken away his blessing,[7] Esau answered, *Is he not rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times; he took away my birth-right, and behold now he hath taken away my blessing.* If Esau had apprehended that the blessing and the birth-right had been inseparable, having sold the one, he would not have expected or pretended to the other; but he makes the getting from him the blessing a second hardship put upon him, distinct from, and independant of the former. St. Paul, I think, represents the case of Esau in loss of the blessing in the same manner;[8] he does not suppose it owing to any thing that Esau had done,[9] but represents it as a design of God, determined before Jacob and Esau were born;[1] and a design determined purely by the good will and pleasure of God, without any view to, or regard of any thing which Jacob or Esau should do.[2] God made the promise at first to Abraham, not to Lot; and afterwards determined, that Abraham's seed should be called in Isaac, not in Ishmael; and in the next generation in Jacob, not in Esau; and afterwards he divided the blessing among the sons of Jacob. The Messiah was to be born of Judah, and each of them in their posterity had a share of the land of Canaan. The author of the book of the Ecclesiasticus sets this matter in the clearest light, by distinguishing the blessing into two parts. He calls one the *blessing of all men*, alluding to the promise made to Abraham, *that in his seed all the*

6 Heb. xii, 16, 17. 7 Gen. xxvii, 35, 36. 8 Rom. ix.
9 Ver. 11. 1 Ibid. 2 Ibid.

nations of the Earth should be blessed; the other he calls the covenant made with him about the land of Canaan; and both these parts of the blessing were given to Isaac, for Abraham's sake. *With Isaac did he establish likewise, for Abraham his father's sake, the blessing of all men, and the covenant,*[3] *and he made it rest upon the head of Jacob.* He gave the whole blessing entire to Jacob also, but afterwards *among the twelve tribes did he part them.*[4] When the blessing came to descend to Jacob's children, it did not go entire according to birth-right, nor to any one person, who had deserved it better than all the rest; but as GOD at first made the promise and covenant to Abraham, not to Lot, and gave the title to it afterwards to Isaac, not to Ishmael, then to Jacob, not to Esau; so in the next generation, he conveyed it entire to no one single person, but divided it, and gave the blessing of all men to Judah, who was Jacob's fourth son, and parted the covenant about Canaan amongst all of them, giving two parts to Joseph in his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh.

There is a passage in the book of Chronicles, which may seem to contradict this account I am endeavouring to give of Jacob's or Esau's birth-right. *The sons of Reuben the first-born of Israel, for he was,* says the historian, *the first-born, but forasmuch as he defiled his father's bed, his birth-right was given unto the sons of Joseph, and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birth-right; for Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the chief ruler, but the birth-right was Joseph's.*[5] In this passage the inspired writer may be thought to hint, that there was a birth-right to be observed in the division of Canaan; and that when GOD ordered the blessing to be parted he had a respect to such birth-right in the division of it, though he did not think fit to give it to a person, who by his demerits had forfeited it; and it may be asked, if Jacob's children had a birth-right in this matter, why should we suppose that Isaac's had not? To this I answer: the passage I have mentioned does not in the least refer to any birth-right, which was esteemed to be such in the days of Jacob and Esau. 1. For if the inheritance of the father's estate was at that time part of the birth-right, yet it is evident, that it was not so in the proportion here mentioned. For not only a double portion particularly belonged to the eldest son in these times, but the whole. *Thus Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac;* but unto the children whom he had by Keturah, his second wife, *he gave gifts and*

[3] Ecclesiasticus xliv, 22, 23.

[4] The words are, διεστειλε μεριδας αυτῳ, εν φυλαις εμερισεν δεκαδυο. *i. e.* He separated the parts of it (*i. e.* of the blessing.) He parted them among the twelve tribes. Abraham is represented in Gen. xii, to have received only a promise of the blessing of all men; but GOD is said to make a covenant with him to give him Canaan, Gen. xv, 18.

[5] 1 Chron. v, 1, 2.

sent them away eastward, while he yet lived, from Isaac his son. If therefore the inheritance of Canaan had been given according to the birth-right in these days, one of Jacob's sons should have had the whole, and all the rest have been sent to live in some other country. 2. The right of the first-born was settled upon another footing by the law of Moses. The priesthood was separated from it, and settled upon the tribe of Levi, and a double portion of the father's estate and substance declared to belong to[6] the first-born. 3. Esau, when he sold his birth-right, did not sell his right of inheritance at his father's death. 4. Jacob had prophesied[7] that Joseph should have one portion of the land of Canaan above his brethren; but does not anywhere hint that any one of his sons should have a birth-right to any one part of it more than the rest. And we may say, that as the whole blessing was made to rest upon the head of Jacob, without Esau's having any part of it; so it might likewise have descended to any one of Jacob's sons, and it could have descended only to one of them, if it had been a birth-right, and had not by the good will and pleasure of God been designed to be parted among the twelve tribes, to every one such a portion of it as God was pleased to appoint, and that part of it which contained *the blessing of all men to Judah* only. For these reasons I conclude, 5. That the author of the book of Chronicles, writing after the law of Moses had altered the priesthood, and appointed two portions of the inheritance to the eldest son, remarks, that Joseph had the birth-right given to him, meaning to refer to what was then called the birth-right; but not to what was the birth-right, in Jacob and Esau's days, which was long prior to, and very different from, this establishment.

The Jews, at the time when the apostles preached the Gospel, seem to have been of opinion, that the whole body of their nation had a birth-right and unalienable title to the blessings of the Messiah. This was *the hope of the promise made by* God *unto* their *fathers, unto which promise* their *twelve tribes instantly serving* God *day and night* hoped *to come.*[8] After the blessing, which had been made to rest upon the head of Jacob, had been parted among the twelve tribes, they apprehended that this was to be the last distribution of it, and that the whole Jewish nation, or twelve tribes jointly as a people, were to enjoy the blessing for ever. But St. Paul endeavours in several places to correct this mistake; and argues very clearly, that the blessing was never appointed to descend according to birth-right or inheritance; for that not the *children of the flesh, but the children of the promise are to be counted for the seed of Abraham,* who have a title to it, *i. e.*

[6] Exod. xxviii; Numb. iii, 6—12; Deut. xxi, 17.
[7] Gen. xlviii, 22. [8] Acts xxvi, 7

not those, who by natural descent may seem to have a right, but those to whom GOD, by special design and promise, had directed it.[9] This he proves by instance from Jacob and Esau, that, when Rebekah had conceived them, *before the children were born, or had done good or evil*, that it might not be said to be owing to any thing they had done, but to the mere determination of GOD's good will and pleasure, it was said unto her, *that the elder* should *serve the younger*.[1] Thus Esau was the son, who by descent might seem to have the right, but Jacob had it by promise. In the same manner, when CHRIST, the promised seed of Abraham, was come, the twelve tribes thought themselves heirs of the blessings to be received from him; but in this they erred, not rightly understanding the promise. He was to be the *blessing of all men*, or according to the words of the promise, in him *all the families of the earth*[2] or *all the nations of the earth* were to be *blessed*.[3] And in order to this, GOD had determined *to call them his people which were not his people, and her beloved which was not beloved*;[4] and to receive the Gentiles into the blessings of the promise. Nor could the Jews justly say, because the greatest part of their nation was rejected, that therefore the promise to Abraham was broken, or had *taken none effect. For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel, neither because they are the seed of Abraham are they all children*.[5] But as Esau received not the blessing, though he was the son of Isaac, so the Jews who fell short through unbelief were rejected, and yet the promise was made good to the sons of Abraham, because a remnant was received,[6] and some of them with the Gentiles made partakers of it. GOD had not promised that all Abraham's sons should be his children; but only such of them as he should think fit to choose. I think, if the whole of what I have offered be duly considered, it will appear that the blessing never was annexed to the birth-right at all; nor did it ever descend as the birth-right did, but was always disposed of, either in the whole or in part, just as it pleased GOD to think fit, according to his own good-will and pleasure. Esau by being eldest son had the birth-right, but he never had any title to the blessing, for before he was born, GOD was pleased to declare that it should belong to Jacob;[7] therefore Esau, in selling his birth-right, does not seem to have parted with any right to the blessing, for they were two different and distinct things. Esau's birth-right therefore must be his right of being priests or sacrificer for his brethren, and he is justly termed profane for selling it, because he hereby showed that he had not a due value and esteem for a religious employment, which belonged to him.

[9] Rom. ix, 8.
[1] Ibid. ix, 12.
[2] Gen. xii, 3; xviii, 18.
[3] Ibid. xxii, 18; xxvi, 4.
[4] Rom. ix, 25.
[5] Ver. 6, 7.
[6] Ver. 27.
[7] Gen. xxv, 23; Rom. ix, 11, 12.

There was a famine about this time in the land of Canaan, where Isaac sojourned, on account of which he removed as his father had done, and went into the land of the Philistines, and lived at Gerar.[8] Here he denied his wife, pretending she was his sister, as Abraham did formerly; but the king of the country accidentally seeing some familiarities pass between them, sharply reproved him; apprised his subjects that she was his wife, and declared that he would punish any man with death, who should offer violence to either of them. Isaac continued for some years in the land of the Philistines, sowing some fields, and reaping prodigious crops from his tillage. He was very prosperous in all his undertakings, and increased his stock and grew very great, until the Philistines envied him, and applied to the king to have him banished their land. Abimelech hereupon ordered Isaac to go from them; for, said he, *thou art much mightier than we.*[9] Abimelech could not mean by these words, that Isaac was really more potent than the whole Philistine people; for we cannot imagine that possible. He might have as large a family, and as numerous an attendance as the king of Philistia himself had, and might therefore, if he had a mind, have been able to disturb his government. But the words of Abimelech above mentioned do not suggest even this to us; for our English translation of this passage is very faulty, the Hebrew words are *cignatzampta mimmenu*, not *because thou art mightier than we*, but *because thou art increased or multiplied from or by us*, thou hast got a great deal from us, or by us, and we do not care to let thee get any more. The case was, not that the Philistines feared him, but they envied him;[1] they grudged that he should get so much amongst them, and were therefore desirous to check him. Abimelech ordered Isaac to leave Gerar; upon which he departed, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.[2] After Isaac was removed from Gerar, the Philistines thought him too well accommodated whilst he lived in the valley, and their envy and malice still pursued him. The herdsmen of Gerar quarrelled with Isaac's herdsmen, took away their wells, and put them to many inconveniences; so that Isaac, quite tired with their repeated insults, removed farther from them, and went and lived in the most remote parts of their country towards Egypt, at Beersheba;[3] where he hoped to find a place of peace and quiet. He built an altar, and implored the divine favour and protection; and had the comfort to be assured, that he and his should be defended from all future evils. Soon after he was settled here, Abimelech, sensible of the ill usage he had met with from his people, and reflecting upon the extraordinary manner in which God had blessed him, and considering that

[8] Gen. xxvi, 16.
[9] Gen. xxvi, ver. 16.
[1] Ver. 14.
[2] Ver. 17.
[3] Gen. xxvi, 23.

perhaps in time he might revenge the injuries they had done him, came with his officers, and made an alliance with him.[4] Esau was about forty years old, and had married two Hittite women, very much to the affliction of his parents.[5] The Hittites bordered upon the Philistines near to Gerar, so that Esau most probably married whilst his father sojourned there. Esau was forty years old, A. M. 2208, and therefore about that time Isaac lived at Gerar.

About nineteen years after this died Syphis, the first of that name, a very famous king of Egypt. He was the tenth king of Memphis, after Menes or Mizraim, according to Sir John Marsham's Tables, who supposes him to begin his reign about two hundred and twenty-two years after the death of Mizraim, who died, according to what I have formerly offered, A. M. 1943,[6] and therefore Syphis began his reign A. M. 2164. Syphis, according to Sir John Marsham from Manetho, reigned sixty-three years, and therefore died A. M. 2227; and upon this computation I have supposed that Syphis began his reign about eighty years after Abraham's coming into Egypt, and died about forty years after Abraham,[7] for Abraham came into Egypt A. M. 2085 or 2086,[8] and died A. M. 2183.[9] Syphis was the first of the Egyptians who speculated upon religious subjects.[1] According to Damascenus in Eusebius, Abraham and the Egyptian priests had many disputes and conferences about religion.[2] It may be asked, what disputes could they have upon this subject, if the Egyptians were not at this time become idolaters, as I apprehend they were not?[3] To this I answer: the religion of Abraham, as it differed from that of Noah and his descendants in some points, which depended upon special revelations made to Abraham, must lay a foundation for his having conferences and disputes with the professors of religion in all countries into which he travelled. They knew nothing of the promise made to him, *that in his seed all the nations of the Earth should be blessed;* nor were they apprised, that they ought to worship him whom Abraham worshipped, namely, *the* LORD *who appeared to him.*[4] Agreeably to this we find an expression in the account we have of the worship of Abraham and his descendants, which we do not meet with any where in the worship of Lot, of Job, or of any other person, who had not received those revelations which had been made to Abraham and to his children; *Jikra be Shem Jehovah*, not *called upon the name of the* LORD, as we falsely translate the place,[5] but *invoked*, i. e. GOD, in the name of the LORD, whom he worshipped, and who appeared to him. Now this person I take to be the GOD to

[4] Ver. 26—30. [5] Ver. 34, 35. [6] Vol. i, book iv.
[7] Vol. i, book v. [8] Ib. ibid. [9] See book vi.
[1] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 54.
[2] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 17. [3] Vol. i, book v.
[4] Gen. xii, 7. [5] Ver. 8, as rendered in our English version.

whom Jacob prayed,[6] and whom he resolved to worship when he vowed that the LORD should be his GOD; by which expression may be meant, not that the true GOD should be his GOD in opposition to false gods, for that had been no very remarkable resolution, no wise man ever worshipping false gods, who really knows them to be such; but the LORD, who appeared to Abraham, was to be his GOD, in distinction from those who worshipped the true GOD of Heaven without any notion of this LORD at all. In the same manner we find, that this person was worshipped by Isaac; and he is sometimes called the fear of Isaac, and sometimes the GOD of Abraham and GOD of Isaac;[7] and Isaac invoked GOD as Abraham did, in the name of this LORD.[8] The several expressions, denoting the worship which different persons paid the Deity, are very remarkable in the Old Testament. Many persons are said *Kara Jehovah*, to invoke GOD, or *Kara el Jehovah*, to cry unto GOD; or their worship is described in expressions of much the same import; but *Kara be Shem Jehovah*[9] is never used in a religious sense, but of Abraham and his descendants, who invoked in the name of the true Mediator. This was the difference between their religion and that of the rest of mankind. Other nations, before idolatry was introduced, worshipped the true GOD, but not *be Shem Jehovah*, in the name of the LORD, who had appeared to Abraham. Now this I take to be the point, which Abraham disputed with the Egyptian priests, whether GOD was to be worshipped as they worshipped him, or whether he was to be invoked in the name of Abraham's GOD and LORD. Damascenus remarks,[1] that the Egyptians admired Abraham as a very great genius, able to convince and persuade men into his opinions; and we find from Scripture, that the eminence both of Abraham and his descendants made great impressions upon all nations with whom they conversed. The king of Salem acknowledged Abraham to be an eminent servant of the Most High God;[2] Abimelech was convinced, that GOD was with him in all he did;[3] and the same confession was made respecting Isaac in the same country;[4] and Abraham's conversation raised him a great character and reputation in Egypt; for after he was gone from thence, the Egyptians copied after him in the point of circumcision, and introduced human sacrifices, and imitated many rites, which they heard that he practised in his religion; but it does not appear, that he entirely persuaded them to acknowledge his GOD to be their GOD. Syphis, a king of the

[6] Gen. xxviii, 21.
[7] Gen. xxxi, 42, 53, et in al. loc.
[8] Gen. xxvi, 25.
[9] The expression *Kara be Shem* is used Gen. iv; but from the persons there spoken of being called by the name of the sons of God, Gen. vi, I imagine the words in that place signify *to call by the name*. See vol. i, book i.
[1] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix, c. 17.
[2] Gen. xiv, 19.
[3] Gen. xxi, 22.
[4] Gen. xxvi, 28.

next adjacent country to that in which Abraham had sojourned, in a little time turned their thoughts quite another way. He took up the subjects for which Abraham had been famous, and wrote a book about religion, which carried away his own people and the neighbouring nations into idolatry.[5] And probably he did not oppose the doctrine of Abraham, that GOD was to be invoked in the name of a mediator, but he set up false mediators instead of the true one; for I conclude from the manner of the worshipping Baal in Elijah's time,[6] that men did not at first wander away from the true GOD, but they set up lords many, or false mediators, in whose names they worshipped; and in time they went farther, and lost all notion of the true GOD. Syphis, instead of teaching to invoke GOD in the name of the LORD, who appeared to Abraham, set up the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, and taught the Egyptians to invoke in their names; so that they had not one GOD and one LORD, which was the ancient true religion, but one GOD and lords many, and in time they had gods many too. Baal was a false lord of this sort, and the worshippers of Baal invoked in his name. Elijah called upon the GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel,[7] invoking GOD in or by his name.[8] The worshippers of Baal, in opposition to him, invoked in the name of Baal, (*Jikreau be Shem ha Baal;*) they called or invoked, not *upon the name*, for the words are not to be so translated, but *by* or *in the name of Baal.* If Syphis was the builder of the largest Egyptian pyramid, which, according to the accounts we have of it, is so large at the bottom as to cover above eleven acres of ground, and five hundred feet high, and Manetho expressly says[9] that he built it, he must have been a prince of great figure in the age he lived in; and no wonder if his own and the neighbouring nations embraced his religious institutions.

About the time of this Syphis, or rather something later, lived Job the Arabian. The LXX, in their translation, say that he lived in all two hundred and forty, or two hundred and forty-eight years.[1] If he really lived so long, we ought to suppose him earlier than Syphis; nay, much earlier than Abraham, for the lives of mankind were so much shortened before the days of Abraham, that though he lived but one hundred and seventy-five years,[2] yet he is said to have died in a good old age, an old man and full of years.[3] Peleg, who was five generations before Abraham, lived two hundred and thirty-nine years.[4] Reu the son of Peleg lived as many.[5] Serug the son of Reu lived two hundred and thirty:[6] but the lives of their descendants were not so long. Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham, lived but one hundred and forty-

[5] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 54. [6] 1 Kings xviii. [7] 1 Kings xviii, 36.
[8] Ver. 24, and 32. [9] Euseb. Chron. log. πρωτ. p. 14.
[1] See cap. ult. lib. Job. Vers. LXX, ver. 16. [2] Gen. xxv, 7.
[3] Ver. 8. [4] Chap. xi, 18, 19. [5] Ver. 20, 21. [6] Ver. 22, 23.

eight years.[7] Terah, Abraham's father, lived two hundred and five.[8] Abraham lived one hundred and seventy-five, Isaac lived one hundred and eighty,[9] and the lives of their children were shorter. If therefore Job lived two hundred and forty or two hundred and forty-eight years, he must have been contemporary with Peleg, Reu, or Serug, for men's lives were not extended to so great a length after their days. The LXX have some remarkable additions to the book of Job, which are not found in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, or Arabic copies; and this account of the length of Job's life is one of them; but this is in nowise reconcilcable with what follows, and is said to have been translated from the Syriac version, namely, that Job's original name was Jobab; that his father's name was Zare, of the children of Esau; that he was the fifth in descent from Abraham; that he was the second king of Edom, next after Bela the son of Beor. This account will place Job even later than Moses; for Bela, the first king of Edom, was Moses's contemporary; and if we place him thus late, he could not live two hundred and forty years. Men lived in Moses's time about one hundred and thirty; but this account is not consistent with itself, for if Job was the fifth in descent from Abraham, he must be prior to Moses, Moses being seven descents later than Abraham.[1] These additions, which we now find in the last chapter of the LXX version of the book of Job, will therefore so ill bear a strict examination, that I cannot think the translators themselves did at first put them there, but rather that they were the work of some later hand, added by some transcriber, who thought Jobab (mentioned Gen. xxxvi, 33) and Job to be the same person. There are some circumstances in the history of Job, which may lead us to guess pretty well at the time when he lived. 1. He lived above one hundred and eighty years, for he lived one hundred and forty years after his afflictions,[2] and he must be more than forty at the beginning of them; for he had seven sons and three daughters, and all his children seem to have been grown up before the beginning of his misfortunes;[3] he must therefore have lived to be near two hundred years old. 2. The idolatry practised in the countries where he lived, in his days, was the worship of the host of Heaven.[4] 3. The presents usual in Job's days were earrings of gold, and pieces of money called *Keshitah*.[5] Now from these circumstances it seems most probable, 1. That he could not be much later than the time of Isaac; for if he had, his life would not have been so long as it appears to have been. 2. He must have been something younger than Syphis, for Syphis

[7] Ver. 24, 25. [8] Ver. 32. [9] Chap. xxxv, 28.

[1] Moses was in the third generation from Levi, 1 Chron. vi, 1, 2, 3. Levi was son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham.

[2] Job xlii, 16. [3] Job i, 2—4. [4] Chap. xxxi, 26, 27.

[5] Chap. xlii, 11.

first[6] instituted the worship of the host of Heaven in Egypt, which idolatry spread thence into, and began to flourish in Arabia in Job's time. 3. Earrings of gold were in Abraham's days,[7] and they were part of the women's dress in the days of Jacob;[8] but the piece of money called *Keshitah* seems not to have been in use until after Abraham. When Abraham bought the field of Ephron, he paid the price in silver, not by number of pieces but by weight;[9] but when Jacob bought a parcel of a field of the children of Hamor, he paid for it not by weight, but gave a hundred *Keshitahs*,[1] or pieces of money for it; so that the *Keshitah*, or piece of money, which Job's friends gave him, was not in use in Abraham's time, but in Jacob's; therefore Job was not so ancient as Abraham, though the length of his life will not permit us to suppose him altogether so young as Jacob. Job's friends who visited him were Eliphaz *ha-Temani*, perhaps the son of Tema; now Tema was the son of Ishmael;[2] and Bildad *ha-Shuachi*, i. e. the son of Shuach; now Shuach was the son of Abraham by Keturah;[3] and Zophar *ha-Naamathi;* and Elihu the son of Barachel *ha-Buzi* conversed with them.[4] Now Buz was the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother;[5] Barachel might be his son or grandson, and Elihu his son be contemporary with Isaac; for Nahor being born when his father Terah was little more than seventy, must have been above fifty years older than Abraham, and agreeably hereto Abraham's son Isaac married Nahor's grand-daughter.[6] Thus all the persons conversant with Job may reasonably be supposed to have lived about Isaac's time, and therefore we need not upon account of their names place Job later. Some learned writers are very positive that Job lived about the time of Moses: Grotius was of this opinion: others place him a generation later than Esau, supposing that Eliphaz the Temanite, who was one of his friends, had been Eliphaz the son of Esau and father of Teman; but I think, that the length of Job's life is an unanswerable objection against supposing him to be thus late. Job lived in the land of Uz,[7] which country, according to the prophet Jeremiah, was adjacent to the land of Edom.[8] The Sabeans robbed Job,[9] and the Sabeans lived at the entrance of Arabia Felix.[1] The Chaldeans also formed three bands, and fell upon his camels and carried them away:[2] the Chaldeans were at first a wandering people, inhabitants of the wilderness, until Ashur built them a city;[3] then they lived at Ur in Mesopotamia, for they expelled Abraham their land;[4] but it is most probable, that, like the ancient Scythians, they wandered often

[6] See vol. i, book v.
[9] Chap. xxiii, 16.
[3] Ver. 2.
[6] Chap. xxiv, 24.
[9] Job i, 15.
[3] Isaiah xxiii, 13.
[7] Gen. xxiv, 22.
[1] Chap. xxxiii, 19.
[4] Job xxxii, 2.
[7] Job i, 1.
[1] See vol. i, book iii.
[4] Judith v, 8.
[8] Chap. xxxv, 4.
[2] Gen. xxv, 15.
[5] Gen. xxii, 21.
[8] Lam. iv, 21.
[2] Job i, 17.

from their country in bands for the sake of robbing, many generations after their first settlement, this being no unusual practice in the early times; and three companies of them might make an expedition and fall upon Job's cattle; so that we need not suppose that Job lived very near to Ur of the Chaldees, though he was robbed by these men. If we suppose that his land was adjacent to Edom, as Jeremiah hints, he was nigh enough to both Sabeans and Chaldeans to suffer from each of them. Some writers have imagined, that there never was any such person as Job, and that his history is only an instructive fable; but nothing can be more wild than this opinion, which has no colour of argument to support it. The prophet Ezekiel supposes Job to have been as real a person as either Noah or Daniel;[5] and St. James mentions him as having been a true example of patience.[6] We may at this rate raise doubts about any ancient fact in history.

About the hundredth year of Isaac's life, there happened a very remarkable accident in his family; Isaac and Rebekah seem to have had a very different opinion concerning their two sons Jacob and Esau. Isaac was a very good man; but he did not form a true judgment of his children. He was remarkably fond of Esau more than he was of Jacob;[7] but his affection was but poorly grounded, *he loved Esau because he did eat of his venison, but Rebekah loved Jacob.* And it is remarkable, that before she placed her affection upon either of them, she inquired of God concerning them; and received for answer that the younger should be distinguished by the blessings of Heaven;[8] which she treasured up in her mind, and her opinion of them was according to it. From the time when God made the covenant with Abraham, and promised the extraordinary blessings to his seed, which have been before mentioned, it was requisite for the father of each family, some time before he died, to call his children together, and inform them, according to the knowledge which it pleased God to give him, how and in what manner the blessing of Abraham was to descend amongst them. Abraham had no occasion to do this; for God having determined and declared that in Isaac his seed should be called,[9] none of Abraham's other children could have any pretence to expect the particular blessings which God had promised to the seed of Abraham. Isaac had two sons, either of whom might be designed by God to be the heir of the promise; and being now in the decline of life, *for he was old, and his eyes were dim that he could not see*, and not knowing how soon he might be taken from them, he was willing to determine this point, by blessing them before he died.[1] If we compare this passage with that where Jacob afterwards called his children together, we

[5] Ezek. xiv, 14—16. [6] James v, 11. [7] Gen. xxv, 27, 28.
[8] Ver. 23. [9] Gen. xvii, 19—21. [1] Chap. xxvii, 1.

may observe a remarkable difference between them. Jacob called his sons, and said, *Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you what shall befall you in the last days*, or rather, as it should be translated, in the times to come, or in the days of your posterity.[2] God had given Jacob a prophetic view of his intended dispensations to his descendants and their children, and he called his sons together to relate to them what God had thus revealed to him. But Isaac, in the passage before us, seems to have called Esau, without having received any particular revelation about him; nay it is evident he had received none; for he designed to tell him what God never intended should belong to him. Isaac called Esau, and not Jacob, because he loved him more than he loved Jacob; and he loved him more, because Esau gat him venison; but Jacob's course of life lay another way. Rebekah saw the low springs of her husband's affection to his children, and that he was going to promise the blessing of Abraham, where his affection led him to wish it, and not where, by having made inquiry, she knew that God designed to bestow it. Hereupon she resolved, if possible,[3] to prevent him; and therefore sent for Jacob, and proposed to him a scheme for his obtaining the blessing which his father designed to give Esau. Jacob was at first in great perplexity about it; was afraid his father should find out the deceit, and instead of blessing him be provoked to curse him for endeavouring to impose upon him. But Rebekah was so well assured, that God designed to bless Jacob, and that her whole crime in this attempt was only an endeavour to deceive Isaac into an action, of which he ought to have duly informed himself, and to have done designedly, that she took the curse wholly upon herself, and persuaded Jacob to come into her measures. One thing is here remarkable, that when the artifice had succeeded, and Jacob was blessed, Isaac let it go, nay he confirmed the blessing; yea (says he) and he shall be blessed. We do not find that he was either displeased with his wife, or angry with Jacob for imposing upon him; but though he had before appeared full of fears and cares lest Esau should be defeated;[4] yet now he expressed himself fully satisfied with what he had done. I cannot but think that it pleased God at this time to open his understanding, and convince him that he had given the blessing to the right person. Before this time he said nothing but what any uninspired person might have said.[5] He wished his son *of the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the Earth, and plenty of corn and wine;* adding such other circumstances of prosperity as his affection dictated; but saying nothing that can intimate that he had any particular view of any thing which was to happen to him; but now he began to speak with

[2] Chap. xlix, 1.
[3] Gen. xxvii.
[4] Gen. xxvii, 18, 21, 24.
[5] Ver. 27—29.

a better sense of things. He still wished Esau all possible happiness, *the fatness of the Earth and the dew of Heaven;*[6] but he knew, that the particular blessings promised to Abraham and his seed did not belong to him. He could now enter into his future life, and tell the circumstances of his posterity, and relate what should happen in after days; describe how he and his descendants should live; acquaint him, that his brother's children should indeed be their governors; but that there should come a time, when his children should get the dominion, and break his brother's yoke from off their neck.[7] This particular was not accomplished until almost nine hundred years after this prediction; for this prophecy was fulfilled, when the land of Edom, peopled by the children of Esau, who had been brought into subjection to the seed of Jacob by king David,[8] revolted in the days of Jehoram,[9] and set up a king of their own, and brake the yoke of Jacob off their neck; being never after that time subject to any of the kings of Judah.[1]

Esau was exceedingly provoked at his brother's thus obtaining the blessing from him, and determined, as soon as his father should be dead, to kill him.[2] Rebekah heard of his intentions, and thought the most likely way to prevent mischief would be to send Jacob out of the way. She applied therefore to Isaac, mentioned to him the misfortune of Esau's marriages, and the comfort they might have of Jacob, if he would take care to dispose of himself better. Isaac therefore sent for Jacob, and charged him not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan; but ordered him to go into Mesopotamia, and inquire for the family of Bethuel his mother's father, and get one of Laban's daughters for a wife, and if he did so, GOD would certainly bless him,[3] and give him the blessing of Abraham and the land of Canaan to his posterity. Jacob did as his father had directed him, and set out for Mesopotamia. He was at first a little cast down at the length of the way, and the hazard of success in his journey; and when at night he went to sleep, with a head and heart full of cares, the GOD of Abraham and of Isaac[4] appeared to him in a dream, and assured him, that he would preserve and protect him in his journey, and bring him safe back into Canaan again; that he would make him happy in a numerous progeny, and in time multiply them exceedingly, and give them the land for an inheritance which he had promised to Abraham; and moreover, that in him, i. e. *in his seed all the families of the Earth should be blessed.* Thus at this time GOD expressly

6 Ver. 39. 7 Ver. 40. 8 2 Sam. viii, 14.
9 2 Kings viii, 20—22.
1 See Archbishop Usher's Annals; Prideaux Connect. vol. i, p. 6.
2 Gen. xxvii, 41.
3 Chap. xxviii, the Hebrew words, ver. 3, are, GOD *Almighty will bless thee*, &c.
4 Gen. xxviii, 13.

promised to him that particular blessing of Abraham, with the covenanted mercies belonging to it, which Isaac had before given him reason to hope for. Jacob was surprised at this extraordinary vision, and took the stones upon which he had laid his head, and reared them up into a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and made a vow, that if the GOD who thus appeared to him should bless and preserve him, protect him in his journey, and bring him back in safety, then *the* LORD *should be his* GOD,[5] and that he would worship him in the place where he had now erected the pillar; and that he would dedicate to his service the tenth of all the substance he should have.

Jacob pursued his journey, and came to Haran in Mesopotamia, where he found Laban and his relations, by whom he was received and welcomed with great joy.[6] But as he was not the only son of his father, nor the elder son, nor the heir of his father's substance; so he did not pretend to expect a wife in so pompous a way as his father had formerly done.[7] Laban had two daughters, Leah and Rachel: Jacob fancied the younger, and proposed to his uncle Laban, that he would stay with him seven years as his servant to take care of his flocks if he would give him Rachel to wife. To this proposal Laban agreed, but at the end of the seven years deceived him, and married him, not to Rachel, but to Leah. Jacob expressing some dissatisfaction at it, Laban told him, that he could not break through the custom of the country, by marrying his younger daughter before his elder; but that if he desired it, he would give him Rachel too, and he would serve him seven years more for her, after he had married her. To this Jacob agreed, and when the week was over for the celebration of Leah's nuptials, he married Rachel, and continued with Laban, and kept his flocks for seven years more. At the expiration of these seven years, Jacob had a family of twelve children; he had six sons and a daughter by Leah;[8] two sons by Zilpah, Leah's maid;[9] a son by Rachel;[1] and two sons by Bilhah, Rachel's maid.[2] He now began to think it time to get into a way of making some provision for them, and therefore desired Laban to dismiss him, and to let him return to his father with his wives and children.[3] Laban had found by experience, that his substance prospered under Jacob's care, and was loth to part with him; and therefore agreed with him to stay upon such terms,[4] that Jacob in a few years grew rich under him, and was master of very considerable flocks of his own. Laban by degrees grew uneasy at seeing him increase so fast, so that Jacob perceived that his countenance was not towards

[5] Ver. 21. See above p. 115, 116.
[6] Gen. xxix.
[7] Chap. xxiv
[8] Chap. xxix, 32—35; xxx, 17, 19, 21.
[9] Chap. xxx, 9, 12.
[1] Ver. 23.
[2] Ver. 4, 7.
[3] Gen. xxx, 25, 26.
[4] Ver. 28—43.

him as before, that he was not so much in his favour as he used to be, and hereupon resolves to leave him.

There is a very obvious remark to be made upon Jacob's bargain with Laban, when he agreed to stay with him, and upon his behaviour consequent upon it. He bargained with Laban to serve him, upon condition that he might take for wages all the speckled and spotted cattle, and this with an air of integrity, to prevent mistakes about his hire;[5] *so shall my righteousness*, says he, *answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face.* Jacob seemed desirous to make a clear and express bargain, about which they might have no disputes. If they had agreed for a particular number of cattle every year, there might have been room for cavil and suspicion. If any of the flock had by accident been lost, they might have differed, whether Jacob's or Laban's were the lost cattle; but to prevent all possible disputes, let me, says Jacob, have all the speckled and spotted cattle, and then whenever you shall have a mind to look into my stock, my integrity will at first sight come before your face, or be conspicuous; for you will immediately see whether I have any cattle besides what belong to me. Yet we find, that after all this seeming fairness, Jacob very artfully over-reached Laban, by using means to have the best cattle always bring forth such as he was to take; and he so ordered it, as to get away all the best of the cattle, so that the feebler only were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's.[6] This artifice may seem to argue that he was a man of very little honesty; but to this it may be answered: 1. Though Aristotle and Pliny, and several other writers, who are commonly cited by the remarkers upon this fact, and who all lived many ages later than Jacob, have been of opinion, that impressions made upon the imagination of the dam at the time of conception, may have a great effect upon the form, shape, and colour of the young; and though it may hence be inferred, that such a method as Jacob took might possibly produce the effect, which it had upon Laban's cattle; yet I cannot think that Jacob himself knew any thing of it. Men had not thus early inquired far into the powers of nature; philosophy was as yet very low and vulgar; and observations of this sort were not thought of, or sought after. Religion and the worship of God was in these days the wisdom of the world; and simplicity of manners and integrity of life were more studied, than curious and philosophical inquiries. If study and philosophy had helped men to these arts, how came Laban and his sons to know so very little? They surely must have apprehended, that Jacob might by art variegate the cattle as he pleased, and would not have made so weak a bargain with him; but they certainly had no notion that any such thing could be done;

[5] Ver. 31—33. [6] Gen. xxx, 42.

nor had Jacob any thought of it, when he bargained with Laban. He chose the speckled cattle only to put an end to all cavals about his wages, not doubting but GOD would so order it, that he should have enough, and being determined to be contented with what GOD's providence should think fit to give him. It will here be asked, how came Jacob to make use of the pilled rods, if he did not think this an artful way to cause the cattle to bring forth ring-streaked, speckled, and spotted young ones? To this I answer, 2. We read, that the angel of GOD spake unto him about this matter.[7] GOD saw the injustice of Laban's dealings with him, and the honesty and fidelity of Jacob in his service; therefore he determined to reward Jacob, and punish Laban. We are told, that GOD revealed to Jacob in a dream, that the cattle should be thus spotted; and very probably in the same dream GOD ordered him to make use of pilled rods in the manner he used them; and assured him, that if he did so, the favour which he had promised of increasing his wages should follow. We have frequent instances in Scripture, of GOD's appointing persons to perform some actions in order to receive his blessing; and that in one of these two ways: sometimes they are directed to do some action, upon which they should receive some sign or token, that what was promised them should be performed: thus Abraham was to take a heifer of three years old, and a she goat, and a ram, and a turtle dove, and a young pigeon, and to lay them in order for a sacrifice, and then he was to receive an assurance, that he should inherit Canaan.[8] At other times they are commanded to perform some action, which might testify their believing in GOD, and depending upon his promise; and upon doing such action the favour promised was to follow. Thus Naaman the Syrian, when he came to beg of GOD a cure of his leprosy, was directed to wash seven times in Jordan;[9] his washing in Jordan was to be an evidence of his believing that GOD would heal him, and upon giving this evidence of his belief he was to be cured. Now this was the

[7] Here seems to be a defect of two or three verses in our present copies of the Bible. Jacob tells his wives (Gen. xxxi, 11,) that the angel of the LORD had spoken to him in a dream, upon Laban's ill usage; but we have no account of any angel's speaking to him in chap. xxxi, before his using the pilled rods, in any of our copies: but the Samaritan version gives us very great reason to think that there was originally a full account of this matter. After ver. 36, of chap. xxxi, the Samaritan version inserts as follows: *And the angel of the* LORD *called unto Jacob in a dream, and said, Jacob; and he answered, Here am I. And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, behold the rams leaping upon the cattle ring-streaked, speckled, and grisled, for I have seen all that Laban hath done to thee. I am the* GOD *of Bethel, to whom thou anointedst a pillar there, and to whom thou vowedst a vow there; but do thou arise now, and go out of this land, and return into the land of thy father, and I will bless thee.*—then follows; *And Jacob took green poplar rods, &c.* The early transcribers, through whose hands we have received our present copies of the Bible, may have dropped some such passage as this, which very fully answers to what Jacob afterwards told his wives.

[8] Gen. xv, 9. [9] 2 Kings v, 10.

case of Jacob here before us: God had told him, that he had seen all that Laban had done to him, but that he would take care that he should not hurt him, and that he designed to turn all Laban's contrivances to defraud him of his wages so much to his advantage, as that they should tend to the increase of his prosperity; and then God commanded him, in token of his belief and dependence upon him, to take the pilled rods, and use them as he directed. Jacob believed, and did as he was commanded; no more thinking, that the pilling white streaks in green boughs, and laying them in the troughs where the flocks were to drink, was a natural way to cause them to bring forth speckled and ring-streaked cattle, than Naaman did that washing in a river was a cure for the leprosy; but in both cases, the favour expected depending upon the special providence of God, the particular directions of God were to be performed in order to obtain it. But, 3. I do not think it can be proved, that the method which Jacob used is a natural and effectual way of causing cattle to bring forth speckled and ring-streaked young. As almost all the conjectures of the ancient heathen writers upon the powers of nature had their first rise from some hints or facts in the Hebrew writings, so, perhaps, what is offered by Aristotle, and other ancient writers, about the effects which impressions made upon the imagination of the dam may have upon their young, might be first occasioned by this fact thus recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures, or by some remarks of ancient writers made from it; but it is observable, that the ancient naturalists carried their thoughts upon these subjects much farther than they would bear; and we, who live in an age of far better philosophy, do not find, that we know so much as Aristotle thought he did upon these subjects. The effects of impressions upon the imagination must be very accidental, because the objects which should cause them may or may not be taken notice of, as any one would find, who should try Jacob's pilled rods to variegate his cattle with. The waters of Jordan may cure a leprosy, or Jacob's pilled rods produce spotted cattle; either of these means may have the desired effect, if a particular providence directs them, but without such providence neither of these means may have any effect at all. I might add farther, 4. If we should allow that the pilled rods, as Jacob used them, might naturally produce the effect upon Laban's cattle which followed, yet since, as I before hinted, we have no reason to think Jacob remarkably learned beyond Laban and all his children, for it is not probable that he alone should know this grand secret, and all other persons have not the least suspicion of it; we can at most only suppose that God directed him to what he did in this matter. In Hezekiah's sickness,[1] the prophet directed an application of figs, in order to his recovery, and Hezekiah re-

[1] Isaiah xxxviii, 21.

covered upon the application of them, but since this application was made not by any rules of physic then known, but by a divine direction, we must ascribe the cure immediately to GOD himself, even though it may possibly be argued, that figs were a proper medicine for Hezekiah's distemper. They were not then known or thought to be so, and therefore human skill or prescription had no part in the cure. Thus in Jacob's case, if it can be supposed that pilled rods may be naturally a means to variegate young cattle, yet unless we can think he knew that the use of them would naturally have this effect, and that he used them, not in obedience to a special direction from GOD, but merely as an art to get Laban's cattle, we cannot lay any blame upon him; it cannot, I think, be supposed that Jacob had any such knowledge. GOD Almighty determined to punish Laban for his injustice, and reward Jacob for his fidelity; therefore he revealed to Jacob the manner in which he designed to bless him, and ordered him to do an action as a token that he embraced GOD's promise, and expected the performance of it. Jacob faithfully observed the orders which were given him, and GOD blessed him according to his promise. Now there is no reason for us to think, that Jacob knew of or used any art to over-reach Laban and get away his cattle; but the true conclusion is what Jacob himself expressed in his speech to his wives: *Ye know, that with all my power I have served your father; and your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me. If he said thus, the speckled shall be thy wages, then all the cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus, the ring-straked shall be thy hire, then bare all the cattle ring-straked. Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and given them unto me.*[2]

Jacob, finding Laban and his sons every day more and more indisposed towards him, took an opportunity, and contrived matters with his wives, and separated his own from his father-in-law's cattle, and retiring in a private manner, passed over Euphrates and made towards mount Gilead.[3] He was gone three days before Laban heard of it, who, when it was told him, gathered his family together and pursued him for seven days, and overtook him at Gilead. From Haran to mount Gilead must be above two hundred and fifty miles; so that Jacob made haste to travel thither in ten days, going about twenty-five miles each day; and Laban's pursuit of him was very eager, for he marched about thirty-seven miles a day for seven days together; but he was resolved to overtake him. When he came up with him, he purposed in his heart to revenge himself upon him; but here GOD was pleased to interpose, and warn Laban not to offer Jacob any evil.[4] Hereupon, when he came up to him, he only expostulated with him his

[2] Gen. xxxi, 6—9. [3] Ver. 17. [4] Gen. xxxi, 24.

manner of leaving him, and complained that he had stolen his teraphim, which Rachel, fond of the memory of her ancestors, had, without Jacob's knowledge, taken away with her;[5] but, upon Jacob's offering all his company to be searched, Laban, not being able to find where Rachel had hid them, they grew friends, made a solemn engagement with each other, and then parted. Laban returned home, and Jacob went on towards the place where he had left his father.

Jacob was now returning into Canaan in great prosperity; he was a few years before very low in the world, but now he had wives, children, and servants, and a substance abundantly sufficient to maintain them. When he went over Jordan to go to Haran, his staff or walking stick was all his substance; but when he came to repass it, in order to return into Canaan, he found himself master of so large a family as to make up two bands or companies;[6] and all this increase so justly acquired, that he could with an assured heart look up to God, and acknowledge his having truly blessed him,[7] according to the promise which he had made.

After Jacob had parted from Laban, he began to think of the danger which might befal him at his return home. The displeasure of his brother Esau came fresh into his mind, and he was sensible he could have no security if he did not make his peace with him. Esau, when Jacob went to Haran, observing how strictly his father charged him not to marry a Canaanite, began to be dissatisfied with his own marriages;[8] therefore he went to Ishmael, and married one of his daughters, and went and lived in mount Seir in the land of Edom. Jacob finding by inquiry that he was settled here, thought it necessary to send to him in order to appease him, that he might be secure of living without molestation from him.

Some writers have questioned why, or how Jacob should send this message to his brother. Jacob was in Gilead, and Esau in mount Seir, one hundred and twenty miles at least distant from one another. Jacob went down Gilead to the brook Jabbok;[9] from whence his way lay over Jordan into Canaan, without coming any nearer to Esau; why therefore should he send to him? or having lived so long at such a distance, how should he know where he was settled, or what was become of him? These objections have been thought considerable by some very good writers; and Adrichomius conceived it necessary to describe Seir in a different situation from that in which the common maps of Canaan place it. He imagined, that there were two distinct countries called by the name of the land of Edom, and in each of them a mountain called

[5] Ver. 30; see vol. i, book v.
[6] Gen. xxxii, 10.
[7] Chap. xxxi, 9, and xxxii, 12.
[8] Chap. xxviii, 6—9.
[9] Chap. xxxii, 22.

Seir; and that one of them, namely that in which Esau lived at this time lay near mount Gilead; and Brocard and Torniellus[1] are said to have been of the same opinion. They say, the children of Esau removed hence in time into the other Edom or Idumea, when they grew strong enough to expel the Horites out of it;[2] but that they did not live in this Edom, which was the land of the Horites in Jacob's days. But as there are no accounts of Canaan which can favour this opinion, I cannot see how this situation of Edom can be admitted. They make and invent names and places, known to no writers but themselves; and so create real difficulties in geography, to solve imaginary ones in history. The Horites were indeed the first inhabitants of Seir, and the land of Edom, and were in possession of it in Esau's days; for he married one of their daughters, namely, Aholibamah the granddaughter of Zibeon,[3] and daughter of Anah; and this Zibeon was the son of Seir the Horite,[4] and Anah was Seir's grandson,[5] and both of them were in their turns dukes or princes in the land.[6] Esau therefore lived and married in this country; for here only we find the persons, whose daughter he took to wife; and he lived here a sojourner in the kingdoms of other men, until after some generations GOD gave this country to his children, who destroyed the Horites, and took possession of their country, as Israel did of the land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto them.[7] As to mount Seir's being very distant from Gilead, where Jacob stopped, and sent messengers to Esau, it is certain it was so; so far distant, that after Jacob and Esau had met, Jacob represented it as too long a journey for his children to take, or his cattle to be driven, but by easy advances.[8] It is easy to say, how Jacob could tell where Esau lived, and why he thought fit to send to him. It is not to be supposed that Jacob could be so imprudent as to carry his wives, children, and substance into Canaan, without knowing whether he might safely venture thither; therefore very probably, when he rested at Gilead, he sent messengers to inquire whether his father was alive; what condition he was in, and what temper the inhabitants of the land showed him, and whether he might safely come and live near him. And when he found that he should meet with no obstruction, if he could but reconcile Esau to him, he very prudently sent to him also, intending, if he should find Esau averse to him, to bend his course some other way.[9] Thus Jacob's message to Esau

[1] Pool's Syn. in loc.
[2] Deut. ii, 12.
[3] Gen xxxvi, 2.
[4] Gen. xxxvi, 20.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ver. 29.
[7] Deut. ii, 12.
[8] Gen. xxxiii, 13, 14.
[9] If we consider what had passed between Esau and Jacob, before Jacob went from home, it will appear very proper that Jacob should send to him, before he ventured to come and sit down with his substance near his father. Esau still expected to be his father's heir; and if Jacob had returned home without Esau's knowledge, it would have laid a foundation for a greater mis-

may be best accounted for, by supposing Esau's habitation in the land of Edom to be according to the common and known geography of that country; and Adrichomius's scheme of two Edoms being a mere fiction, purely to solve a seeming difficulty, ought justly to be rejected.

Jacob was in more than ordinary fear of his brother Esau, and his messengers at their return surprised him still more, by informing him, that Esau was coming after them attended by four hundred men.[1] He concluded now, that his brother had a design to take his full revenge, and destroy him and all that belonged to him. In his distress he cried unto GOD; and after that applied himself to contrive the most likely expedients for his safety. First of all, he divided his company into two parts; that if Esau should fall upon one part, he might have a possibility to escape with the other. In the next place, he ordered a very extraordinary present of the choice of his flocks and herds, divided into several droves, which he sent before him. After this he sent his wives and children, and all his substance over the brook Jabbok,[2] staying behind them himself alone some time. Here GOD was pleased to put an end to his fears, by giving him an extraordinary sign or token, to assure him that he should get through all the difficulties, which seemed to threaten him. There came an angel in the shape and appearance of a man, and wrestled with him. It was the same divine person, according to Hosea,[3] who appeared to him at Bethel. They struggled together, but the angel did not overcome him; and at parting, when the angel blessed him, he told him the design of his contest with him; namely, to instruct him, that as he had not been conquered in this contest, so neither should he be overcome by the difficulties which then threatened him. The angel said to him, *Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for as a prince hast thou power with* GOD, *and with men, and hast prevailed;*[4] or rather, the latter part of the verse should be thus translated, *for thou hast been a prevailer with* GOD; *and with men thou shalt also powerfully prevail.* This is the true verbal translation of the Hebrew words; and the vulgar Latin,[5] the LXX, and Onkelos in his Targum,

understanding at Isaac's death, than any which had as yet been between them. Esau would have thought, that Jacob had got the greatest part of his substance from his father; and when he came, at Isaac's death, to take away with him into Edom, what his father had to leave him, he would have looked upon Jacob, as having for many years been contriving to get from him all he could. It was therefore Jacob's interest to have Esau fully satisfied in this point; and for this reason, as well as others, he sent to him, to apprise him, that he brought his substance with him from Haran, and that he was not going into Canaan to do him any injury.

[1] Gen. xxxii, 6. [2] Gen. xxxiii, 22, 23. [3] Hosea xii, 4.

[4] Gen. xxxii, 28.

[5] The Hebrew words are,

כי שרית עם אלהים ועם אנשים ותוכל

prævalebis. etiam hominibus cum et Deo cum prævaluisti quoniam

have very justly expressed the true sense of the place, but our English version is too obscure.

Jacob, full of the assurance which the angel had given him, prepared his wives and children to meet Esau; and instructed them when they should come up to him, to pay him all possible respect by bowing down to him: he himself came up last, and when he met Esau bowed himself to the ground seven times. Whatever apprehension Jacob had entertained of Esau's resentment, he had the happiness to find him in a much better temper than he expected. Esau was full of all possible affection towards him, ran at sight to meet him, embraced him with the greatest tenderness,[6] and wept over him tears of joy. As to the present of the cattle, Esau would not have taken it, for he said he had enough; but Jacob pressed him to accept it. Esau invited Jacob to Seir, and offered to conduct him thither; but Jacob had no design to accept the invitation, and yet was afraid directly to refuse it. He designed to keep at a convenient distance, and not to live too near, for fear of future inconveniences. He therefore represented the tenderness of his children and flock, that they could not travel with expedition; he begged they might not confine him to their slow movements, but that he would return home to his own place, and that they would follow as fast as they conveniently could. Esau then offered him some of his servants to show him the way; but Jacob evaded this offer also, and so they parted. Esau went to Seir, expecting his brother would follow him; but Jacob turned another way, went to Succoth and built himself a house, and lived there some time; and afterwards removed to Salem, a city of the Shechemites, and bought some ground of the children of Hamor, and there settled.[7]

Soon after Jacob was fixed at Shechem, there happened a misfortune which unsettled him again.[8] His daughter Dinah visited the Shechemites, and Shechem the prince of the country fell in love with her, and lay with her. Her father and brothers, resenting the injury and scandal of so base an action, could not bear the thought of being reconciled to him; though he had all along a most passionate desire to marry Dinah. He had desired his father Hamor to treat with Jacob about it, and Hamor desired Jacob's consent to it upon any terms; but in their treating about it, the sons of *Jacob answered Hamor and Shechem deceitfully*, and pretended that they could make no marriages with an uncircumcised people. Hereupon Hamor and Shechem persuaded all their people to be circumcised, in order to incorporate with Jacob's family; but when

The vulgar Latin translates the place, *quoniam si contra Deum fortis fuisti, quanto magis contra homines prævalebis.* The LXX render the place Οτι ισχυσας μετα Θεϑ, και μετα ανϑρωπων δυνατος εση. Onkelos has it, *quoniam princeps es tu coram Deo, et cum hominibus prævalebis.*

[6] Gen. xxxiii, 4. [7] Gen. xxxiii, 19. [8] Gen. xxxiv.

this was done, three days after the operation, when the Shechemites were not fit for war, two of Jacob's sons, Simeon and Levi, *took each man his sword, and came upon the city boldly, and slew all the males*, and they killed Hamor and Shechem, and took away Dinah out of the house.[9] As soon as Simeon and Levi had thus executed the part of the revenge which they had taken upon themselves to perform for the abuse of their sister, the other sons of Jacob,[1] who had very probably armed their servants, and were ready to have assisted Simeon and Levi, if they had wanted it, came upon the slain and spoiled the city; they seized upon the cattle and wealth of the Shechemites, and took their wives and their little ones captive. Jacob was much concerned at these furious proceedings of his sons, and apprehended that the inhabitants of the land would unite against him for this violent outrage; but his sons Simeon and Levi were so enraged with the thought of the dishonour done their sister and family, that they did not think they had carried their resentment too far for so base an injury.[2] However, Jacob thought he should be more secure if he removed his habitation to some other part of the country, and upon receiving a particular direction from God where to go, he removed to Bethel.[3]

Upon Jacob's designing to go to Bethel, he found it necessary to make a reformation in his family, and *said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you.*[4] Now one might suppose from these words, that idols and idolatry crept into his family; and some writers imagine, that Rachel his wife introduced them, by bringing out of Haran her father's teraphim, which she stole at her coming away. But it is remarkable, that Jacob had now with him more persons than his own household; for over and above these, he spake unto *all that were with him.* The captives of Shechem, which his sons had taken, were now incorporated into his family, and he had to reduce them into new order; to abrogate any habits of their dress or ornaments, or any rites or usages in religion, which they might have used at Shechem, if he judged them usuitable to his religion, or to the order in which he desired to keep his family; agreeably hereto, the gods he took care to put away were not the teraphim, or little pillars or statues, which Rachel brought from Haran;[5] but the *elohei han-necar, gods of the stranger*, who was in the midst of them, or amongst them, *i. e.* of the Shechemites, whom they had taken captive and brought into his family. The Hebrew words are remarkably different from our English translation. The word *strange* in the Hebrew

[9] Gen. xxxiv, 25, 26.

[1] Ver. 27. Quibus egressis irruerunt super occisos cæteri filii Jacob Vers. vulg. Lat.

[2] Gen. xxxiv, 31.

[3] Gen. xxxv, 1, 6.

[4] Ver. 2.

[5] See vol. i, b. v.

does not refer to gods, as our translators took it, and therefore rendered the place *strange gods;* but the Hebrew words are, as I have translated them, *the gods of the stranger*, &c.; and these, together with the superfluous ornaments of dress which the Shechemitish women had used, were what he took away, and buried under an oak in Shechem,[6] in order to preserve in his family that purity of worship, and simplicity of life and manners, which he designed to keep up amongst them. After he had done this, he removed for Bethel, and gat safe thither. The inhabitants of the several cities round about were so far from any thoughts of attacking him, that they looked upon him as a person powerful enough to engage with any of them, and were very much afraid of him.[7] After Jacob came to Bethel, GOD appeared to him and confirmed the change of his name, which had been made at Jabbok; and gave him fresh assurance of his design of blessing and multiplying his posterity, and of giving them the inheritance of the land of Canaan.[8] Some time after this Jacob journeyed from Bethel, and near Ephrath his wife Rachel died in labour of Benjamin;[9] and Jacob buried her near Ephrath or Bethlehem.[1] From hence Jacob removed and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar; and soon after removed hence, and came to the plain of Mamre, to the city of Arbah or Hebron, to his father Isaac, who at that time lived here.[2] He had met with several misfortunes from the time that he removed from Bethel; the death of his wife at Ephrath, and his son Reuben's baseness in lying with his concubine Bilhah, at Edar; besides which, there was a difference amongst his children, which in a little time ended in the loss of his son Joseph.[3]

Joseph was his beloved child, a circumstance which drew upon him the envy of his brethren, and increased to perfect hatred upon his telling them some dreams, which seemed to imply that he should be advanced in the world far above any of them. They told Jacob of Joseph's dreams, and Jacob thought it proper to discountenance the aspiring thoughts to which he imagined they would too naturally lead him; however, he could not but think in his heart, that there was something more than ordinary in them.[4] Some time after this, Jacob sent Joseph from Hebron to Dothan, where his other sons were taking care of the flocks; who, as soon as Joseph came in sight, called to mind his dreams, and were in a great heat about him, and designed to kill him. But Reuben endeavoured to prevent his being murdered, and persuaded them to throw him into a pit, and there leave him, intending, when they were all gone, to come back to the place and help him out, and so to send him home to his father.[5] But whilst they

[6] Gen. xxxv, 4.
[7] Ver. 5.
[8] Ver. 9—12.
[9] Ver. 16—18.
[1] Ver. 19.
[2] Gen. xxxv, 21, 27.
[3] Ver. 22, and chap. xxxvii.
[4] Gen. xxxvii, 3—11.
[5] Gen. xxxvii, 21, 22.

were in these debates, some Ishmaelites happened to come by, who were travelling from mount Gilead to Egypt with spicery; upon sight of whom they determined to sell him.[6] They sold him, and the Ishmaelites carried him to Egypt, and there sold him again to Potiphar, the captain of the king's guard.[7] Jacob's sons killed a kid, and dipped Joseph's coat in the blood, and at their coming home, told their father that they found it in that condition; so that Jacob thought some wild beast had killed him, and he mourned exceedingly for him.[8] Joseph was more than seventeen years old when his brethren sold him into Egypt;[9] and about eight or nine years after he was sold thither, Isaac being one hundred and eighty years old, died, A. M. 2288.[1]

Isaac's death brought Esau and Jacob to another meeting; for Esau came from Seir to Mamre to assist at his father's funeral, and to receive as heir his father's substance. Jacob, though he came to Mamre to live near his father, some years before Isaac died, had yet been exceeding careful of laying any foundation for a misunderstanding with his brother, and therefore had not brought his flocks or substance into that part of the country. For we find that when he lived at Hebron, his sons were sent to take care of the flocks to Shechem and Dothan;[2] so that he had carefully kept at a distance, and given Esau no reason to suspect, that he had any ways intermixed what he had gotten with what was his father's, or taken any opportunity to get away any thing from his father, to Esau's hindrance. After Isaac was buried, Esau had no mind to live at Mamre; for he considered, that what he had at Seir, and what he had now got in Canaan by his father's death, would be so great a stock, that it would be difficult to find sufficient room for him to live in Canaan, especially if his brother Jacob should settle there near him; therefore he took what he had in Canaan,[3] and carried it with him into Seir.

The land of Seir was at this time possessed by the Horites or Horims,[4] and these were the inhabitants of it in the days of Abraham; for Chedorlaomer, out of whose hand Abraham rescued Lot, found them here when he brought his armies to subdue the nations of Canaan.[5] Seir, the Horite, was contemporary with Abraham and Chedorlaomer, though probably something older than Abraham; for Esau, Abraham's grandson, married Aholibamah the daughter of Seir's grandson.[6] If Seir was king of the Horites, he might fall in battle; for *Chedorlaomer smote the Horites in their mount Seir unto El-paran.*[7] Under the sons of Seir, the Horites gathered

[6] Ver. 25—28. [7] Ver. 36. [8] Ver. 31—35.
[9] For he was seventeen when Jacob lived at Edar, ver. 2.
[1] Gen. xxxv, 28, 29. [2] Gen. xxxvii, 13, 17.
[3] Chap. xxxvi, 6. [4] Deut. ii, 12. [5] Gen. xiv, 6.
[6] Chap. xxxvi, 2, 25. [7] Gen. xiv, 6.

some strength again, and were governed by Seir's sons, who became dukes of the land,[8] either ruling jointly, or setting up several little sovereignties; and in the time of these dukes Esau came to live at Seir. His full determination of settling there was at Isaac's death,[9] towards the decline of Esau's life; for Isaac was sixty years old when Esau was born,[1] and he lived to be one hundred and eighty,[2] so that Esau at his death was one hundred and twenty; and this must be in the time of the third generation from Seir, when the children of Lotan, and of Zibeon, and of Shobal, and of Anah, the sons of Seir, ruled the land. Agreeably hereto Esau married a daughter of the men of this generation; Aholibamah the daughter of Anah; which Anah was not Anah the son of Seir, but Anah the son of Zibeon, and grandson of Seir,[3] *this was that Anah, who found the mules in the Wilderness as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father*,[4] for he is by this action distinguished from the other Anah. The sons of Seir did not keep the dominion of these countries long, for the children of Esau got it from them. The children of *Esau destroyed the Horites, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did in the land of his possession, which the* LORD *gave unto him*.[5] This conquest of the Horites happened not in Esau's days, nor in his children's, or grand-children's days; but in the days of his grand-children's children; for the descendants of Esau, who became dukes of Edom, were Timna, Alia, Jetheth, Aholibamah, Elah, Pinon, Kenaz, Teman, Mibzar, Magdiel, Iram, as the writer of the book of Chronicles has expressly remarked,[6] *These were the dukes of Edom.* Esau, and the children of Esau, and their children, are all enumerated, but they are not said to have been dukes of Edom; but the persons above-mentioned only.[7] I am sensible that what I have here offered may be thought not entirely to agree with what we find in the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis. In that chapter some of the sons of Esau are said to have been dukes;[8] and most of his grand-children are likewise said to have arrived at this dignity.[9] But in answer to this it should be remarked, that the verses from ver. 15 to ver. 20, do not say, that the sons or grandsons of Esau there mentioned were dukes of Edom, but only that they were dukes in the land of Edom. Now this distinction should be carefully observed; for the true matter of fact was this; the children of Esau, in the days of Esau's sons and grandsons, set up a form of government among themselves, and over their own families, and the persons who ruled them were dukes, not over the land of Edom, for the inhabitants of the land were not yet subject to them,

[8] Chap. xxxvi, 21.
[2] Chap. xxxv, 28.
[5] Deut. ii, 12.
[8] Gen. xxxvi, 18.
[9] Ver. 6.
[3] Chap. xxxvi, 2, 20, 24.
[6] 1 Chron. i, 51, ad fin.
[9] Ver. 15, 16, 17.
[1] Chap. xxv, 26.
[4] Gen. xxxvi, 24.
[7] Ver. 35—37.

but they were dukes in the land, and ruled the children of Esau, and so were, as they are called (alephaiv,) their dukes.[1] Their children afterwards conquered the Horites, and took possession of the whole land, and so became dukes of Edom; and the persons who attained this larger dignity were the persons mentioned ver. 40, 41, 42, 43, *these be the dukes of Edom.* Thus the several parts of this chapter may be reconciled to one another; and this chapter made entirely agreeable to the first chapter of 1 Chronicles. If the dukes, who descended from Esau, had been all alike dukes of Edom, they would have been placed all together; but some of them being only the rulers of their own children, and the others governors of the whole land, the writer of the book of Genesis separates and distinguishes the one from the other; and the writer of the book of Chronicles does not mention the one order to have been dukes at all, determining to give the title to those only who had governed the whole country. The children of Esau, when they had made themselves dukes of Edom, continued this form of government but a short time, for they soon after set up a king. The time when they set up a king may be determined from Moses. They were governed by dukes, when the Israelites went out of Egypt;[2] and they had a king when Moses would have passed through their land to Canaan;[3] so that their first king was contemporary with Moses, and began his reign a little after the Israelites came out of Egypt, *i. e.* about A. M. 2515.[4] His reigning at this time is very consistent with his succeeding Esau's grand-children's children; for Moses was the fifth in descent from Jacob, as this first king of Edom was from Esau; for the father of Moses was Amram, his father Cohath, Levi was the father of Cohath, and son of Jacob;[5] so that the descents or generations in each family correspond very exactly. The first king of Edom was Bela the son of Beor,[6] and he was the brother of Balaam, whom Balak sent for about this time to curse Israel; for Beor was Balaam's father.[7] The Edomites had eight successive kings *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel;*[8] as they might very well have; for, from the beginning of Bela's reign, the time when Saul was anointed king over Israel, A. M. 2909,[9] is three hundred and ninety-nine years; so that these eight kings of Edom must be supposed one with another to reign something above forty-eight years each, which suits very well with the length of men's lives in these times.

Thus I have gone through the account we have of Esau's family, from Esau to the time when Saul reigned over Israel;

[1] Gen. xxxvi, 19.
[2] Exod. xv, 15.
[3] Numb. xx, 14.
[4] Archbishop Usher's Chronology.
[5] 1 Chron. vi, 1, 2, 3.
[6] Gen. xxxvi, 32.
[7] Numb. xxii, 5.
[8] Gen. xxxvi, 31; 1 Chron. i, 43.
[9] Archbishop Usher's Chronology.

and I think from what has been said it will easily appear, that the several parts of the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis are entirely consistent with one another; and the whole agreeable to the account we have of the same family in the book of Chronicles. Some learned writers have made great difficulties in their explication of Moses's account of this family; and have been in great doubt, whether the kings mentioned from ver. 31 to 40, were sons of Esau, or Horites, and when they reigned. But I think their reigns fall so naturally into the compass of time in which I have placed them, that there can be little reason to suppose, that this is not the true place of them; and none, if Beor the father of Balaam was the father of Bela the first of these kings, which seems very probable; for if Beor (mentioned Gen. xxxvi, 32,) had not been the same person with the father of Balaam,[1] Moses would either not have mentioned the name at all, or have distinguished the one person from the other. The dukes of Edom, being placed after the list of the kings, has occasioned some learned writers to suppose that they succeeded them; and the Latin version in the first chapter of the first book of Chronicles favours their opinion very much.[2] But the Hebrew words do not at all countenance such a version; and we find from Saul's time, wherever the Edomites are spoken of, they were governed by a king, and not by dukes. It is said, that if the dukes at the end of the chapter were before the kings, then the order of the narration is very unnatural. I answer, not very unnatural, if rightly considered; for it is only thus; 1. We have an account of Esau's family from verse 9 to verse 15, and this family being very numerous (for we read that Esau had an attendance of four hundred men,) it is remarked, that they set up a civil government among themselves; and we are told who the persons were that bore rule among them from verse 15 to verse 20. 2. Then follows an account of the Horites, in whose land Esau and his children dwelt, from verse 20 to verse 30. 3. In the next place we have an account of the kings, by whom the children of Esau were governed after they had expelled the Horites; and before the time when the Israelites had a king, from verse 31 to verse 39. 4. It is remarked that kings were not the first rulers of the land of Edom which the sons of Esau set up; for they had one generation of dukes of Edom, verse 40 to the end. The most learned dean Prideaux[3] very justly observes, that "the words in the 31st verse of this chapter, *And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the land of Israel*, could not have been said, till after there had been a king in Israel, and therefore cannot be

[1] Numb. xxii, 5.

[2] 1 Chron. i, 51, is translated thus; Mortuo autem Adad, duces pro regibus esse cœperunt.

[3] Connect. part i, book v, p. 492.

Moses's words, but must have been interpolated afterwards;" for it is hard to conceive, that the list of kings there mentioned could be inserted by him, when all, except the first, reigned after Moses was dead. If this be the case, if I could have the authority of any learned writer to suppose that Ezra, or whoever was the inspired writer that inserted them,[4] might at first insert these kings after the dukes at the end of the chapter, but that some careless transcribers have misplaced them, I should readily embrace it.

We meet with no farther mention of Esau's life, death, or actions, in Moses's history; but it may not be amiss, before we leave him, to take a short view of his character. Esau was a plain, generous, and honest man: for we have no reason, from any thing that appears in his life or actions, to think him wicked beyond other men of his age and times; and his generous and good temper appears from all his behaviour towards his brother. The artifice used to deprive him of the blessing, did at the time abundantly enrage him; and in the heat of passion he thought when Isaac should be dead to take a full revenge, and kill his brother for supplanting him; but a little time reduced him to be calm again, and he never took one step to Jacob's injury. When they first met he was all humanity and affection;[5] and he had no uneasiness, when he found that Jacob followed him not to Seir, but went to live near his father: and at Isaac's death, we do not find he made any difficulty of quitting Canaan, which very circumstance, if he had harboured any latent intentions, would have revived all his resentments. He is indeed called in scripture the profane Esau,[6] and he is said to have been hated of GOD; *the children*, says St. Paul,[7] *being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of* GOD, *according to election, might stand; not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said unto her, the elder shall serve the younger.* And it is written, *Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated.*[8] There is, I think, no reason to infer from any of these expressions, that Esau was a very wicked man, or that GOD hated and punished him for an immoral life. For, 1. The sentence here against him is said expressly to be founded not upon his actions, because it was determined before the children had done good or evil. 2. GOD's hatred of Esau, here spoken of by St. Paul, was not a hatred, which induced him to punish him with any evil; for Esau was as happy in all the blessings of this life, as either Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob; and his posterity had a land designed by GOD to be their possession as well as the children of Jacob. They were also enabled to drive out and dispossess the inhabitants of it.

[4] The most learned dean intimates, that Ezra was undoubtedly the author of this and the other interpolations which he mentions, p. 493.

[5] Gen. xxxiii, 4.

[6] Heb. xii, 16.

[7] Rom. ix, 11, 12.

[8] Ver. 13.

as Israel did to the land of his possession,[9] and they were put in possession of it much sooner than the Israelites. God was pleased moreover to protect them in the enjoyment of it, and to caution the Israelites against invading them with a remarkable strictness,[1] as he also cautioned them against invading the land which he designed to give to the children of Lot.[2] Now as God was pleased thus to bless Esau and his children in the blessings of this life, even as much as he blessed Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, if not more; why may we not hope to find him with them at the last day, as well as Job, or Lot, or any other good and virtuous man, who was not designed to be a partaker of the blessing given unto Abraham? For, 3. All the punishment inflicted on Esau was an exclusion from being heir of the blessing promised to Abraham and to his seed; which was a favour not granted to Lot, to Job, or to several other very virtuous and good men. 4. St. Paul, in the passage before cited, does not intend to represent Esau as a person who had particularly merited God's displeasure; but to show the Jews that God had all along given the favours which led to the Messiah where he pleased; to Abraham, not to Lot; to Jacob, not to Esau; as, at the time St. Paul wrote, the Gentiles were made the people of God, and not the Jews. 5. Esau is indeed called profane (βεβηλος;) but I think that word does not mean wicked or immoral (ασεβης or αμαρτωλος;)[3] he was called so for not having that due value for the priest's office which he ought to have had. In this point there seems to have been a defect in his character; hunting and such diversions of life were more pleasing to him than the views and prospects which the promises of God had opened to his family, and which his brother Jacob was more thoughtful about than he. Therefore, though I think it does not appear, that he was cut off from being the heir of them by any particular action in his life, yet his temper and thoughts appear to be such, as to evidence, that God's purpose towards Jacob was founded upon the truest wisdom; Jacob being in himself the fittest person to be the heir of the mercies, which God designed for him.

When Joseph was sold into the family of Potiphar, he soon obtained himself a station, in which he might have lived with great comfort. His master saw, that he was a youth of great sense and diligence, and very prosperous in his undertakings; therefore in a little time he made him his steward,[4] and put all his affairs under his management. Being thus in a condition of life, in which he might have been very happy, his mistress fell in love with him; but in the integrity of his heart he refused to comply with her desires, and took the liberty to reprove her, and shunned all opportunities of being at any time alone with her.[5] Whether she feared by his man-

[9] Deut. ii, 5, and 12.
[1] Ver. 4, 5.
[2] Ver. 9.
[3] 1 Tim. i, 9.
[4] Gen. xxxix, 4.
[5] Ver. 8, 9, 10.

ner and behaviour that he might accuse her to her husband; or whether she was enraged at the slight she thought hereby offered, upon his peremptorily refusing to comply with her, she accused him to Potiphar of a design to ravish her, and had him laid in prison. Joseph, being kept in prison above two years, got into favour with the keeper of the prison, and was entrusted by him with the management of all the affairs belonging to the prison, and with the custody of the prisoners.[6] Two years and something more after Joseph's imprisonment,[7] the king of Egypt dreamed two very remarkable dreams, both which seemed to be of the same import. The king had a great uneasiness about them, and the more, because none of his Magi could interpret, or tell him the meaning of them. In the midst of his perplexity, his chief butler or cup-bearer called to mind, that himself had been some time before under the king's displeasure, and in prison with Joseph, and that Joseph had very punctually interpreted a dream of his, and another of the king's baker, who was in prison with him.[8] He gave the king an account of it, which occasioned Joseph to be sent for. Joseph came, and heard the king's dreams, and told him their meaning, that there would be all over Egypt, first of all seven years of plenty, and then a severe famine for seven years; and added, that since it had pleased GOD thus to inform the king what seasons he intended, he hoped he would make a right use of the information, and appoint some discreet and wise person, with proper officers under him, to gather a fifth part of each plenteous year's product, and lay it up in store against the time of scarcity. The king conceived a very great opinion of Joseph, both from his interpretation of the dreams, and from the advice he gave upon them; and thought no one could be so fit to manage the office of gathering the corn in the years of plenty, as he who had so wisely thought of a scheme so beneficial; and therefore immediately made him his deputy over the land of Egypt.[9] Joseph was, I think, above twenty years old when his brethren sold him; and he was thirty when Pharaoh thus advanced him;[1] so that it pleased GOD in less than ten years to promote him, from a lad, the younger son of a private traveller, through various changes and accidents of life, by several steps, and not without a mixture of some severe misfortunes, to be the head of a very potent kingdom, inferior only to him who wore the crown. He wore the king's ring, had all the marks and distinctions that belong to the highest rank of life, rode in Pharaoh's second chariot, and wherever he passed, the officers appointed cried before him, *Bow the knee.*[2] Pharaoh called Joseph

[6] Gen. xxxix, 22, 23. [7] Chap. xli, 1. [8] Ver. 9.
[9] Gen. xli, 38—41. [1] Ver. 46.
[2] Gen. xli, 41—44. The best expositors do not take the word *Abrek*, to signify bow the knee, as our translation renders it; but they suppose it to be a name of honour, which Pharaoh caused to be proclaimed before Joseph. See

Zaphnathpaaneah,[3] and married him to the priest of On's daughter; by whom he had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.[4]

In the years of plenty Joseph had gathered a sufficient stock of corn, not only for Egypt, but to supply the neighbouring countries; and in the years of famine, when he opened his stores, and sold out his provision, he acquired immense riches for the king. The Egyptians bought his corn with money, until all the money of the land of Egypt, and all that could be procured out of the land of Canaan, was in Pharaoh's treasury. Then they exchanged their cattle for corn, until Pharaoh had purchased all them also; and in the last place, they sold their lands and possessions, so that by Joseph's conduct, Pharaoh was become sole proprietor of all the money, cattle, and lands of all Egypt.[5] There are two or three particulars very remarkable in Joseph's management of this affair. 1. When the Egyptians had parted with all their money, cattle, and lands, and still wanted sustenance, they offered to become Pharaoh's servants;[6] but Joseph refused to accept of this offer. He seems to have had a great and true insight into things; and could not think, that he should really advance his master's interest by keeping his subjects in poverty and slavery. He was desirous to establish a sufficient revenue for the occasions of the crown; and at the same time to give the subjects a property of their own, as well to excite their industry to improve it, as to raise in them a sense of duty and affection to the government that protected them in the secure enjoyment of it. For this reason Joseph returned back possessions to all the people, upon condition of paying yearly the fifth part of the product of their lands to the king for ever.[7] 2. When he returned the lands back again to the people, he did not put each man in possession of what was his own before; but removed them from one end of Egypt to the other;[8] wisely foreseeing, that few men would have so easy sense of their condition in the enjoyment of what had formerly been their own without tax or burden, but now received upon terms of disadvantage, as they would have in the possession of what never was their own, though they held it upon the same conditions. 3. When Joseph bought in the lands of Egypt for Pharaoh, he bought not the priests' lands, for they did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them, and therefore sold not their lands. Therefore, when afterwards the whole kingdom came to be taxed the fifth part, the priests' lands were excepted, because they became not Pharaoh's.[9] A right honourable writer makes the

Ver. LXX, Targum Onkelos; vers. Samaritan; vers. Syriac; vers. Arab.; et Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, in verb ברך Abrek, vox Egyptia est Παιχνισμος quidam. See Pool's Synopsis in loc.

[3] The name which Pharaoh gave Joseph is an Egyptian name, and signifies a discoverer of things hidden.

[4] Gen. xli, 50. [5] Chap. xlvii, 18. [6] Ver. 19.
[7] Gen. xlvii, 24, 26. [8] Ver. 21. [9] Ver. 22, 26.

following remark upon this favour shown the priests. "To what height of power the established priesthood was arrived even at that time, may be conjectured hence, that the crown (to speak in a modern style) offered not to meddle with the church lands; and that in this great revolution, nothing was attempted so much as by way of purchase or exchange in prejudice of this landed clergy; the prime minister himself having joined his interest with theirs, and entered by marriage into this alliance."[1]

To this I answer: 1. I have already shown, that the priests of Egypt were the heads of all the families of the land; not raised to be so by their priesthood, but they became the priests, because they were originally persons of the highest rank. They were reputed almost equal to the kings, consulted upon all public affairs of consequence, and some of them generally upon a vacancy succeeded to the crown; and if this be true, it does not seem likely that they should want Joseph's alliance to strengthen their interest, or to obtain them any favour. 2. Whatever favour was shown them, Moses represents it as proceeding from the king, and not from Joseph. The land of the priests bought he not (ci chock le cohanim meeth Pharaoh) *because there was a decree for* (in favour of) *the priests from even Pharaoh*,[2] i. e. because Pharaoh had made a decree expressly against it. Or we may translate the words agreeably to our English version, *because there was an appointment for the priests from even Pharaoh, and they did eat their appointed or assigned portion, which Pharaoh gave them, wherefore they sold not their lands:* take the words either way, the favour to the priests proceeded from Pharaoh. It may perhaps be here asked, why Pharaoh, when he thought fit to lessen the property of his common subjects, did not also attempt to reduce in some measure the exorbitant wealth of the priests, who, according to Diodorus Siculus,[3] were possessed of a third part of the whole land. To this we may answer: the Egyptian priests were obliged to provide all sacrifices, and to bear all the charges of the national religion; and religion was in these days a matter of very great expense to them, who were to supply what was requisite for the performance of the sacred offices. The numerous sacrifices, which were appointed to be offered in these times, could not be provided, nor the preparations and ceremonies in offering them performed, but at a very great charge; so great, that we find in countries where the soil was not fruitful, and consequently the people poor, they did not well know how to bear the burthen of religion; therefore Lycurgus, when he reformed the Lacedemonian state, instituted sacrifices the meanest and cheapest he could think of,

[1] Lord Shaftesbury's Characterist. vol. iii, Miscel. 2.
[2] Gen. xlvii, 22. [3] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 73.

that he might not make religion too expensive for his people.[4] Egypt was a fertile and rich country, and most probably both king and people were desirous of having the public religion appear with a suitable splendor. Now I do not find that even Aristotle could compute, that less than a fourth part of the lands of his republic could suffice for these uses;[5] and suppose we should allow them no more in Egypt, yet there would still remain a difficulty; for the priests of Egypt were the whole body of the nobility of the land. They were the king's counsellors and assistants in all affairs which concerned the public; they were joint agents with him (συνεργοι)[6] in some things; in others the king himself was to be directed and instructed by them, in which they are said to be his εισηγηται και διδασκαλοι.[7] They were the professors and cultivators of astronomy, a useful science at this time, without which even agriculture itself could not have proceeded. They were the keepers of the public registers, memoirs, and chronicles of the kingdom; in a word, under the king, they were the magistrates, and filled all the prime offices.[8] Now if we consider them in some or other of these views, we may possibly allow that Pharaoh might think they had not too much to support the stations in which they were to act: for which reason he ordered, that no tax should be raised upon them.

As many persons of the neighbouring nations came to Egypt to buy corn; so amongst others Jacob was obliged to send his sons from Canaan.[9] Joseph, as soon as he saw them, knew them, and upon their bowing down before him, remembered his former dreams. He kept himself for some time very reserved, pretending to suspect them for spies, and several ways seemed to use them with exceeding strictness, so as to make them think themselves in great extremity. At last he discovered himself to them, sent for his father down to Egypt, and obtained for him and his family a residence in the land of Goshen. Here they lived and flourished in favour with the king, and with the Egyptians, on Joseph's account.[1]

Jacob came into Egypt A. M. 2298, for he was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Pharaoh's presence;[2] and he was born A. M. 2168,[3] so that counting one hundred and thirty years from the year above mentioned. I may here take occasion to fix the chronology of the several transactions we have passed over. 1. Joseph was about thirty-eight years old in the beginning of the famine; for he was thirty when he was first brought into Pharaoh's presence, just at the beginning of the seven years of plenty.[4] He was thirty-eight two

[4] Plutarch. in vit. Lycurgi.
[5] Aristot. de Republic. lib. vii, c. 10.
[6] Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Δευτερευοντες μετα βασιλεα τιμητε δοξαις και ταις εξουσιαις. Id. ibid.
[9] Gen. xlii.
[1] Chap. xlii, xliii, xliv, xlv, xlvi, xlvii.
[2] Chap. xlvii, 9.
[3] See p. 109.
[4] Gen. xli, 46.

or three years before his father came into Egypt; for he revealed himself to his brethren, and sent for his father at the end of the second year's famine;[5] so that he was thirty-eight about A. M. 2295, and consequently Joseph was born A. M. 2257. 2. Joseph's birth was six years before Jacob left Laban; for Jacob served Laban in all twenty years,[6] and fourteen of the twenty years were over at Joseph's birth,[7] the time being then expired which Jacob was to serve Laban for his wives; so that Jacob left Laban A. M. 2263, and Jacob came to Laban A. M. 2243. 3. Jacob married seven years after he came to Laban,[8] *i. e.* A. M. 2250; and thus Jacob, being born A. M. 2168, was about seventy-five years old when he first came to Laban, and eighty-nine at Joseph's birth. We are not exactly informed when Benjamin was born, when Rachel died, or when Joseph was sold into Egypt; but we may conjecture very nearly, for Joseph was seventeen years old when he was feeding his father's flock with the sons of Bilhah.[9] Benjamin was not then born, for Joseph was at that time the son of his father's old age, or youngest son;[1] and Rachel, who died in labour of Benjamin, was alive when Joseph dreamed his dreams, for which his brethren hated him.[2] Rachel died and Benjamin was born near Ephrath,[3] before Jacob came to Isaac at Hebron. Jacob did not go directly to Hebron as soon as Rachel was buried, but made some stop at Edar.[4] Jacob came to Hebron, and sent Joseph thence back to his brethren, when they took him and sold him into Egypt.[5] From these several particulars it seems most probable, that Benjamin was born, and Rachel died, when Joseph was about sixteen, A. M. 2273; for he was but seventeen when he told his father of the evil actions of his brothers at Edar,[6] where Jacob lived after Rachel died.[7] Jacob might come to Hebron in about five or six years after this, and soon after his coming thither Joseph was sold into Egypt, *i. e.* when he was about twenty-two years old, about nine years before the death of Isaac, A. M. 2279.

Seventeen[8] years after Jacob came into Egypt, he fell sick and died. Jacob was a person in every respect very considerable: his capacity was great, his natural parts quick and ready, and the revelations which God was pleased to make him were very many, and very remarkable. It was an argument of his being a person of great prudence and sagacity, that he so much

[5] Chap. xlv, 6. [6] Chap. xxxi, 38. [7] Chap. xxx, 25, 26.
[8] Chap. xxix, 20, 21. [9] Chap. xxxvii, 2. [1] Ver. 3.
[2] Ver. 10. [3] Gen. xxxv, 16, 19. [4] Ver. 21, 22.
[5] Chap xxxvii, 14. [6] Ver. 2.

[7] Demetrius in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 21, says, that Rachel died when she had lived with Jacob twenty-three years. Jacob married Rachel when he had been with Laban a week more than seven years, *i. e.* A. M. 2250. According to our computation, Rachel died twenty-three years after this, so that we agree exactly with Demetrius.

[8] Gen. xlvii, 28.

prized the privileges of Esau's birth-right; and in every turn of his life (in his conduct with Laban, and his address to his brother Esau; in his sense of his sons' revenge upon the Shechemites) he showed himself a man of a quick and ready apprehension, to foresee the evils which might befal him, and of great courage and prudence to conduct himself the best way through them. The life of Isaac seems to have been the life of a plain and virtuous honest man, without any great variety or extraordinary turns in it. He had a vast substance left him by his father Abraham to carry him through the world, and he lived upon it all his life, almost always in or near the same place. Abraham died at Mamre, and there Isaac lived and died; and we do not find that he lived anywhere else, except only when a famine obliged him to remove to Gerar;[9] and Gerar was so near to Mamre, that we may affirm he spent his whole life within about the compass of a hundred or a hundred and twenty miles. But Jacob was born to greater things, and designed to be more known to the world: he had no great substance left him from his father, but was to rise by his own industry and GOD's blessing. He was sent into Padan-aram, to obtain himself a wife, and by his diligence to make a provision for his family; which he was enabled to do in twenty years in so ample a manner, as to live afterwards in credit and reputation with the princes of his age;[1] nay, and to have even those of his rank stand in fear of attempting to offer him any injury. Towards the close of his life, GOD was pleased to strip him of what I might call all his adventitious happiness, and to leave him only his children and a few necessaries; for we find the pressure of the famine had dispersed his numerous family. He did not go down to Egypt master of two bands of followers,[2] nor possessed of his Shechemitish captives; but brought thither with him, besides his sons' wives, only sixty-six persons, being his children and grandchildren, with the cattle and goods which he then had.[3] Yet even then, by the influence of his son Joseph, he was received in Egypt with credit and respect, and admitted into the king's presence as a person of great worth and eminence; for it is particularly remarked, that he blessed Pharaoh.[4] As the turns of Jacob's life were thus great and many, so he had very frequent and remarkable revelations to support and guide him in his passage through them. We have no mention of any revelations to Isaac above twice or thrice in his whole life, and indeed the circumstances of his life required no more; but with Jacob GOD was pleased to converse more frequently, and to give him a fuller knowledge of the manner in which he designed to deal with his posterity. When Isaac purposed

[9] Gen. xxvi.
[1] Gen. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, 5.
[2] So numerous was his family when he left Haran. Gen. xxxii, 7.
[3] Gen. xlvi, 26.
[4] Chap. xlvii, 10.

to dispose of the blessing promised to Abraham, it is very evident that he did not know how God intended it should be given; for he purposed to have disposed of it to the person who was not to be the heir.[5] He did indeed by the contrivance of Rebekah happen to give it right; and when he had given it, God was pleased to enlighten his understanding, and in some measure to inform him what should be the circumstances of his sons and their posterity; but when Jacob came to draw towards his end, he had a much greater share of this prophetical knowledge imparted to him; he was enabled, with great exactness, to enter into the circumstances of the lives of Joseph's sons;[6] and when he came to tell his children what should befal them in the latter days,[7] he could give hints of many things which belonged particularly to the families of each of his children; as may be best seen hereafter, when we shall remark in their proper places, how the things foretold by him were fulfilled to their posterity. As the life of Jacob was more remarkable and various than that of his father Isaac, so we find larger accounts of it amongst the heathen writers. We find but little mention of Isaac anywhere, except in the sacred writings; so little, that some of the heathen historians, who inquired after the accounts of Abraham's family, did not know there was such a person as Isaac; but took Jacob or Israel to be the son of Abraham;[8] but Jacob's life was celebrated by many of their ancient writers. Eusebius[9] gives a large account of the life of Jacob, which he took from Demetrius, and Demetrius had it from the annals of Alexander Polyhistor.[1] The account agrees in the main with that of Moses; but in some little particulars differs remarkably from it. Demetrius fixes the dates and times of many transactions in Jacob's life, which Moses has not determined; and he fixes some in a manner which will not exactly agree with some other of Moses's computations; which seems to me an evidence, that he did not copy from Moses, as indeed there was no need he should. The ancient history even of these early times was written by various writers,[2] who differed in some circumstances from one another, and therefore took their hints from different originals; and among the rest mention was made of Jacob at large by Theodotus, a very ancient historian, who wrote the Phœnician Antiquities,[3] and whose works Chætus translated into Greek, a part of which translation relating to Jacob is preserved in Eusebius.[4] Jacob was a hundred, and forty-seven years old when he died, and so died A. M. 2315.

[5] Gen. xxvii. [6] Chap. xlviii, 10—22. [7] Chap. xlix.
[8] Justin from Trogus Pompeius, lib. xxxvi, cap. 2.
[9] Præp. Evang. lib. ix, cap. 21. [1] Id. ibid. ad fin. cap.
[2] Josephus contra Apion. lib i, p. 1350.
[3] Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 128, et Joseph. ubi sup.
[4] Præp. Evang. lib. ix, cap. 22.

When Jacob was dead, Joseph ordered the physicians of Egypt to embalm him, the performance of which ceremony, with the circumstances belonging to it, took up forty days,[5] and the Egyptians had a solemn or public mourning for him for seventy days.[6] This circumstance expresses the greatest honour they could possibly pay to Joseph and his family; for they performed but seventy-two days mourning for their kings.[7] After the time of this mourning was over, Joseph obtained leave of Pharaoh to go into Canaan to bury his father, and the prime officers of the court of Egypt went with him to attend the funeral; so that there went out of Egypt, the house of Joseph and his brethren, and his father's house, the servants of Pharaoh, and the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, both chariots and horsemen, a very great company.[8] The procession was so great, and the solemn stop they made for seven days upon the borders of Canaan was so remarkable, that the Canaanites ever after called the place they stopped at Abel-mizraim, or the mourning-place of the Egyptians. Jacob was buried in the cave of Machpelah, beside Abraham and Sarah; and Joseph and his brethren and the Egyptians returned back again to Egypt.

After Jacob was buried, Joseph's brethren began to reflect upon the ill treatment which Joseph had formerly received from them; and to fear, that, now their father was gone, he would remember and revenge it. They came to him in the most submissive manner, acknowledged all their former unkindness to him, begged he would pass it over and forgive it, and offered themselves and children at his feet to be his servants; and not thinking all this enough, they were willing to add weight to their entreaties by telling him, that their father, before he died, required them thus to ask him pardon and forgiveness. Joseph could not keep from tears at their behaviour. He made a kind and tender apology for them, observed to them how much happiness GOD had produced from their little animosities, and promised them his favour and protection as long as he should live.[9]

We meet with nothing more of Joseph or his management. The king that advanced him was, I think, Thusimares, who was the twentieth king of Tanis, or Lower Egypt, according to Sir John Marsham; and Joseph was advanced in the thirteenth year of Thusimares's reign. Sir John Marsham places the advancement of Joseph in the time of Ramesse Tubaete, the twenty-third king of Tanis; but this position of him will appear to be too late. Joseph was sold into Egypt A. M. 2279, and if we compute the reigns of Sir John Marsham's kings of Egypt, supposing Mizraim first to reign there A. M. 1772, and to die A. M. 1943;[1] we must place Joseph about the time

[5] Gen. l, 3. [6] Ibid. [7] Diodor. Sicul. l. i, sec. 72, p. 46.
[8] Gen. l, 8, 9. [9] Gen. l, 15—21. [1] See vol. i, book iv.

of the twelfth king of Tanis, in Achoreus's reign; but this will be much too high; and there are certainly mistakes in this part of Sir John Marsham's Tables. Moses hints that Joseph placed his brethren in the land of Rameses;[2] the land could not be so called until there had been such a person as Rameses; for the ancient practice was, after kings or famous men were dead, to *call their lands after their names*.[3] Thus the land of Haran was not so named until after Haran was dead.[4] Rameses, therefore, who, according to Sir John Marsham, was the eighteenth king of Tanis, and began to reign a hundred and forty-five years after Achoreus was dead, and some part of the land of Goshen, where Joseph placed his brethren, was called after his name, before Joseph brought his brethren into Egypt; and this will well agree with my placing Joseph in the reign of Thusimares, who was the second king after Rameses.[5] Thusimares reigned thirty-one years,[6] and if Joseph was advanced in the thirteenth year of his reign, Thusimares died sixty-two years before Joseph; for Joseph was thirty years old when Pharaoh advanced him,[7] and he lived to be a hundred and ten years old,[8] so that he lived eighty years after his advancement. Now, according to Sir John Marsham's account of the length of the reigns of Thusimares's successors, Joseph lived to serve three of them, and died in the twentieth year of the reign of Ramesse Tubaete. So that he supported his credit with four kings; an instance of the stability of courts in these times. He was highly esteemed by the princes, and universally beloved by all the people. He had advanced the crown of Egypt to a state of wealth and grandeur, to which it had been a stranger until his time; and had acquired the king a property, greater, perhaps, than any king in the world at that time enjoyed, and established upon a better foundation; for he had obliged the subjects of the land, in the manner by which he acquired it, as much as he had advanced Pharaoh by the acquisition of it; and was in truth what he styled himself, a father not only to Pharaoh,[9] but also to every one of his subjects; for by his care and provision the whole land was preserved from becoming desolate, and every one of the inhabitants preserved from perishing. Joseph lived to see his grandchildren grown up to be men,[1] and then he called his brethren together, and assured them, that GOD would in due time bring them out of Egypt into the possession of the land of Canaan; and made them swear to him, that when they should go out of Egypt, they would carry away his bones with them. Joseph died fifty-two years after his father, A. M. 2367.

The children of Israel, or family of Jacob, when they came

[2] Gen. xlvii, 11. [3] Psalm xlix, 11. [4] Gen. xi, 31.
[5] See Sir John Marsham, Can. Chron. [6] Id. ibid.
[7] Gen. xli, 46. [8] Chap. l, 22.
[9] Chap. xlv, 8. [1] Chap. l, 22, 23.

into Egypt, were about seventy persons. Jacob and his children who came with him were in number sixty-seven, and Joseph and his two sons make up the number seventy; but besides these Jacob's sons' wives came also with them.[2] There are some difficulties in Moses's catalogue of Jacob's children. We have one catalogue in chap. xxxv, and another in chap. xlvi. In chap. xxxv, we are told the sons of Jacob were twelve, and after a particular enumeration of them it is said, *These are the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padan-aram.* Now it is evident that all these sons were not born in Padan-aram, for Benjamin was born near Ephrath in Canaan.[3] Some writers have remarked, that the expression of the Hebrew is, *which were begat by him in Padan-aram*, and they suppose, that Rachel was with child of Benjamin when Jacob left Laban, and that this was what Moses intended in this passage. But this cannot be allowed; for if the Hebrew words may possibly bear that sense,[4] yet Jacob after he came from Haran lived at Shechem and bought land there, and afterwards lived at Bethel, and removed thence before Benjamin was born; so that several years passed between Jacob's leaving Padan-aram, and the birth of Benjamin. I have computed at least ten years,[5] so that Rachel could not be with child by him in Padan-aram. Other commentators[6] think that the passage is a synecdoche; but surely this pretence is very idle. We must have an odd notion of Moses's eloquence, to suppose that he had a mind to display it in giving us the names of Jacob's twelve sons; and a still more surprising notion of his rhetoric, to make such a passage as this a figure of speech, which looks ten times more like a mistake than a synecdoche. I think it certain that Moses did not write the words *in Padan-aram* in this place; but that he ended his period with the words *which were born to him;* but that some careless or injudicious transcriber, finding the words *in Padan-aram* in Gen. xlvi, 15, might add them here also, and be led into the mistake by considering, that he had twelve children born there, which is indeed true, but eleven of them only were sons; one of his children born in Padan-aram, namely Dinah, was a daughter. In the catalogue in Genesis xlvi, there seems to be a deficiency: Moses begins it, *These are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons; Reuben his first-born;*[7] but then he does not add the names of Jacob's other sons, which he had by Leah and Zilpah, nor of those which he had by Bilhah; and if we cast up the number of names which are now given us, they will fall short of the number which Moses

[2] Gen. xlvi, 26.
[3] Chap. xxxv, 16—18.
[4] The Hebrew words are, v. 26, אלה בני יעקב אשר ילד-לו בפדן ארם
[5] See p. 144.
[6] Vid. Pool, Synop. in loc.
[7] Gen. xlvi, 8.

computes them to be,[8] by all the names thus omitted. I must therefore think, that all these names of Jacob's sons were inserted by Moses, but have been dropped by the carelessness of transcribers. The accounts of each family might be begun by Moses, as the first is. *Reuben, Jacob's first-born, and the sons of Reuben.* So Moses most probably wrote; Simeon, and the sons of Simeon;[9] Levi, and the sons of Levi;[1] Judah, and the sons of Judah:[2] and so in the accounts of all the rest; and the same word being repeated might be easily dropped by a hasty writer. It is very evident, that the transcribers have been careless in these catalogues; for the children of Leah are said by mistake to be thirty-three,[3] whereas there are but thirty-two, and without doubt Moses computed them no more than thirty-two; for he makes the whole number of the children of Jacob that came with him into Egypt to be sixty-six.[4] Now thirty-two children of Leah, sixteen of Zilpah, eleven of Rachel (without Joseph and his two sons,) and seven by Bilhah, make up exactly the number. If the children of Leah had been thirty-three, the number that came with Jacob into Egypt must have been sixty-seven, as may be seen by any one who will put together the several persons named in the catalogue. *All the souls of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten;*[5] i. e. sixty-six as above mentioned, and Jacob himself, and Joseph, and Joseph's two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh; and thus many they are always computed to be in all places where they are mentioned in Scripture.[6] The LXX indeed suppose, that there were seventy-five of Jacob's family in Egypt, when he came thither. They render the latter part of the 27th verse, *All the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were* εβδομηκοντα πεντε, i. e. *seventy-five.* And thus they number them, Exodus, chap. i, ver. 5, and the number is the same in St. Stephen's speech,[7] where they are said to be *threescore and fifteen souls.* As to the Septuagint, it is evident how we come to find the number seventy-five instead of seventy, in Gen. xlvi, 27; for, 1. In our present copies of the Septuagint, there is a very large interpolation, of which not one word is to be found in any Hebrew copy.* The LXX give us the 20th verse of this chapter thus: *And there were sons born unto Joseph in the land of Egypt, which Asenath the daughter of Potipherah, priest of Heliopolis, bare unto him, Manasseh and Ephraim.* After these words they add, *And*

[8] Gen. xlvi, 26. [9] Ver. 10. [1] Ver. 11. [2] Ver. 12.
[3] Ver. 15. [4] Ver. 26. [5] Gen. xlvi, 27.
[6] Exod. i, 5; Deut. x, 22. [7] Acts vii, 14.

* If this be an interpolation in the LXX, it must be very ancient; for all the MSS. of the LXX, and ancient versions taken from it, retain the passage. In some of the MSS. and versions lately collated by Dr. Holmes, there are various readings, in some a word or name is omitted; but they all retain the passage.—EDIT.

there were born sons unto Manasseh, which Syra, his concubine, bare unto him, Machir; and Machir begat Galaad; and the sons of Ephraim the brother of Manasseh were Sutalam and Taam, and the sons of Sutalam were Edom. And thus our present editions of the Septuagint compute seventy-five persons instead of seventy, by taking into the account five sons and grandsons of Ephraim and Manasseh, which are not in the Hebrew. 2. But these five persons were evidently not put into this catalogue by Moses; for the design of this catalogue was to give the names of the persons of Jacob's family, who came with him into Egypt, or who were there at the time when he came thither: but Ephraim and Manasseh could have no children born at this time, therefore their children's names cannot be supposed to be inserted by Moses in this place. Joseph was about thirty years old when he married,[8] and he was about forty or forty-one when Jacob came into Egypt: so that Manasseh, who was his elder son, could not be much above ten years old; and therefore it is an evident mistake in our present Septuagint copies to insert Joseph's grand-children, and their children, in this place. 3. It is not very difficult to guess how these additions were made to the LXX. I call them additions, for no one can suppose that the first translators of the Hebrew bible into Greek, could so palpably and erroneously deviate from the original. The owners of ancient manuscripts used frequently to make marginal references, observations, or notes in their manuscripts; and very probably some learned person might collect from Numbers xxvi, and 1 Chron. vii, that Manasseh and Ephraim had these sons and grandsons, and remark it in the margin of his manuscript Septuagint, and some transcribers from that manuscript might mistake the design, think it put there as an omission of the copyist, and so take it into the text; and by degrees, this accident happening very early, when there were but few copies of the LXX taken, all subsequent transcripts came to be corrupted by it. 4. As to the 14th verse of chap. vii, of the Acts, I cannot conceive that St. Luke wrote threescore and fifteen souls; but it being pretty certain, that transcribers in the first ages of Christianity did sometimes make such small alterations as these, to make the New Testament accord with the copies they then had of the LXX bible (the LXX being more read by the Christians of the first ages, than the Hebrew Scriptures,) it seems most reasonable to suppose, that the finding seventy-five and not seventy in the xlvith chapter of Genesis, and Exodus i, might alter the ancient reading of this passage in St. Stephen's speech, to make it accord with the LXX in the places referred to. 5. That the number seventy-five instead of seventy came into the Septuagint copies in the manner above mentioned, might be con-

[8] Gen. xli, 45, 46.

firmed from Josephus, who computes but seventy of Jacob's family in Egypt at this time, agreeing with the Hebrew,[9] and perhaps even from the LXX translation itself; for that very translation says in another place expressly, that they were but seventy persons,[1] agreeing fully with the Hebrew, which may hint to us that the true ancient reading of the LXX itself was seventy, and not seventy-five. There is one difficulty more, which ought not to be passed over: in Genesis, xlvi, 12, we are told that Er and Onan, the sons of Judah, died in the land of Canaan, and Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Pharez, are inserted in the catalogue of Jacob's family that came with him into Egypt. Jacob married about A. M. 2250. Judah was Jacob's fourth son, and might be born about A. M. 2254. Jacob came into Egypt A. M. 2298, so that Judah was at this time about forty-four years of age; but if he was no older, how could Hezron and Hamul, Judah's grand-children by his son Pharez, be born at this time? We cannot suppose that Judah married Shuah[2] before he was twenty, we cannot well suppose it so early; he must be at least twenty-one when his son Er was born, about twenty-two at Onan's birth, and twenty-three at the birth of Shelah;[3] and if he took a wife for his son Er when Er was seventeen, then Judah was thirty-eight when Er married. Er died soon after he married; and Onan took his wife, and Onan died also; and Judah desired Tamar his daughter-in-law to remain a widow until Shelah his son should be grown.[4] Tamar did so; but when Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife, Tamar dressed herself like a harlot, and Judah, not knowing her to be his daughter-in-law, lay with her, and she had two children by him, Pharez and Zarah.[5] Judah could not be less than forty-one or forty-two when he lay with Tamar, and Pharez could not be above two or three years old when Jacob came into Egypt; so that it is impossible that Pharez should have any children born at this time. The most learned archbishop Usher seems to think that Jacob married, and consequently that Judah was born, earlier than I have supposed. He intimates from Gen. xxix, 21, that Jacob might perhaps marry soon after he came to Laban; but the place cited does surely prove, that he served Laban seven years, and then said, *give me my wife, for my days are fulfilled*, i. e. the time is now expired which I agreed to serve for her;[6] but if we should even suppose that

[9] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 7. Ita in omnibus Josephi exemplaribus tum hic, tum c. ix, sec. 3, nec aliter ejus Exscriptores, P. Comestor, Epitomator Cantuar. aliique. Hudson not. in loc.

[1] Deut. x, 22. It must be acknowledged that the Alexandrian MS. has in this place ἑβδομηκοντα πεντε. The word πεντε might be inserted to correct a supposed fault of other MSS.

[2] Gen. xxxviii, 2.

[3] Gen. xxxviii, 3, 4, 5.

[4] Ver. 6—11.

[5] Ver. 14—30.

[6] Gen. xxix. See ver. 20, 21.

Jacob married when he first entered Laban's service, this will help us but to seven years, and can make Pharez not above ten years old when Jacob came into Egypt, so that Pharez still could have no children at this time. It must be confessed, that all the versions agree exactly in this verse, and it appears to be fact that Er and Onan died in Canaan.[7] Mistakes in numbers are easily made by even careful transcribers. I am not sensible, that it is of any moment to suppose, that Jacob and his descendants, when they came into Egypt, were exactly seventy. Why may we not suppose, that Moses computed them but threescore and eight, and that the number ten is a corruption of the text, and the names Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Pharez, an interpolation? If I may not take the liberty to make this correction of the text, I must freely acknowledge, that I do not see how to clear the difficulty I have mentioned, but must leave it to the learned,[8] as I entirely submit to them what I have attempted to conjecture about it. The children of Israel flourished in Egypt, and were protected and favoured by its kings on Joseph's account, until the government of Egypt was overthrown in the following manner.

In the fifth year of Concharis, whom Josephus from Manetho calls Timœus,[9] and who, according to Syncellus, was the twenty-fifth king of the land of Tanis, or Lower Egypt, there came a numerous army of unknown people, who invaded Egypt on a sudden, overran both the Upper and the Lower Egypt, fired houses and cities, killed the inhabitants, and made a terrible devastation over all the land; and having in a little time subdued all before them, they made one of their leaders their king, whose name was Salatis. Salatis, being made king, laid the land under tribute, made the ancient inhabitants of Egypt his slaves, garrisoned such towns as he thought proper all over the country, established himself upon the throne, and settled his people in the land. Whence Salatis and his followers came is only to be conjectured. They called themselves the pastors, or shepherds; they took par-

[7] Gen. xxxviii.

[8] I ought not to omit taking notice, that the most learned archbishop Usher has left something in a posthumous work of his, which may perhaps be thought to solve this difficulty. This most learned writer supposes, that Judah was born A. M. 2247, and married when nineteen years old, A. M. 2266; that his son Er was born within that year; that Onan was born A. M. 2267; Shelah 2268; that Er married when he was fifteen, *i. e* A. M. 2281; that Onan married within the same year; that Shelah was grown, *i. e.* was about fifteen, A. M. 2282; that Judah lay with Tamar A. M. 2283; that Pharez and Zara were born at the end of this year; that Pharez was fifteen, and married, and had twins, Hezron and Hamul, at a time, and in the year 2298, to have the children carried with Jacob into Egypt in that year. Here is certainly every thing offered that can possibly be supposed, and whether nothing more than can reasonably be allowed, I must refer to the reader's consideration. See Usher's Chronol. Sacra, c. 10, p. 170.

[9] Josephus contra Apion. lib. i.

ticular care to fortify the eastern parts of Egypt, and seemed most afraid of a disturbance from that quarter. The government of Egypt being thus subverted, the protection and happiness which the Israelites enjoyed perished with it. Salatis knew nothing of Joseph, nor did he regard any establishment which Joseph had settled. He made his way into Egypt with his sword, and he brought his people into the land by conquest, in such a manner and upon such terms as he thought fit. The Israelites were a rich and increasing people, inhabiting the very parts which he thought proper to take the greatest care of, and he readily suspected, that if any invasion should happen from the East they would join against them.[1] He therefore took a particular care to keep them low.

That this king, who oppressed the Israelites, was not an Egyptian, but some foreigner, who with his forces had overrun the country, seems very evident from the appellations which Moses gives him. *He was a new king, and knew not Joseph;*[2] both which hints strongly intimate that he was a foreigner; the word *new* is frequently used in this sense; new gods[3] are strange or foreign gods; and had he been an Egyptian he must have known Joseph, for he came to reign not long after Joseph was dead, and his brethren, and that generation;[4] and it is impossible that the kings of Egypt could in so short a time have forgotten Joseph. Some writers have endeavoured to determine whence this new king and people came. Cardinal Cajetan says they were Assyrians, which he collects from Isaiah.[5] The words of the prophet are, *Thus saith the* LORD, *my people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there, and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause.* If the Hebrew words had been put in such order, as that the word *and* in this verse might be read before *there, and there the Assyrian oppressed them without cause* the cardinal's opinion founded upon this passage would be unquestionable: but as the verse is worded, the two parts of it seem to be two distinct sentences, and the design of it was to comfort the Jews against the prospect of the Babylonian captivity, by hinting to them their former deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage. *My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there*, and now the Assyrian is about oppressing them without cause: *Now therefore* (as it follows) *what have I here, saith the* LORD, *that my people is taken away for nought?—therefore my people shall know my name—when the* LORD *shall bring again Zion.*[6] The whole design of this passage, with what follows, was intended to hint to the Israelites that GOD would certainly bring them out of the Babylonian captivity;[7] and the cardinal's conjec-

1 Exodus i, 10. 2 Ver. 8. 3 Deut. xxxii, 16, 17; Judges v, 8.
4 Exodus i, 6. 5 Isaiah lii, 4.
6 Isaiah lii, 5, 6, 7, 8. 7 See Pool's Synopsis, in loc.

ture cannot be at all supported by it. Africanus says, that these pastors who overran Egypt were Phœnicians;[8] but hints, that some other writers thought them to be Arabians. These two opinions are not so widely different as they seem to be; for Africanus hints, that his Phœnicians came out of the eastern parts (εκ των προς ανατολην μερων,) and the ancients did not accurately distinguish, but often called the whole land of Canaan, with the countries adjacent, by the name of Phœnicia. It is indeed true, that the Arabians are situate rather southward than eastward, and I do not think that these pastors came out of that country. The most probable conjecture that I can make about them is, that they were the Horites, whom the children of Esau drove out of their own land.[9] These Horites were a people who lived by pasturage, and were expelled their country much about this time. Their passage into Egypt was almost directly from the East, and they had great reason to fortify the eastern parts of Egypt, very probably apprehending, that the enemy who had dispossessed them of their own country might take occasion to follow them thither. It may seem unaccountable, that a number of unsettled people should be able to seize upon and overturn the government of a large, a wise, and well established kingdom. But this will not appear so surprising, if we consider the state of kingdoms in these ages. Thucydides's observation concerning the ancient states of Greece might be applied to all the kingdoms of the world in the early ages.[1] Kings had not so firm and secure a possession of their thrones, nor yet the people of the countries they inhabited, as we are apt to think from a judgment formed from the present state of the world. As there was but little traffic stirring in these times, so distant kingdoms had little or no acquaintance with one another; nor did they know of designs formed against themselves until they came to feel them. When the Israelites went out of Egypt, and were come into the wilderness, they exercised and formed their discipline and government for forty years together; and though they were exceedingly numerous, yet no great notice was taken of them, by any of the nations which lay near them, until they were ready to attack them. Where could such a body of people get together now in the world, and not have an alliance of all the neighbouring kingdoms ready to require an account of their designs? But in these early days,

Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes.—Ovid.

Kings apprehended no foreign attacks, until the armies, which came to conquer them, were at their doors; and so their kingdoms were more easily overran by them. Egypt was a very

[8] Syncell. Chronograph. p. 61.
[1] Thucydid. lib. i.
[9] Deut. ii, 12, 22.

flourishing kingdom, but not famous for war. We do not read of any exercise this way, or any trial of their arms, from the days of their first kings to this time; so that these Horites (if they were indeed the Horites) might easily conquer them, and gain themselves a settlement in their kingdom; as the Arcadians did in Thrace; the Pelasgi and afterwards the Trojans did in Italy; nay, and in much later days the Franconians issued out of their own country in this manner in armed multitudes, and conquered France, and set up there that government, to which that kingdom is now subject.[2] The time when these pastors thus overran Egypt, may be pretty well determined in the following manner. 1. It was before Moses was born; for the new king of Egypt had taken several measures to oppress the Israelites before the time of Moses' birth,[3] and Moses was born A. M. 2433. 2. It was after Levi's death, for Joseph died and all his brethren before this new king arose, that knew not Joseph;[4] and Levi lived to be one hundred and thirty-seven years old,[5] and so being born about A. M. 2253,[6] he died A. M. 2390. 3. It was some years after Levi's death, for not only Joseph and his brethren were dead, but all that generation. Benjamin was born twenty years after Levi, and therefore we may suppose that he, or at least some of that generation lived so long after Levi's death, *i. e.* to A. M. 2410, so that it was after that year and before the year of Moses's birth 2433, perhaps about the year 2420. Now this account will place it much about the same time that the Horites were expelled Seir by the children of Esau: for they were expelled by Esau's grandchildren of the families of his younger sons Reuel and Aliphaz, and these pastors came to Egypt in the time of Jacob's grandchildren by his younger sons, their fathers being all dead. If we determine the pastors' coming into Egypt about the year 2420 above-mentioned, and in the fifth year of the reign of Concharis, we may count backwards one hundred and thirty-three years, in Sir John Marsham's list of the kings of Tanis, for so many years passed between Joseph's advancement and A. M. 2420, and so determine who the king was, and in what year of his reign he advanced Joseph. Now, according to this account, Joseph was advanced by Thusimares the twentieth king of Tanis, and in the thirteenth year of Thusimares's reign, as I have before supposed.

The pastors and their king took particular care to keep the Israelites low. He made them his slaves, employed them in building store-houses and walls for Abaris,[7] which was after-

[2] Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France, book i.
[3] Exod. i.
[4] Ver. 6.
[5] Chap. vi, 16.
[6] Levi was Jacob's third son. Jacob married A. M. 2250. Levi might be born about three years after Jacob married.
[7] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 105, sec. 8; Josephus cont. Apion. lib. i, sec. 14; Eusebius Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 12.

wards called Pelusium, or, according to Moses, Pithom, and for Raamses,[8] and in making brick, and in other laborious services; and considering that they increased exceedingly in numbers, he ordered the midwives to kill every male child who should be born of any of them.[9] The midwives did not execute his orders, therefore he thought of another way to destroy them, and charged all his people to have every male child, who was born to the Israelites, thrown into the river.[1]

There is a difficulty in the account, which Moses gives in this place of the midwives: *It came to pass, because the midwives feared* GOD, *that he made them houses.*[2] Can we suppose that GOD raised houses for the midwives miraculously? or could the Israelites, oppressed in slavery, show so great gratitude as to build them any? or if they could, dare they venture to requite them so publicly, for refusing to act as the king ordered them? If I may take a liberty of guessing, I should think that Moses did not mean in this place that houses were built for the midwives, but for the Israelites. It will be queried who was the builder? Why should GOD upon the case here before us build the Israelites' houses? I answer; it was not GOD built the houses here spoken of, but Pharaoh. The case was this: Pharaoh had charged the midwives to kill the male children that were born of the Hebrew women: the midwives feared GOD, and omitted to do as the king had commanded, pretending in excuse for their omission, that the Hebrew women were generally delivered before they could get to them.[3] Pharaoh hereupon resolving to prevent their increase, gave a charge to his people to have all the male children of the Hebrews thrown into the river; but this command could not be strictly executed, whilst the Israelites lived up and down in the fields in tents, which was their ancient and customary way of living, for they would shift here and there, and lodge the women in child-bed out of the way to save their children. Pharaoh therefore built them houses, and obliged them to a more settled habitation, that the people he had set over them might know where to find every family, and take account of all the children that should be born. This was a very cunning contrivance of Pharaoh, in order to have his charge more strictly and effectually executed than it could otherwise have been; and was a remarkable particular not to be omitted in Moses's account of this affair. But as to houses built for the midwives, it seems impossible to give any account why they should be built, or how, or by whom. It will here be asked, but how can the words of Moses be reconciled to what I have offered? I answer, if they be faithfully translated, they can bear no other meaning whatsoever; which will be very evident from the following translation of the place, which

[8] Exod. i, 11.
[2] Exod. i, 21.
[9] Ver. 16.
[3] Ver. 19.
[1] Ver. 22.

is word for word agreeable to the Hebrew; and which I have distinguished into verses, as I think the passage ought really to have been distinguished.

Verse 18. *And the king of Egypt called for the midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and saved alive the children?*

Ver. 19. *And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women, for they are lively, and are delivered before the midwife comes to them.*

Ver. 20. *And* God *dealt well with the midwives. And the people multiplied and waxed very mighty;* (ויהי vejehi, i. e.) *And this happened* (or was so, or came to pass) *because the midwives feared* God.

[4] Ver. 21. *And Pharaoh built them* (i. e. the Israelites) *houses, and charged all his people saying, and every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, every daughter ye shall save alive.*

Thus, if I may take the liberty to suppose the passage not rightly pointed as to the stops, which were the ancient marks at the end of verses,[5] the words may well be rendered as I would take them. The division of the Hebrew Bible into verses is certainly very ancient, but not earlier than the captivity;[6] and I do not find, that the best writers suppose the sections were made by an unerring hand. I think the verses of which I am treating, have been divided, as they now are, injudiciously by some careless transcriber; but it is evident, that they were thus parted before the LXX translation was made, for the LXX render the 21st verse thus; Επει δε εφοβηθησαν αι μαιαι τον Θεον, εποιησαν εαυταις οικιας. *And because the midwives feared* God, *they made themselves houses.* And hence it is evident that the LXX found a difficulty in the verse, and thought it absurd to say that God built the midwives houses, and so turned the expression another way; but their version cannot be right, for the Hebrew words are not *they*, but *he built*, and in the original *la hem*, signifies *for them*, and not *for themselves*. I do not at present see any way to give a clear account of the place so easy, as to suppose the punctuation wrong, as I have imagined. Some of the commentators have indeed offered a conjecture, at first sight very promising, to explain the expression as it now stands. They would take the words *made them houses*, metaphorically, and say that they mean, either that God gave

[4] The Hebrew words are,

ויעש להם בתים ויצו פרעה לכל עמו

suo populo omni Pharaoh præcepit et domos illis fecit et

Our English translators should have considered that the nominative case to two verbs is commonly put after the second verb, in other languages, though our English will not admit of it.

[5] See Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, book v. [6] Id. ibid.

the midwives many children, or that he made them prosperous in their affairs. The former of these interpretations is that of St. Ambrose; and it is said that the expression is thus used, Gen. xvi, 2, xxx, 3; Deut. xxv, 9; Ruth iv, 11; but in this point these interpreters make a great mistake; the expression before us is *nashah beith*, but the expression in the passages cited is a very different one, it is *banah beith*, and not *nashah*. Had the expression here before us been, *banah beithim, lahem*, it might have signified, God *built up their houses or families, by making them numerous;* but *nashah beithim lahem*, are words of a very different meaning. But in the second place, it is said, that, *nashah beithim*, signifies, that God *prospered them*, or *provided for them*, and Gen. xxx, 30, is cited to justify this interpretation. The words in that passage are, *And now, when shall I* make or *provide for my own house also?* But here again the instance fails; the expression cited is not *nashah beith*, but it is *nashah le beith*, not, *when shall I make my house?* but, *when shall I make for my house*, or, *when shall I do for my house?* between which two expressions there is evidently a difference.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK VIII.

SALATIS, the new king of Egypt, not only oppressed the Israelites, but, by the violence of his conquests,[1] so terrified the ancient inhabitants of the land, that many persons of the first figure thought it better to leave their native country, than to sit down under the calamities which they feared might be brought upon them; from whence it happened, that several companies made the best way they could out of Egypt, in hopes of gaining a happier settlement for themselves in some foreign country. Ister, a writer cited by Eusebius,[2] and by Clemens Alexandrinus,[3] who lived in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes,[4] wrote a particular account of the colonies which removed out of Egypt into other nations. His work would, perhaps, have been very serviceable in this place; but this and other performances of Ister are long since lost. However, Diodorus Siculus has particularly remarked, that Egypt sent many colonies into divers parts of the world;[5] and we may collect from him, and from hints of other ancient writers, that Cecrops, Erichthonius, and the father of Cadmus, left Egypt about the time we are treating of; and Danaus and Belus followed them not long after.

Belus was the son of Neptune. Who this neptune was we are not informed; but it seems to be an Egyptian name; for the Egyptians called the shores which the sea waves beat upon, Nepthun.[6] Most probably the person called by this

[1] Josephus cont. Apion, l. i, sec. 14, p. 1337.
[2] Præp. Evang. lib. iv, c. 16.
[3] Stromat. lib. i, sec. 21; and l. iii, sec. 6.
[4] Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 107.
[5] Lib. i, sec. 28, p. 24.
[6] Plutarch, in Iside et Osiride, p. 366.

name was an inventor of shipping, and from thence came to be called the god of the sea; and this tradition of him was embraced by the Cretans.[7] Herodotus observes, that he had divine honours paid him in a country adjacent to Egypt,[8] where his wife seems to have lived;[9] and where perhaps he might go to live, when his son Belus left Egypt. But because he died not in Egypt, or because he lived in these troublesome times, when the natives of Egypt were under a foreign power, which had invaded them, his name was not recorded among the great and eminent Egyptian ancients; therefore, though in after-ages he was worshipped in many foreign countries, yet he never was reputed a deity by the Egyptians.[1] His son Belus went to Babylon, and carried with him some of the Egyptian priests, and obtained leave for them to settle and cultivate their studies, in the same manner, and with the encouragement and protection with which they had been favoured in their own country.[2] If we consider the studies in which these Egyptians were engaged, it will be easy to account for their meeting with so favourable a reception at Babylon. They employed themselves in astronomy, and making observations on the stars;[3] and the Babylonians had been promoters and encouragers of this study above seven hundred years before these men came among them, and continued to cultivate and cherish these arts for above eleven hundred years after.[4] These Egyptians were probably very able to put the Babylonians into a better method of prosecuting these studies, than they were before masters of; for though the Babylonians began to make astronomical observations sooner than any other nation in the world, yet the Egyptians seem to have been more happy in these studies than they; for the first correction in the length of the year was made in Egypt,[5] and before the Babylonians were able to attempt it. We may conjecture what this Belus might probably teach the Babylonians, in order to improve their astronomical observations. The chief aim of the ancient astronomers was to observe the times of the rising and setting of the stars; and the first, and most proper places they could think of to make their observations in, were very large and open plains,[6] where they could have an extensive view of the horizon without interruption; and such plains as these were observatories for many generations. But the Egyptians had, about three hundred years before the time of this Belus,[7] thought of a method to improve these

[7] Diodor. Sic. lib. v, sec. 69, p. 337.
[8] Lib. ii, c. 50.
[9] His wife was called Λιβυη, Diodor. lib. i, sec. 28, p. 24.
[1] Herodotus, lib. ii, c. 50.
[2] Diodor. lib. i, sec. 70, p. 24.
[3] Id. ibid.
[4] See vol. i, b. iv, p. 124.
[5] Pref. vol. i.
[6] Της χαρας αυτοις συνεργησης προς το τηλαυγεστερον οραν τας επιτολας και δυσεις των αστρων. Diodor. l. i, sec. 50, p. 46.
[7] The largest pyramid was built by Syphis. See vol. i, book v.

views; namely, by building their pyramids, on the tops of which they might take their prospects with still greater advantage. Belus taught the Babylonians the use of these structures; and, perhaps, projected for them that lofty tower, which conveyed the name of Belus down to future ages. The most learned Dean Prideaux remarks of this tower, that it was more ancient than the temple, which was afterwards built round it, and that it was certainly built many ages[8] before Nebuchadnezzar; according to which account it will be more ancient than his reign, by almost a thousand years. Bochart asserts that it had been the very same tower which was built in this country at the confusion of tongues;[9] but this cannot well be supposed, for that certainly was a mountainous heap raised with no great art, by a multitude of untaught and unexperienced builders, who had no farther aim than to raise a monument of their vanity;[1] but this was a nice piece of workmanship, more like the production of a more improved age, and was a building well contrived and fitted for various uses. I might add farther, that this tower was finished, but the former never was; so that at most this could only be raised upon the ruins and foundations of that, and must have been the work of later builders. The tower of Belus seems to have been a great improvement of the Egyptian pyramids; for the tower was contrived to answer all the useful purposes of the largest pyramids, and in a better manner. It was raised to a much greater height,[2] and had a more commodious space at top, and more useful and larger apartments within, and yet was a less bulky building, and raised upon far narrower foundations. In its outward form, it looked so like a pyramid to them that viewed it at a little distance, that it has been mistaken for one; and Strabo expressly calls it a pyramid in the account he gives of it.[3] Upon these accounts, I suppose it was projected by one well acquainted with the Egyptian pyramid, and its defects; who therefore was able to design a structure that might exceed it; and I cannot say to whom we can ascribe it with so great a show of probability as to the Belus we are speaking of. It is not probable that the Egyptian name of this man was Belus; for Bel or Belus is an Assyrian, and not an Egyptian name; but it is remarkable that all sorts of persons had new names given them, whenever they were well received in foreign countries. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, called Joseph Zaphnah-Paaneah;[4] and the prince of the eunuchs gave new names to Daniel and his companions, when they were appointed to be taken care of, and prepared for public employments in the court of Babylon.[5] Now what name more proper, or more honorary than this, could they

[8] Connect. vol. i, book ii.
[1] See vol. i, book ii, p. 83.
[3] Lib. xvi.
[4] Gen. xli, 45.
[9] Phaleg. part i, lib. i, c. 9
[2] Dr. Prideaux, ubi sup.
[5] Dan. i, 7.

give this Egyptian, who was eminent in a science, of which one of their first kings of this name was the famous and first professor? It is even now a known figure of speech to call an excellent orator a Cicero, a poet a Homer, an eminent and virtuous legislator Lycurgus, a soldier Achilles or Hector. With the ancients in the first times, it was their common usage; and thus Agathodæmon,[6] was called Thyoth or Thoth in Egypt, because he was the reviver or restorer of those parts of learning which a son of Mizraim of that name first planted there, many ages before this second Thyoth was born. And thus the Babylonians named the person we are speaking of Belus, because he was a great and remarkable improver of that astronomy of which Belus, the second king of Babylon, was the celebrated author. Sir John Marsham seems to think that the Belus we are speaking of, and the king of Babylon of that name, were but one and the same person;[7] and he imagines that he was Arius the fourth king after Ninus; and endeavours to support his opinion by a passage from Cedrenus,[8] who says "That after Ninus, Thurus reigned over the Assyrians; that his father Zames called him Ares; that the Assyrians set up the first pillar to this Ares, and worshipped him as a god, naming him Baal." In which opinion of Cedrenus there are these mistakes. 1. Ares here spoken of, to whom the Assyrians set up the first pillar, was not a deified king or hero, but a name of the star Mars; for the Babylonians worshipped in the first days of their idolatry the luminaries of Heaven, and did indeed set up a pillar to that particular planet.[9] They did not call this particular deity Baal, but Adar or Azar.[1] Baal was their name for the Sun. 3. It was not until many ages after, that they worshipped their kings. Gesner very judiciously remarks, that the Assyrians deified Belus, *i. e.* the king of that name, about A. M. 3185,[2] and they cannot be supposed to have deified him sooner. For they were not descended so low in their idolatry as to worship images until after A. M. 3274, which is the twelfth or thirteenth year of Ahaz, and about the time when the men of Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim were brought to live in Samaria,[3] and it is very probable, that when they had deified their kings and heroes, image-worship was introduced soon after. These mistakes of Cedrenus were most probably occasioned by the planet Mars and the king Ares bearing the same name. But omitting to remark that the names we now have of these early Assyrian kings are exotic names, and not Assyrian; and that

[6] See vol. i, book i, p. 56. Sir John Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 231; Euseb. in Chron.
[7] Can. Chron. p. 32, 107.
[8] Cedren. p. 16; Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 32.
[9] See vol. i, book v.
[1] Ibid.
[2] Not. ad Tatian. ed. Worth. Oxon. p. 126.
[3] Vol. i, book v; Archbishop Usher's Annals.

the persons intended by them were not so called in their own countries, nor until they came to be mentioned in foreign languages, out of which most of these names are evidently taken; and supposing that this Arius had an Assyrian name, as agreeable to the Assyrian name for Mars, as Arius or Ares is to Αρης, the Greek one; yet the time he lived in should have been considered, and the customs of it. The Assyrians worshipped in these days the luminaries of Heaven; but in order to do their kings honour they called them by the names of their gods. So they called one of them Bel, Baal, or Belus, another, perhaps, Adar, another Nebo, another Gad, and in time they put two or three of these names together,[4] and this was their way of *putting the names of their gods upon them.*[5] But it cannot be concluded from their kings bearing these names, that they worshipped their kings; rather these names of their kings lead us to the knowledge of the gods, which they served. Sir John Marsham observes, that Pausanias hints, that the Babylonian Belus had his name from an Egyptian so called. The passage in Pausanias is this: he relates that "Manticlus built a temple for the Messenians, which he dedicated to Hercules; and that they called the god Hercules Manticlus, as they called the African deity Ammon, and the Babylonian Belus; the one being named from Belus, an Egyptian, the son of Libya, the other from a shepherd, who founded the temple."[6] Now from this passage of Pausanias, it can in nowise be concluded, that the Babylonians had had no king named Belus, until this Egyptian Belus came amongst them; but the true inferences from it are these. 1. That deities had commonly a cognomen, or additional name, from the founders of their temples. 2. That the Egyptian Belus founded the temple of Belus at Babylon. This last proposition is indeed not true; for there were no temples in the world so early as the days even of this second Belus; men at this time worshipping either in groves, or at their altars in the open air. However, Pausanias might find reason to think that this Belus built the tower which was called by his name; and he might not separate the tower from the temple, which, the most learned Dean Prideaux observes,[7] was not built at the same time. Therefore all that can be concluded from Pausanias is, that an Egyptian built the tower of Belus at Babylon, and this I believe is true; but this Belus was not so called when he lived in Egypt, but had the honour of that name given him by the Assyrians, in memory of a celebrated king so called by them, who was famous for the astronomical learning, which this Egyptian professed. Upon the whole, that the successor of Nimrod, and predecessor of Ninus the second king of Babylon, was called Bel or Belus, we are assured by

[4] Vol. i, book v.
[5] Numb. vi, 27.
[6] In Messeniac.
[7] Ubi sup.

Africanus and Eusebius;[8] and Africanus remarks, that the most celebrated historians concurred in it. That there was an Egyptian who led a colony to Babylon, and was there called Belus, we are assured by Diodorus, which is also hinted by Pausanias in the passage above cited. That this Belus did not come to Babylon before the time we are treating of, seems probable, because we have no reason to think that Egypt sent out any colonies until these days; and farther, from his being said to build the tower of Belus, which cannot well be supposed to have been built until after the largest Egyptian pyramid; and that he came to Babylon about these times seems farther probable from his living about the time that ships were invented. For it is said, his father Neptune was the inventor of ships;[9] and that they were invented about these times appears from what is recorded of Danaus, who was contemporary with this Belus, that he made the first ship, and fled with it from Egypt;[1] his ship, says Pliny,[2] was called the first ship, because until his time men used only smaller boats or vessels. Such ships as those of Danaus were a new thing in these days; and therefore Nephtun the Egyptian was the inventor of them, and consequently his son Belus lived about this time. Thus I have endeavoured to clear the history of these two Belus's, which some learned writers have been fond of perplexing. Belus was the father of Danaus;[3] and as it will appear that Danaus came to Greece A. M. 2494, so it is probable that Belus went to Babylon about the same time.

Cecrops left Egypt many years sooner than the time when Belus went to Babylon; and after some years' travels came into Greece, and lived in Attica. He was well received there by Actæus, who was at that time king of the country, and from whom the country was named Attica;[4] and some time after he married the daughter of Actæus; and when Actæus died succeeded him in his kingdom.[5] The time when Cecrops became king of Attica, may be determined from the Parian Chronicon, which records that Cecrops reigned at Athens one thousand three hundred and eighteen years before that chronicle was composed.[6] Now supposing the Chronicon composed A. M. 3741,[7] it will fix the beginning of Cecrops's reign to A. M. 2423. Eusebius is thought to differ from this account,[8] twenty-six years says Selden, and Lydiat from him;[9] I think he seems to differ forty-four; for Eusebius's Chronicon begins the reign of Cecrops ninety-nine or a hundred years after the death of Joseph,[1] and conse-

[8] In Chronic. Eusch.
[1] Apollodor. lib. ii, p. 63; Marm. Arundel Ep. 9.
[3] Prideaux, Annotat. ad Chron. Marm. p. 156.
[4] Marm. Arundel. Ep. 1; see Prideaux, Annotat. in Chron. Marm. p. 91.
[5] Pausanias in Atticis.
[7] Archbishop Usher's Chron.
[9] Lydiat. Annotat. ad Chron. Marm. p. 13.
[1] Num. Eusch. in Chronic. 460.
[9] Diodor. sup. cit.
[2] Lib. vii, c. 56.
[6] Ep. Marm. 1.
[8] Chronic.

quently must begin it about A. M. 2467.[2] Lydiat has attempted to reconcile this difference, but I doubt the reader will find little to his satisfaction in what he has offered. I hope that we may have liberty to cut knots of this sort, instead of trying to untie them. However, since all the ancient Greek chronology must depend upon our fixing this period; I will endeavour to lay before the reader the whole of what the ancient writers offer about it, and then he may the better form a judgment of it. And,

1. Castor endeavours to fix the time of Cecrops's reign, in his list or account of the kings of Sicyon.[3] He tells us that Ægialeus was the first king of Sicyon, that he reigned fifty-two years, and began his reign about the fifteenth year of Belus the first king of Babylon; so that we may fix the first year of Ægialeus to A. M. 1920, Belus beginning his reign A. M. 1905.[4] Castor proceeds and gives us the reigns of twelve kings who succeeded Ægialeus, with the particular lengths of each of their reigns; and all of them together, including the reign of Ægialeus with them, amounting to five hundred and sixty years, ending at the death of Marathonius, and will bring us to A. M. 2480. Castor remarks after Marathonius's name, Κατα τουτον πρωτος εβασιλευσε της Αττικης Κεκροψ ο διφυης, that in his time Cecrops began to reign in Attica. Now Marathonius reigned but thirty years, so that, placing the first year of Cecrops very early in his reign (Eusebius places it in the third year,)[5] we must fix the first year of Cecrops, according to this account, about A. M. 2450 or 2452. I would do Castor the justice to remark, that this account of these times seems well adjusted in another particular. After Messapus he remarks, that in his time Joseph was made governor of Egypt; and Messapus according to his account began to reign A. M. 2246, and reigned forty-seven years; and Joseph was advanced A. M. 2287,[6] *i. e.* in the forty-first year of Messapus.

2. We may collect the time of Cecrops from another account of the same chronologer. We have his list of the Argive kings, from Inachus the first king of that country:[7] he says that Inachus began his reign about the time of Thurimachus the seventh king of Sicyon. Now if we calculate, we shall find that Thurimachus began his reign about A. M. 3148; for Castor places him two hundred and twenty-eight years later than the first year of Ægialeus. And supposing Inachus to begin his reign near as soon as Thurimachus; in Thurimachus's sixth year, according to Eusebius,[8] we shall begin Inachus's reign A. M. 2154. From the first year of Inachus, to the beginning of Triopas's reign, who was the

[2] Book vii.
[3] Eusebii χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 19.
[4] See vol. i, book iv, p. 118.
[5] In Χρονικ. Καν.
[6] See book vii, p. 147.
[7] Euseb. Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 24.
[8] In Chron. Can.

seventh king of Argos, Castor computes three hundred and four years; so that Triopas began to reign A. M. 2458; and Tatian and Clemens Alexandrinus both agree, that Cecrops reigned about the time of Triopas;[9] and Eusebius, after examining farther, was of the same opinion.[1] Thus from both these accounts of Castor, we must begin Cecrops's reign later than A. M. 2450.

3. We have in the next place a computation, which Scaliger intended to have pass for Eusebius's, which will bring us to about the same year. It is computed that Ogyges first reigned over the Athenians, and that he was contemporary with Phoroneus king of Argos:[2] Castor was of the same opinion.[3] It is said farther, that Ogyges lived about the time of Messapus the ninth king of Sicyon; and that he was later than Belochus the ninth king of Assyria. Now, if any one will make a table of the kings of Assyria, beginning Belus's reign where I have placed it, he will find that Belochus died A. M. 2263; and from Castor's table of the kings of Sicyon, it may be computed, that Messapus began his reign A. M. 2246, and ended it A. M. 2293. So that if we place Ogyges the year after Belochus died, we shall place him in the eighteenth year of Messapus, and A. M. 2264; and from Ogyges to Cecrops we are told are one hundred and ninety years, so that this account will place Cecrops A. M. 2454.

4. Porphyry's account places Cecrops still later. He says that Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt in the forty-fifth year of Cecrops.[4] Now Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt A. M. 2513, and therefore if Cecrops began his reign but forty-five years before this time, we must place him A. M. 2468. These are the several computations of the ancient writers, which are now extant; but I would in the next place observe, that Eusebius did not intend to agree with any of these computations.

We have a general, but a full account of what Eusebius, after the best examination he could make, found to be true, both in his Præparatio Evangelica, and in his Prœmium to his Greek Canon Chronicus;[5] and the particulars are: 1. That Cecrops and Moses were contemporaries. 2. That they lived four hundred years before the taking of Troy; or rather, as he expresses it in another place, almost four hundred years before the taking of Troy. 3. That from Moses backwards to the birth of Abraham are four hundred and five years, and so many likewise from Ninus to Cecrops. 4. From Semiramis to Cecrops are more than four hundred years. These are the particulars of which Eusebius thought himself well assured.

[9] Clem. Stromat. lib. i, p. 380; edit. Oxon. c. 21; Tatian. Orat. ad Græcos. p. 132, sec. 60.

[1] Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9.

[2] Euseb. Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 27

[3] Ibid. p 24.

[4] Ibid. p. 29.

[5] See Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9, p. 486. Προοιμ.

and from these it will fully appear, that Eusebius's computations did not really differ from our epocha on the marble. For, 1. If by Cecrops and Moses being contemporaries be meant, that Moses was born after Cecrops was king at Athens, and this seems to be Eusebius's meaning; (he says Μωυσεα γενεσθαι κατα Κεκροπα,[6] which expression is best explained by what he says of Ninus in the same place, that Αβρααμ ειναι καθ' αυτον, and he supposes Abraham born towards the latter end of Ninus's reign, in his forty-third year; and this is evidently the meaning of the expression several times used in Castor's list beforementioned[7] always in this sense.) If, I say, we are to understand by this expression, that Moses was born after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, there is no difference in this particular between Eusebius and the marble. For Moses was born A. M. 2433,[8] and according to the marble, Cecrops began to reign A. M. 2423. 2. Moses and Cecrops were four hundred years before the taking of Troy, not quite so much but almost. Now if we suppose Troy was taken A. M. 2820, according to archbishop Usher, the year in which the marble begins Cecrops's reign is three hundred and ninety-seven years before the taking of Troy; or rather, if we fix the taking of Troy according to the marble[9] to A. M. 2796, we begin Cecrops reign three hundred and seventy-three years before the taking of Troy, and place Moses's birth before that period three hundred and eighty-three years, making it fall short seventeen only of four hundred. 3. From Moses backwards to the birth of Abraham are five hundred and five years, and from Cecrops to Ninus are the same number. Now Moses was born A. M. 2433; Abraham was born 2008; so that here evidently wants eighty years of the computation. But Eusebius tells us expressly, that he designed this account should begin, not at Moses's birth, but at the eightieth year of his life:[1] how this came to be omitted in his Præparatio Evangelica[2] I cannot tell. Now, if in like manner we compute backwards from the eightieth year after the beginning of Cecrops's reign,[3] we shall come to Ninus. Ninus died A. M. 2017. The eightieth year after the first of Cecrops is according to the marble 2503; deduct out of it five hundred and five years, and the year you will come back to is A. M. 1998, which falls within Ninus's reign, and is the thirty-third year of his reign. 4. From Semiramis to Cecrops are more than four hundred years. Semiramis began her

[6] Προοιμ. ut sup.

[7] Both of the Sicyonian and Argive kings. Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 19, 24.

[8] Archbishop Usher.

[9] Epocha 25.

[1] Απο τε π. Μωσεως, &c. Προοιμ. ut sup.

[2] Præp. Evang. lib. x, c 9, p. 484.

[3] Απο δηλαδηνλος ετες της Κεκροπος Βασιλειας, are the words of both in c. 9. lib. x, Præp. Evang. et in Præm. And Vigerius the Latin translator renders it, "Ab illo Cecropis regni anno."

reign A. M. 2017.[4] Cecrops according to the marble began his 2423, *i. e.* four hundred and six years after Semiramis. Thus, according to the particulars upon which Eusebius calculated the time of Cecrops, we must conclude that his computations agree perfectly well with that of the marble, varying very little if any thing at all from it; and from all these particulars duly considered, it appears very plainly, that Cecrops is not placed in the Canon Chronicus, which we now have of Eusebius, where Eusebius did in all probability really place him. For, 1. Cecrops is there placed thirty-five years after the birth of Moses; so that Moses ought not to have been said to be κατα Κεκροπα, or born in the times of Cecrops, but Cecrops to have been κατα Μωυσεα, and so Eusebius would have expressed it, if this had been his meaning. 2. According to this canon, Moses is not born almost four hundred years before the taking of Troy. 3. Cecrops is here made to be four hundred and fifty years later than Semiramis, which cannot well be reconciled with Eusebius. 4. Five hundred and five years computed backwards from the eightieth year of Cecrops, will not bring us back to Ninus; for according to this canon, Cecrops's first year is four hundred and fifty years after the last year of Ninus, so that the position of Cecrops in the present canon of Eusebius does but ill agree with two of Eusebius's four marks of Cecrops's time, and evidently differs from the other two; whereas the true time of Cecrops, as fixed by the marble, agrees perfectly with all the four. But the learned know that the Chronicon of Eusebius, which he himself composed, is long ago lost, and that the work we now have of that name was composed by Scaliger, from such fragments as he could find of Eusebius in other writers; and he has in some things given us his own sentiments, instead of Eusebius's chronology, of which we have an evident instance in this particular; which, with several others, ought carefully to be distinguished by those, who would build upon the authority of Eusebius's Chronicon. Thus at last it appears, that the marble differs from Scaliger only and not from Eusebius. Scaliger was probably led into this mistake by Castor's computations; not attending to what Eusebius has said upon the subject in his other works, and in his preface to this.

I might offer something farther, to show how Castor was led into his mistake in this point; but I fear the reader is already tired with too long a digression; however, I will suggest a hint, which the reader may consider farther, if he pleases. It is agreed by all the best writers, that Cecrops lived about the time of Triopas king of Argos; and, according to Castor's computations, Triopas began to reign A. M. 2458; but it is remarkable that Castor sets Triopas lower in the Argive list than he ought to have done; for he has inserted a

[4] See vol. i, book iv, p. 119.

king as his predecessor, who never reigned there. He makes Apis the third king of Argos, and says he reigned thirty-five years; but we find from Æschylus,[5] that Apis was not a king of Argos, but a foreigner who came from Ætolia, and did indeed do the Sicyonians a public service, and so might possibly have his name recorded in their registries. Pausanias confirms this point, for he does not insert Apis amongst the kings of Argos,[6] but places Argus or Criasus next to Phoroneus, omitting Apis. Now, if we strike Apis out of the roll, and deduct the years of his reign, we shall bring Castor's opinion thirty-five years nearer to the marble, and leave but a small difference between them. Upon the whole Africanus observed, that the ancient writers differed in their sentiments about the times of Cecrops; some (he says) supposed him contemporary with Prometheus, Atlas, and Epimetheus; others placed him sixty, and others ninety years after them.[7] Clemens Alexandrinus places Prometheus, Atlas, Epimetheus, and Cecrops together in the time of Triopas,[8] and so does Tatian,[9] but Eusebius seems to differ from them in this particular, and to think Atlas, Prometheus, and Epimetheus, before Cecrops;[1] how long, he has not told us, nor can we possibly guess from Scaliger's canon of Eusebius; for he has inserted Atlas twice; eighty-two years before Cecrops in one place,[2] and again with Prometheus and Epimetheus thirty-one years before him in the other.[3] Most probably Eusebius thought that Clemens and Tatian placed him too early, by making him contemporary with Atlas, and yet found that sixty or ninety years after him would be too late, and so chose a medium; and we find he was far from being singular in his opinion; for the Parian Chronicon agrees very nearly, if not exactly with him; so that here are two authorities concurring, which is more than can be found in favour of any of the other computations.

After Cecrops was made king of Attica, he endeavoured to form the people; who were, before his time, but unsettled and wandering peasants, lived up and down the country, reaped the fruits of the earth, and took the cattle for their use when and where they could find them; for this was the wild and disorderly manner in which the ancient inhabitants of Greece lived.[4] But Cecrops instructed his people, and gave them laws for society, and taught them how to be of help and comfort, and advantage to one another; and in order to teach them this more fully, he endeavoured to draw them together, and to have them live in a settled habitation, within the reach of his influence and inspection, and therefore taught them to build houses, and make a town or city, which he called Cecropia

5 Æschyl. in Supplic. v. 264.
6 In Corinthiacis.
7 Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 26.
8 Stromat. lib. i, c. 21.
9 Orat. ad Græcos. sec. 60. p. 132.
1 See Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9, p. 486.
2 Scal. Num. Euseb. 379.
3 Num. 430.
4 Thucyd. Hist. lib. i, c. 2.

from his own name. Strabo from Philochorus says,[5] that Cecrops instructed his people to build twelve cities; but if such a number of cities were really built by a prince of this name, I think, according to what the most learned Dr. Potter, the present Lord Bishop of Oxford, has remarked, that these twelve cities were built by Cecrops the second of that name, and seventh king of Attica, and not by this first Cecrops.[6] Twelve cities were not to be attempted at once; it was a great thing to raise one from so uncultivated a people. The Scholiast upon Pindar[7] reports from Philochorus, that Cecrops instituted a poll, to see how many subjects he had to begin with, causing every man to cast a stone into a place appointed, and that upon computation he found them to be in number twenty thousand; but may we not think that this particular also belongs to the second Cecrops, and not to the first? I cannot well imagine how Cecrops could at first get together twenty thousand of these untaught people; or if he could have got them together, how he could well have managed them. It is more likely he would have chosen to begin with a less company. But certainly the country itself could not at this time supply him with so many men; for if we look to the Trojan war, though the Athenians had been a growing people all along until that time; and though Theseus vastly augmented their number by inviting all foreigners who could be got into his city;[8] yet we find the Athenians sent but twenty ships to Troy, in each of which, if we suppose with Plutarch a hundred and twenty men, or, which from the calculation of our English Homer[9] seems more probable, eighty-five men only in each vessel, it will appear that Athens could then furnish out at most but six thousand, or rather four thousand two hundred and fifty men, and therefore could not begin with twenty thousand. For considering how numerous they made their armies in these early days, in proportion to the numbers of their people, twenty thousand men in the days of the first Cecrops must have made Athens able to have furnished out a greater number of soldiers for an expedition, in which all Greece was forward to engage with its utmost strength. Cecrops therefore began his kingdom, like other legislators, with a far less number of subjects than the Scholiast represented. Romulus at first had but few inhabitants for his city, which became afterwards the mistress of the world. When he wanted wives for his subjects, six hundred and eighty-three Sabines were a great supply;[1] and after that, when he had incorporated

[5] Thucid. Hist. lib. ix.
[6] Archæologia Græca, vol. i, c. ii, p. 9.
[7] Olympion, ode ix, lin. 68.
[8] Plutarch in Theseo.
[9] Pope's notes upon Homer's Catalogue of Ships, Il. ii; See Thucydid. Hist. l. i, c. 9.

[1] Dionys. Halicarnass. l. ii, p 97. All his number were two thousand three hundred, ibid. p. 86. Some say, the Sabine virgins taken were but thirty. Valerius Antias makes them five hundred and twenty-seven: Juba, six hundred and eighty-three. Plut. in Rom.

the people of two nations[2] with his own, the bulk of his subjects even then amounted to but six thousand men. These were the small beginnings of all nations in the world; and Cecrops must be thought to begin his in like manner. One point, which he took the greatest care of, was to instruct the people in religion; for all authors, who speak of him, are express, and more particular in this than one would expect;[3] so that we may guess he was remarkably diligent in this matter. He divided them into four tribes, orders, ranks, or fraternities; in order to their being capable of performing, each sort of men in their rank and order, the several offices of civil life. He taught them likewise all the arts of living, in which he must have been well instructed, by having lived in so flourishing a kingdom as Egypt had been. He applied himself daily in giving them laws and rules for their actions, in hearing and deciding all causes of difference which might arise amongst them, and in encouraging every thing which might tend to their living in peace and good order, and suppressing and dissuading them from all actions which might interrupt their happiness. Before his time the people of Attica made no marriages, but had their women in common; but he reduced them from this wild and brutish extravagance, and taught each man to marry one wife;[4] for which reason Athenæus and Justin[5] says he was called Διφυης, or one born of two parents. Other writers assign other reasons for his having this appellation; but this seems by far the best. The Athenians themselves have given divers accounts of his having this name; but they were so different, and many of them so frivolous, that Diodorus Siculus[6] concluded they had lost the true account of it. Cecrops governed Attica fifty years.[7] He had a son and three daughters: his son's name was Erysichthon, his daughters were Hirce, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus. Erysichthon died before his father, and was buried at Prasiæ, a city of Attica.[8] Cecrops died A. M. 2473.

When Cecrops died, Cranaus, a very potent and wealthy Attican, was made king.[9] He had several daughters, one of whom was married to Amphictyon, who expelled his father-in-law Cranaus, and made himself king; but in a little time Erichthonius made a party, and deposed Amphictyon. All this happened in about twenty years after the death of Cecrops; for, according to the marble,[1] Amphictyon was king within ten years after Cecrops's death, and Erichthonius within ten

[2] Dionys. Halicarnass. l. ii, c. 35, p. 100.
[3] Euseb in Chronic. id. Præp. Evang. l. x, c. 9; Syncellus, p. 153; Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i, c. 10.
[4] Suidas in Προμεθ.
[5] Athenæus Deipnosoph. l. xiii, p. 555; Justin. lib. ii, c. 6.
[6] Diodor. Sic. l. i.
[7] Euseb. in Chron.
[8] Pausan. in Atticis, lib. i, c 2; ibid. c. 31.
[9] Castor in Euseb. Chron.; Pausan. in Atticis, c. 3.
[1] Epoch. v, et vii.

more.[2] Erichthonius was an Egyptian, and very probably came with Cecrops into Greece. Diodorus says, that Erechtheus came from Egypt, and was made king of Athens;[3] here is only a small mistake of the name, made either by Diodorus, or some transcriber. Erechtheus was the son of Pandion, and grandson of Erichthonius,[4] and Erichthonius was the person who came from Egypt. Agreeable to this is the account which the Greeks give of him, who say he had no mortal father, but was descended from Vulcan and the Earth,[5] *i. e.* he was not a native of their country; for they had no account to give of his family or ancestors, and so in time they made a fable instead of a genealogy. Attica was a barren country, but Erichthonius taught his people to bring corn from Egypt.[6]

About sixty-three years after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, and about thirteen years after Cecrops's death, Cadmus came into Bœotia, and built Thebes, A. M. 2486.[7] Tatian and Clemens Alexandrinus[8] thought him much later; but as they assign no reasons for their opinions, so certainly they were much mistaken in this, as they are confessed to be in some other points, which Eusebius wrote after them on purpose to correct.[9] Eusebius himself, if Scaliger indeed places Cadmus according to Eusebius's meaning, has mistaken this point; for Cadmus stands in the Chronicon[1] above a hundred years lower than his true place, which the marble seems very justly to have fixed, as may clearly appear by considering what Pausanias has given of Cadmus's family, and comparing that and what Pausanias farther offers with Castor's account of the Sicyon kings. Labdacus (Pausanias tells us) was the grandson of Cadmus; and being a minor when his father died, he was committed to the care of Nycteus, who was appointed to be his guardian, and regent of his kingdom;[2] now Nycteus was wounded in a battle with Epopeus.[3] Epopeus was the seventeenth king of Sicyon,[4] and was contemporary with the guardian of Labdacus, Cadmus's grandson. Epopeus reigned[5] but thirty-five years; we may therefore suppose Polydorus the father of Labdacus son of Cadmus contemporary with Corax, the predecessor of Epopeus, and Cadmus the father of Polydorus might begin his reign in the time of Echureus, the predecessor of Corax; and from the third year of Marathonius, in whose time (according to Castor) Cecrops reigned at Athens, to the beginning of Echureus's reign, are but thirty-

2 Epoch. ix.
3 Lib. i, c. 29.
4 Castor in Euseb.; Pausan. ubi sup.
5 Pausan. ibid.
6 Diodorus Sic. lib. i.
7 Marmor. Arund. Ep. vii.
8 Tatian. Orat. ad Græcos, c. 61; Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i, c. 21.
9 See Euseb. Προοιμ.
2 Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. v.
3 Pausan. in Corinthiacis, c. 6.
4 Castor in Chron. Euseb. p. 19.
1 Euseb. Num. 587.
5 Id. ibid.

five years.[6] So that, supposing Cadmus to come to Thebes, according to the marble, sixty-three years after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, we must date Cadmus's coming to Thebes in the twenty-eighth year of Echureus, and thereabouts we must place Cadmus; because the grandson of Cadmus was a minor and had a guardian in the reign of Epopeus, who was the second king next after Echureus, in whose time we suppose Cadmus. I might offer another argument to prove that Cadmus cannot be later than the marble supposes him. Oenotrus, the youngest son of Lycaon, led a colony of the Pelasgi into Italy.[7] These Pelasgi did not go into Italy until after Cadmus had taught the Greeks the use of letters; for they conveyed into Italy the knowledge of the letters which Cadmus had taught the Greeks.[8] Lycaon the father of Oenotrus reigned in Arcadia at the same time when Cecrops reigned at Athens.[9] The marble supposes that Cadmus came into Greece about sixty-three years after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, and we cannot imagine him to be later: for if he was later, how could the son of Lycaon, when Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, learn Cadmus's letters time enough to convey the knowledge of them into a foreign country?

The reader may perhaps meet with an account of Cadmus's ancestors, taken in part from Apollodorus and other ancient writers;[1] which may seem to argue that Cadmus lived much later than we suppose. It is said that Cadmus was the son of Agenor, Agenor son of Libya, daughter of Epaphus; Epaphus son of Io daughter of Iasus, who was son of Triopas king of Argos. Io was carried into Egypt, and married there. By this account Cadmus will be six descents lower than Triopas, and consequently as much later than Cecrops, for all writers agree that Cecrops and Triopas were contemporaries; but, from the former arguments and computations, we suppose that Cadmus was about sixty-three years only later than Cecrops. But there is an evident mistake in this genealogy: there were two Grecian Ios, both of whom went into and lived in Egypt; the former was the daughter of Inachus, the latter was the daughter of Iasus; and Cadmus was descended from the former, and not from the latter. If we compute from Castor's table of the Argive kings,[2] comparing and correcting it in respect of Apis, whom Castor has erroneously inserted, by Pausanias's account of them;[3] we shall find that Io daughter of Inachus is exactly six descents higher than Io the daughter of Iasus; so that if the computing Cadmus's genealogy from the latter Io sets him almost six descents too low, as I just now remarked, the computing from the former Io exactly answers

[6] Castor in Chron. Euseb. p. 19.
[7] Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3.
[8] Vol. i, b. iv, p. 136.
[9] Pausan. in Arcad. c. 2.
[1] See Prideaux, Not. Historic. ad Chronic; Marmor. Ep. vii.
[2] Euseb. in Chronic. p. 24.
[3] Pausanias in Corinthiacis, c. 15, 16.

and corrects this mistake. That the former Io went to live in Egypt is evident from Eusebius,[4] as it is from Pausanias that the latter did so;[5] and farther it is expressly remarked by Eusebius that Io the daughter of Inachus was the mother of Epaphus;[6] and therefore this Io, and not the daughter of Iasus, was the ancestor of Cadmus.

It is much disputed by the learned whether Cadmus was a Phœnician or an Egyptian; and there are arguments not inconsiderable offered on both sides; but the true account of him is, that he was born in Phœnicia. His father was an Egyptian, and left Egypt about the time when Cecrops came from thence, and he obtained a kingdom in Phœnicia, as Cecrops did in Attica; and his sons Phœnix and Cadmus were born after his settling in this country. Hence it came to pass that Cadmus, having had an Egyptian father, was brought up in the Egyptian religion, and not a stranger to the history of Egypt, which occasioned many circumstances in his life, which induced after-writers to think him an Egyptian. At the same time being born and educated in Phœnicia, he learned the Phœnician language and letters, and had a Phœnician name; from hence most who have written about him have with good reason concluded him to be a Phœnician. Diodorus Siculus,[7] Clemens Alexandrinus,[8] Pausanias,[9] and from them Bochart,[1] conclude him to be a Phœnician. Sir John Marsham and Dean Prideaux,[2] thought him an Egyptian.

Sir John Marsham offers one argument for his being an Egyptian, from an inscription found in the tomb of Alcmena, which though it does not seem to prove Cadmus an Egyptian, nor hardly any thing relating to him, yet I would willingly mention it, in order to take an opportunity of remarking how artfully the governors of kingdoms in those days made use of oracles and prodigies merely as engines of state, to serve their political views and designs. The tomb of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon and mother of Hercules, was at Haliartus, a city of Bœotia; and being opened in the time of Agesilaus king of Sparta, there were found in it a brass bracelet, two earthen pots which contained the ashes of the dead, and a plate of brass, upon which were inscribed many very odd and antique letters, too old and unusual to be read by the Grecian antiquaries; the letters were thought to be Egyptian, and therefore Agesilaus sent Agetoridas into Egypt, to the priests there, desiring them, if they could, to decypher them. Chronuphis, an Egyptian priest, after three days examining all the ancient books and forms of their letters, wrote the king word,

4 Chronic. Can. Num. 160 et 481.
5 Pausan. ubi sup.
6 Euseb. Num. 481.
7 Lib. iv, p. 420.
8 Stromat. lib. i, c. 16.
9 In Bœoticis, c. 12.
1 In Præfat. ad Canaan.
2 Marsham Can. Chron. p. 118; Prideaux, Not. Histor. ad Chron; Marm. Ep. vii, p. 155.

that the characters were the same that were used in Egypt in the time of king Proteus, and which Hercules the son of Amphitryon had learned, and that the inscription was an admonition to the Greeks to leave off their wars and contests with one another, and to cultivate a life of peace, and the study of arts and philosophy. The messengers, who were sent, thought Chronuphis's advice very seasonable, and they were more confirmed in their opinion at their return home, by Plato's asking the priests at Delos for some advice from their oracle, and receiving an answer, which, as Plato interpreted it, intimated that the Greeks would be happy, if they would leave off their intestine wars, and employ themselves in cultivating the study of the arts and sciences. This is the substance of Plutarch's account of this whole affair;[3] and I cannot see that we have any light about the inscription in the tomb, nor that we are told to any purpose what the letters were, or by whom written. The discovery of them happened about the end of the war between the Lacedemonians and the Thebans; when the Thebans lost their general Epaminondas.[4] At that time Agesilaus had a scheme of being hired to command the Egyptian armies against the Persians, and the Egyptians were fond of having him;[5] but he could not think it safe to go out of Greece, unless he could be sure of settling a firm and lasting peace amongst the several states of it; in order to which he laid hold of this accident of the antique inscription in the tomb of Alcmena, and he and his messengers and Chronuphis joined all together to frame such an interpretation of it, and to confirm it by a like order from Delos, as might bind the Greeks to a religious observance of the general peace which was at that time just concluded amongst them. Had the brass table been truly decyphered, without doubt it contained nothing else but an account of the persons whose ashes were deposited in the tomb where it was found, and most probably the letters were such as Amphitryon inscribed upon his Tripod at Thebes.[6] However, it happened luckily to serve the political views of Agesilaus and the Egyptians; and so the Egyptians contrived such an account of it as might render it effectual for that purpose. What became of the original, we are not informed; probably the Egyptians did not send it back to have it farther examined. But to return to Cadmus.

When Cadmus came into Greece, he was accompanied by a number of followers whom Herodotus calls the Gephyræi.[7] They were natives of Phœnicia, and went under his direction to seek a new habitation: a custom not very unusual in these days. When they came into Greece, they were at first opposed by the inhabitants of the country; but being better sol-

[3] Plut. de Genio. Socratis, p. 579.
[4] Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. vii, p. 661.
[5] Ib. ibid.
[6] Herodot. in Terpsichor. c. 59.
[7] Id. lib. v, c. 58.

diers than the raw and ignorant Bœotians, they easily conquered them. Bœotia was inhabited at the time of Cadmus's coming into it by the Hyantes and the Aones; one of these, the Hyantes, Cadmus entirely routed, and compelled them to flee out of the country, but he came to terms of accommodation with Aones,[8] and having bought a cow, and marked her according to the superstitious ceremonies of the Egyptian religion,[9] he pretended he had a special command from the gods to build a city where the cow, which he ordered his companions to drive gently into the country, should lie down when weary. So where the cow lay down he built a city and called it Cadmea, and here he settled with his companions; giving the Aones free liberty, either to come and live in his city, and incorporate with his people, or to live in the little villages and societies which they had formed, in the manner they had been used to before he came into their country.[1] It is commonly said that Cadmus began his travels by his father's order, in search of his sister Europa;[2] but some considerable writers think this a fiction,[3] and Pausanias hints that Europa was not the daughter of Agenor, but of Phœnix.[4] Ovid relates at large an account of Cadmus's followers being devoured by a serpent; that Cadmus killed the serpent, and sowed his teeth in the ground; and that there sprang from this serpent's teeth a number of armed men, who as soon as they were grown up out of the ground, fell to fighting one another, and were all killed except five; and that these five, who survived the conflict, went with Cadmus and assisted him in building Thebes.[5] I am sensible that the men, who believed this strange story, may be justly thought as weak as the fiction is marvellous; but there are hints of it in writers not so poetically inclined as Ovid; and there is room to conjecture what might give the first rise to so wild and extravagant a fable. When Cadmus came into Bœotia, and had conquered the inhabitants, it might be recorded of him, in the Phœnician or Hebrew language, which anciently were the same, that he [נושקים בשני נחש עשה חיל חמש אנשים] *nasah chail chamesh anoshim, noshekim be shenei nachash*—These words might begin the account, and in these words there are the following ambiguities. *Chamesh* signifies warlike, or prepared for war, and a word of the same letters[6] may be translated five. *Shenei* may signify spears, or it may be rendered teeth. *Nachash* is the Hebrew word

[8] Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. 5.
[9] Id. ibid. c. 12; see Prideaux, Not. ad Chron; Marmor. ep. vii.
[1] Pausanias in Bœoticis, c. 5.
[2] Diodorus Sic. l. iv, c. 2.
[3] See Prideaux, Not. ad Chron; Marmor. Epoch vii.
[4] In Achaicis, c, 4.
[5] Metamorph. l. iii, fab. 1.
[6] We may easily apprehend, that in a language where the vowels were originally not written, many words of exactly the same letters must have a very different signification. If we were to write our English words in consonants only, leaving the reader to supply the vowels, as the Hebrew was anciently written, our own tongue would afford many instances.

for a serpent, or for brass; and these words being thus capable of denoting very different things, a fabulous translator might say,[7] *he raised a force of five men armed from the teeth of a serpent*, when the words ought to have been translated, *he raised a warlike force of men*, or an army, *armed with spears of brass.* The Greeks in the mythological times were particularly fond of disguising all their ancient accounts with fable and allegory; therefore it is no wonder that they gave the history of Cadmus this turn, when the words in which his actions were recorded gave them so fair an opportunity. Cadmus is said to have found out the art of working metals and making armour;[8] and I suppose that some of his companions were the Idæi Dactyli mentioned by Pausanias, Diodorus, Strabo, and other writers; for these Idæi Dactyli made their first appearance near mount Ida in Phrygia,[9] and Cadmus travelled this way from Phœnicia into Greece, going out of Asia into Thrace, and from thence into Greece. Cadmus and his companions introduced the use of the Phœnician letters into Greece, their alphabet consisting only of sixteen letters.[1]

Danaus was another considerable person, who travelled about this time from Egypt into Greece; and the ancient writers agree pretty well in their accounts of him. Chemnis, says Herodotus,[2] is a large city near Nea, in Thebais; and the Egyptians say that Danaus and Lynceus were of Chemnis, and that they sailed into Greece. Apollodorus[3] agreeing with the Parian marble, says, that Danaus built a ship and fled with it from Egypt. Diodorus gives a larger account of him;[4] that he came from Egypt to Rhodes with his daughters; that three of his daughters died at Rhodes, and the rest went with him to Argos. Pausanias relates that Danaus came from Egypt, and obtained the kingdom of Argos from Gelanor the son of Sthenelus.[5] Danaus was himself descended from a Grecian ancestor. Io the daughter of Iasus king of Argos married into Egypt, and when Iasus died, his brother's children came to the crown; Iasus having no other child but Io, and she being absent and married into a foreign country. Gelanor was a descendant of Iasus's brother, Danaus of Iasus by Io his daughter, and this must be the plea which he had to offer the Argives to induce them to accept him for their king. The dispute between him and Gelanor before the people of Argos, upon this point, was argued at large on both sides for a whole day. Gelanor was thought to have offered as weighty and strong arguments for his own right, as Danaus could offer for his; and the next day was appointed for the farther hearing

[7] See Bocharti Canaan. lib. i, c. 19.
[8] Plin lib. vii, p. 56.
[9] Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii, c. 7.
[1] See vol. i, book iv, p. 137.
[2] Lib. ii, c. 91.
[3] Lib. ii, sec. 4.
[4] Hist. l. v, c. 58.
[5] Pausan. in Corinthiacis, c. 16, c. 19

and determining their claims, when an accident put an end to the dispute, and obtained Danaus the crown. There happened a fight between a wolf and a bull near the place where the people were assembled; and the wolf conquering the bull, the crown was hereupon adjudged to Danaus. The combat was thought ominous, and the wolf being a creature with which they were less acquainted than the bull, it was thought to be the will of the gods, declared by the event of this accidental combat, that the stranger should rule over them. Thus their superstition made them unanimous in a point of the greatest moment; which perhaps they would not else have determined without creating great factions among themselves. A case somewhat like what happened in Persia, when Darius the son of Hystaspes was made king. His horse being the first that neighed seemed unquestionably to give him, in the eyes of his superstitious subjects, a better title to the throne, and perhaps a securer possession of it, than any other agreement which he and his princes could have made, that had not had such appearing countenance from religion.[6] Danaus came into Greece when Erichthonius was king of Athens, one thousand two hundred forty-seven years before the Parian Chronicon was composed,[7] *i. e.* A. M. 2494, about eight years after Cadmus came into Bœotia. Castor's account of Danaus's coming to Argos, if we take out of it the years assigned to Apis's reign,[8] agrees well with this computation from the Parian Chronicon. He computed that Inachus began to reign at Argos when Thurimachus was king of Sicyon, *i. e* about A. M. 2154;[9] from the first year of Inachus (including the reign of Apis) he reckons three hundred and eighty-two years to the death of Sthenelus, which would place Danaus A. M. 2536; but if we deduct thirty-five years for the insertion of Apis's reign, it will place him A. M. 2501, seven years only later than the marble.

Very little can be offered about the affairs of Greece, before the times when these men came to settle in it; though it is certain that Greece was inhabited long before these days, and that in some parts of it kingdoms were erected, and men of great figure and eminence lived in them. Ægialeus began a kingdom at Sicyon A. M. 1920,[1] above five hundred years before Cecrops came to Athens; during which interval they had thirteen kings, according to Castor,[2] and Pausanias found memoirs of the lives and families of twelve of them.[3] Inachus erected a kingdom at Argos A. M. 2154,[4] two hundred and sixty-nine years before Cecrops, and they had six kings in

[6] Herodot. lib. iii, c. 85, 86; Justin. lib. i, c. 10; Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, book iii.

[7] Epoch. Marmor. ix.

[8] Vid. quæ supra.

[9] Vide quæ supra.

[1] See b. vi, p. 67.

[2] In Chronic. Euseb. part i, p. 19.

[3] In Corinthiacis.

[4] See b. vi, p. 67.

this interval.[5] Now these accounts are in all respects so reasonable in themselves, and so well suit with every fragment of ancient history, that no one can fairly reject them, unless antiquity alone be a sufficient reason for not admitting annals of so long standing. Kingdoms did not begin so early in other parts of Greece; but we find Thessalus, a king of Thessaly, A. M. 2332; his father's name was Graicus.[6] Deucalion reigned king there A. M. 2431, *i. e.* eight years after Cecrops came to Athens;[7] Ogyges reigned in Attica about A. M. 2244,[8] and the descendants of Telchin, third king of Sicyon, went and settled in the island Rhodes, A. M. 2284.[9] Prometheus lived about A. M. 2340. He was fabulously reported to have made men, because he was a very wise man, and new formed the ignorant by his precepts and instructions;[1] we have no certain account in what part of Greece he lived. Callithyia was the first priestess of Juno at Argos, A. M. 2381.[2] Atlas lived about A. M. 2385; he was a most excellent astronomer for the times he lived in, and his great skill this way occasioned it to be said of him in after-ages, that he supported the heavens.[3] He lived near Tanagra, a city upon the river Ismenus in Bœotia,[4] near to which place his posterity were said to be found, by the writers of after-ages. Homer supposes Calypso, a descendant of this Atlas, who detained Ulysses, to be queen of an island,[5]

———Οϑι τ' ομφαλος εϛι ϑαλασσης
Νησος δενδρηεσσα·

i. e. of the island Atalanta, near the Sinus Meliacus in the Euripus,[6] over-against Opus,[7] a city of Bœotia.

The several kingdoms, which were raised in the other parts of Greece, began not much before or after Cecrops came to Attica. Pelasgus was the first king of Arcadia, and his son Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops.[8] Actæus, whom Cecrops succeeded, was the first king of Attica.[9] Athlius, the

5 Castor et Pausan.
6 Euseb. Chron. Num. 224.
7 Id.; Marm. Arundel. Epoch. 4.
8 Euseb. Chron. Num. 236.
9 Id. Num. 276.
1 Id. Num. 332.
2 Id. Num. 375.
3 Id. Num. 379.
4 Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. 20.
5 Odyss. i, ver. 50.

6 Wells's Map of the mid parts of ancient Greece.

7 See Strabo, Geograph. lib. i, c. 9. The reader will, I am sensible, find but little certainty of the situation of Calypso's island. Solon gave an account, that there was really such a place when Homer wrote, but that it is since his time sunk in the sea, *i. e.* he could not tell where to find it. Some writers place it near to Egypt. All I can offer for my supposed situation of it is, the island Atalanta in the Euripus hits Homer's description exactly, ομφαλος εϛι ϑαλασσης, better than any other island supposed to be the place, and it lies near the country where Pausanias informs us that Atlas the father of Calypso lived; and Ulysses's voyages as described by Homer may be well reconciled with this position of it.

8 Pausanias in Arcadicis, c. 2.
9 Id. in Atticis, c. 2.

first king of Elis, was the grandson of Deucalion, and therefore later than Cecrops.[1] Ephyre daughter of Oceanus is said to have first governed the Corinthians;[2] but we know nothing more of her than her name. The Corinthian history must begin from Marathon, who was the son of Epopeus, and planted a colony in this country. Epopeus lived about the time of Cadmus; for he fought with, and wounded Nycteus, who was guardian to Labdacus the grandson of Cadmus;[3] therefore Marathon the son of Epopeus must come to Corinth many years later than Cadmus came into Greece. Phocus, the first king of Phocis,[4] was five descents younger than Marathon; for Ornytion was father of Phocus,[5] Sisyphus was father of Ornytion;[6] Sisyphus succeeded Jason and Medea in the kingdom of Corinth, and Jason and Medea succeeded Corinthus the son of Marathon;[7] so that the inhabitants of Phocis became a people several generations later than Cadmus. Lelex formed the Lacedemonians much earlier; for Menelaus, who warred at Troy, was their eleventh king, so that Lelex reigned about the time of Cecrops.[8] The Messenians lived at first in little neighbourhoods, but at the death of Lelex the first king of Sparta, Polycaon one of his sons became king of this country.[9] These were the first beginnings of the several kingdoms of Greece; and before the persons I have mentioned formed them for society, the inhabitants of the several parts of it lived a wandering life, reaping such fruits of the earth as grew spontaneously, each father managing his own family or little company; and having little or no acquaintance with one another, like the Cyclops in Homer;[1] or, where most civilized, like the men of Laish, *they dwelt careless after the manner of the* Zidonians, *quiet and secure, and there was no magistrate in the land, that might put them to shame in any thing: and they had no business with any man.*

Most writers, who have mentioned either Ogyges or Deucalion, have recorded that a deluge happened in each of their kingdoms. Attica, they say, was overflowed in the reign of Ogyges, and Thessaly in the reign of Deucalion. It is most reasonable however to think, that there were no extraordinary floods in either of these countries in the times of Deucalion or Ogyges; but that what the heathen writers offer about these supposed deluges, were only such hints as came down to their hands respecting the universal deluge in the days of

[1] Pausanias in Eliacis, c. 1.
[2] Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 1.
[3] Id. ibid. c. 6.
[4] Id. in Phocicis, c. 1.
[5] Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 4.
[6] Id. ibid.
[7] Id. ibid. c. 3.
[8] Id. in Laconis, c. 1.
[9] Id. in Messeniacis, c. 1.
[1] Homer, Odyss. ix, ver. 108.

Ουτε φυτευουσιν χερσιν φυτον, ουτ' αροωσιν·
Αλλ' ολγ' υψηλων ορεων ναιουσι καρηνα
Εν σπεσσι γλαφυροισι· θεμιστευει δε εκαστος
Παιδων ηδ' αλοχων· ου δ' αλληλων αλεγουσι.

Noah. Attica, in which Ogyges's flood is supposed to have happened, is so high situated, that it is hard to suppose any inundation of waters here, unless the greatest part of the world was drowned at the same time. Its rivers are but few, and even the largest of them almost without water in summer time;[2] and its hills are so many, that it cannot well be conceived how its inhabitants should perish in a deluge particularly confined to this country. Hieronymus, in his Latin version of Eusebius's Chronicon, seems to have been sensible that no such flood could be well supposed to have happened in Attica; and therefore removes the story into Egypt,[3] supposing Egypt to have suffered a deluge in the time of Ogyges's reign. But the most learned Dean Prideaux[4] remarks from Suidas,[5] and Hesychius,[6] that the Greeks used the word (Ωγυγιον) Ogygian, proverbially, to signify any thing which happened in the most ancient times. Therefore by the Flood of Ogyges they meant, not any particular deluge, which overflowed his or any other single country; but only some very ancient flood, which happened in the most early times; and such was the Flood of Noah. The Greek chronology of the early ages was very imperfect; they had some hints, that there had been an universal deluge; they apprehended nothing to be more ancient than the times of Ogyges, and therefore they called this deluge by his name; not intending hereby to hint that it happened precisely in his days, but only intimating that it had been in the most early times. As to Deucalion's Flood, Cedrenus and Johannes Antiochenus were of opinion, that Deucalion left his people a written history of the universal deluge; and that their posterity, many ages after his death, supposed his account to be a relation of what happened in the time when he lived; and so they called the flood, which he treated of, by his name.[7] But to this it is very justly objected, that letters were not in use in Greece so early as Deucalion's days; so that it is not to be supposed, that he could leave any memoirs or inscriptions of what had happened before his time; but then a small correction of what is hinted from Cedrenus and Antiochenus will set this matter in its true light. Deucalion taught the Greeks religion, and the great argument, which he used to persuade his people to the fear of the Deity, was taken from the accounts which he had received of the universal deluge, some hints of which were handed down into all nations. But as the Greeks were in these times not skilled in writing, so it is easy to imagine, that Deucalion and the deluge might, by tradition, be mentioned together, longer than it could be

[2] Strabo Georg. lib. ix, p. 400.

[3] His words are, Diluvium Ægypti hoc tempore fuit, quod factum est sub Ogyge.

[4] Not. Historic. ad Chronic. Marm. Ep. i.

[5] Suidas in Voc. Ὠγυγιον. [6] Hesych. in Ὠγυγιον.

[7] Prideaux in Notis Historicis ad Chron. Marm. Ep. i.

remembered, whether he only discoursed of it to his people, or was himself a person concerned in it. It is remarkable, that whenever the profane writers give us any particulars of either the Flood of Ogyges, or that of Deucalion, they are much the same with what is recorded of Noah's Deluge. Solinus and Apollonius hint, that the Flood of Ogyges lasted about nine months,[8] and such a space of time Moses allots to the Deluge.[9] Deucalion is represented to have been a just and virtuous man, and for that reason to have been saved from perishing, when the rest of mankind were destroyed for their wickedness;[1] and this agrees with what Moses says of Noah.[2] Deucalion preserved only himself, his wife, and his children;[3] and these were the persons saved by Noah.[4] Deucalion built an ark, being forewarned of the destruction which was coming upon mankind;[5] and this Moses relates of Noah.[6] The taking two of every kind of the living creatures into the ark;[7] the ark's resting upon a mountain when the waters abated;[8] the sending a dove out of the ark, to try whether the waters were abated or not;[9] all these circumstances are related of Deucalion, by the heathen writers, almost exactly as Moses remarks them in his account of Noah. Moses relates, that Noah, as soon as the Flood was over, built an altar, and offered sacrifices; so these writers say likewise of Deucalion;[1] affirming that he built το αρχαιον ιερον, or an altar (for these were the most ancient places of worship) to the Olympian Jupiter. Upon the whole, the circumstances related of Noah's Flood, and of Deucalion's, do so far agree, that our learned countryman Sir W. Raleigh professed, that he should verily believe, that the story of Deucalion's Flood, was only an imitation of Noah's Flood devised by the Greeks, did not the times so much differ, and St. Augustine, with others of the fathers and reverend writers, approve the story of Deucalion. As to the difference of the times, certainly no great stress can be laid upon it. The Greeks were so inaccurate in their chronology of what happened so early as Deucalion, that it is no wonder if they were imposed upon, and ascribed to his days things done above seven hundred years before him; and I cannot but think, that St. Austin, and the other learned writers, who have mentioned either the Flood of Ogyges or of Deucalion, would have taken both of them to have been only different representations of the Deluge, if, besides what has been offered, they had considered, that we read but of one such flood as

8 See Prideaux, Not. Hist. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. i.
9 Gen. vii, viii; see vol. i, book i, and ii.
1 Lucian de Dea Syria; Ovid. Metam. lib. i.
2 Gen. vi, 5, 9.
3 Ovid ubi sup; Lucian. de Dea Syria.
4 Gen. vii, 7.
5 Apollodorus, lib. i, c. 7; Lucian. de Dea Syria.
6 Gen. vi, 13, 14.
7 Lucian. de Dea Syria.
8 Stephanus Etymolog. in Παρνασσος; Suidas in voc. ead.; Ovid, Metam. l. i.
9 Plut. in lib. de Solertia Animalium.
1 Pausan. in Atticis, c. 18.

these having ever happened, in the country either of Deucalion or Ogyges. If the floods called by their names, were not the one universal deluge brought upon the ancient world, for the wickedness of its inhabitants; then they must have proceeded from some causes, which both before and since might, and would in a series of some thousands of years, have subjected these countries to such inundations. But we have no accounts of any that have ever happened here, except these two only, in each country one, and no more; so that it is most probable that in Attica, and in Thessaly, they had a tradition that there had anciently been a deluge. Their want of chronology had rendered the time when extremely uncertain; and some circumstances not duly weighed, or not perfectly understood, determined their writers in after-ages to call this deluge in the one country the Flood of Ogyges, in the other the Flood of Deucalion.

According to the Parian Chronicon,[2] a person named Mars was tried at Athens for the murder of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune, in the reign of Cranaus the successor of Cecrops, about A. M. 2473. It is remarked, that the place of trial was named Arius Pagus, which was the beginning of the senate or court of Areopagus at Athens, instituted, according to this account, soon after the death of Cecrops, in the very first year of his successor. Æschylus had a very different opinion of the origin of the name and time of erecting this court. He says, the place was named Areopagus from the Amazons offering sacrifices there to Αρης, or Mars; and he supposes that Orestes had been the first person tried before the court erected there.[3] But it is evident from Apollodorus,[4] that Cephalus was tried here for the death of Procris, who was the daughter of Erechtheus, the sixth king of Athens.[5] And the same author says, that Dædalus was also tried here for the death of Talus,[6] and Dædalus lived about the time[7] of Minos king of Crete. From both these instances it appears, that Æschylus was much mistaken about the antiquity of the court of Areopagus; we may therefore conceive that he was ill informed about the true origin of its name. Cicero hints that Solon first erected this court;[8] and Plutarch was fond of the same opinion,[9] even though he confessed that there were arguments against it, which, I think, must appear unanswerable. For he himself cites a law of Solon, in which the court of Areopagus is expressly named in such a manner as to evidence, that persons had been convened before it before Solon's days.[1] Solon, in-

[2] Epist. iii.
[3] Eumenid. v. 690.
[4] Lib. iii, c. 14.
[5] Pausanias in Bœoticis, c. 19.
[6] Apollodorus, lib. iii, c. 14. sec. 9.
[7] Pausanias in Achaicis, c. 4.
[8] De Offic. lib. i, c. 22.
[9] In vit. Solon. p. 86.

[1] Plut. in Solon.; his words are, Ο δε τρισκαιδεκατος αξων τȣ Σολωνος τον ογδοον εχει τον νομον ȣτως αυτοις ονομασι γεγραμμενον· Ατιμων οσοι ατιμοι ησαν πριν η Σολωνα αρξαι επιτιμȣς ειναι, πλην οσοι εξ Αρειȣ παγȣ καταδικασθεντες——εφυγον· N. B. The

deed, by his authority, made some alterations in the ancient constitution of this court; both as to the number and quality of the judges in it, and the manner of electing them. All this Aristotle remarks of him[2] expressly, saying at the same time, that Solon neither erected nor dissolved this court, but only gave some new laws for regulating it. Æschylus thought this court more ancient than the times of Solon; but Apollodorus carries up the account of it much higher than Æschylus, to the time of Minos, and to Erechtheus, who reigned about one hundred years after the time when the Marble supposes the trial of Mars; and the trial of Mars there for the death of Halirrothius is reported by many of the best ancient writers.[3] The number of judges in this court at its first origin were twelve,[4] of whom the king was always one. Their authority was so great, and by their upright determinations they acquired so great a reputation, that their posterity called them gods; thus Apollodorus says, that Mars was acquitted by the twelve gods.[5] The number of these judges varied according to the different circumstances of the Athenian government; sometimes they were but nine, at other times thirty-one; and fifty-one. When Socrates was condemned, they were two hundred and eighty-one; and when Rufus Festus the proconsul of Greece was honoured with a pillar erected at Athens, it was hinted on that pillar, that the senate of Areopagus consisted of three hundred.[6] From hence it is very probable, that the first constitution of the city directed them to appoint twelve judges of this court; perhaps Cecrops divided his people into twelve wards or districts, appointing a president over each ward, and these governors of the several districts of the city were the first judges of the court of Areopagus. That Cecrops divided his people into twelve districts seems very probable; from its being said of him, that he built twelve cities.[7] For they say also, that all the twelve united at last into one; so that it seems most probable, that Cecrops only divided the people, in order to manage them the more easily; appointing some to live under the direction of one person whom he appointed to rule for him, and some under another, taking the largest number under his own immediate care, and himself inspecting the management of the rest. And these deputy-governors, together with the king, were by Cranaus formed into a court for the joint government of the whole people. When the government came into more hands, or was put into fewer, the number of

party accused in the court of Areopagus had leave to secure himself by flight, and go into voluntary banishment, if he suspected judgment would be given against him; provided he made use of this liberty before the court entered into the proofs of the merits of his cause; and by Solon's law, a person who claimed this privilege was to be for ever infamous.

[2] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii, c. 12.

[3] Pausan. in Atticis; Stephanus, Suidas, et Phavorinus in Αρειος Παγος.

[4] Apollodor. lib. iii, c. 13, sec. 2.

[5] Ib. ibid.

[6] Potter's Antiquities.

[7] Strabo, lib. ix.

the Areopagite judges lessened or increased. This court had the cognizance of all causes, which more particularly concerned the welfare of the state; and under this head all innovations in religion were in time brought before these judges. Socrates was condemned by them, for holding opinions contrary to the religion of his country; and St. Paul seems to have been questioned before them about his doctrines,[8] being thought by them *to be a setter forth of strange gods.* Many learned writers have given large accounts of the constitution and proceedings of this court;[9] which obtained the highest reputation in all countries where the Athenians were known. Cicero says, that the world may as well be said to be governed without the providence of the gods, as the Athenian republic without the decisions of the court of Areopagus.[1] And their determinations were reputed to be so upright, that Pausanias informs us, that even foreign states voluntarily submitted their controversies to these judges.[2] Demosthenes likewise says of this court, that, to his time, no one had ever complained of any unjust sentence given by the judges in it.[3] But it belongs to my design, only to endeavour to fix the time of its first rise, and not to pursue at large the accounts which are given of its proceedings.

The council of the Amphictyones was first instituted by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, about A. M. 2483.[4] Deucalion was king of Thessaly, and his son Amphictyon succeeded him in his kingdom. Amphictyon, when he came to reign, summoned all the people together, who lived round about him, in order to consult with them for the public welfare. They met at the Pylæ or Thermopylæ (for by either of these names they called the straits of mount Oeta in Thessaly,) because through this narrow passage was the only entrance into this country from Greece. Therefore they were called Πυλαι, Pylæ, or the gates or doors, that being the signification of the word;[5] and Thermopylæ, because there were many springs of hot waters in these passages, the Greek word Θερμος signifying hot.[6] Here Amphictyon met his people twice a year, to consult with them, to redress any grievances under which they might labour, and to form schemes for the public good. This seems to have been the first design of the council of the Amphictyones, so called from Amphictyon, the person who first appointed it; or some writers imagine, that the coassessors in this council were called Ἀμφικτυονες, because they came out of several parts of the circumjacent countries. This was the opinion of Androtion in Pausanias;[7] but the

[8] Acts xvii, 19.
[9] See Bishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece.
[1] De Nat. Deorum, lib. ii, c. 29.
[2] In Messeniac. c. 5.
[3] In Aristocrat.
[4] Marmor. Arundel. Ep 5.
[5] Strabo, lib. ix, p. 428.
[6] Id. lib. p. 420.
[7] Lib. x, c. 8.

best writers generally embrace the former account, concerning the name of this council, which seems to be the most natural. Though Amphictyon first formed this council out of the people who lived under his government, and for the public good of his own kingdom; yet in time it was composed of the members of different nations, who met with larger and more extensive views, than to settle the affairs of one kingdom. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that the design of it was to cultivate an alliance of the Grecian states with one another; in order to render them more able to engage with any foreign enemy.[8] When the design was thus enlarged, the deputies of several cities were appointed to meet twice a year,[9] in Spring, and in Autumn. Strabo agrees with Æschines and Suidas, and computes the cities which sent deputies to this meeting to be twelve; but Pausanias enumerates only ten.[1] It is most probable, that the states which agreed to meet in this council were at first but few, and these lived near Thermopylæ. In time more nations joined in alliance with them, and sent their agents to this meeting; who might be but ten when the accounts were taken from which Pausanias wrote; and they might be twelve when the hints were given from which Strabo, Suidas, and the writers who agree with them wrote. Acrisius king of Argos, who reigned above two hundred years later than Amphictyon, composed some laws or orders for the better regulating this council, and for the dispatch of the affairs which were laid before its members. Now what he did of this sort, occasioned some writers to suppose, that he might possibly be the first institutor of this council;[2] but Strabo justly hints, that he was thought so, only for want of sufficient memoirs of what had been appointed before his time.[3] Acrisius did indeed in many respects new regulate this meeting; he settled a number of written laws for the calling and management of it; he determined what cities should send deputies to it, and how many each city, and what affairs should be laid before the council;[4] and it is easy to conceive, that his having made these regulations, might occasion him to be thought in after-ages the first institutor of the assembly. The regulations made by Acrisius were punctually observed; and the several cities, which had votes according to his constitutions, continued to meet without any obstruction, until the time of Philip king of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great; each city having two votes in the council and no more.[5] But in Philip's reign the Phocians and Dorians were excluded the council for plundering

[8] Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. iv, c. 25.
[9] Æschinis Orat. περι παραπρεσβειας. Suidas in voc. Ἀμφικτυονες.
[1] In Phocicis, c. 8.
[2] Strabo, lib. ix, p. 420.
[3] Id. ibid. τα παλαι μεν αγνοειται.
[4] Prideaux, Not. Histor. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. 5.
[5] Æschines in Orat. περι παραπρεσβειας.

the temple of Apollo at Delphos; and the two votes belonging to the Dorians were given to the Macedonians, who were then taken into the number of the Amphictyones.[6] About sixty-seven years after this, the Phocians defended the temple at Delphos with so much bravery against the Gauls, that they were restored to their votes again. The Dolopians, at this time being in subjection to the Macedonians, were reckoned but as a part of the kingdom of Macedon; and the Macedonian deputies were said to be their representatives; and the votes, which they had in the council before their incorporating with the Macedonians, were now taken from them and given to the Phocians.[7] The Perrhæbians likewise about the same time became subject to the Macedonians; and so lost their right of sending their representatives to the council; and the Delphians, who had before been represented by the Phocians, were now considered as a distinct and independent city, and were allowed to send their deputies to the council.[8] In the reign of Augustus Cæsar after his building the city Nicopolis, he made several alterations in the constitution of this council.[9] He ordered several of the states of Greece, which in former times had been independent, and had sent distinct representatives, to be incorporated into one body, and to send the same representatives; and he gave his new city a right of sending six or eight. Strabo thought that this council was entirely dissolved in his time; but Pausanias, who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, informs us, that the Amphictyones held their meetings in his time, and that their number of delegates were then thirty. But it is remarkable, that the ancient constitution of the assembly was entirely broken;[1] many cities sent but one deputy, and some of the ancient cities had only turns in sending; they were not suffered to send all of them to one and the same council, but it was appointed that some should send their deputies to the vernal meeting, and some to the autumnal. I suppose, that when Greece was become subject to the Roman state, Augustus thought it proper to lessen the power and authority of the council of the Amphictyones, that they might not be able to debate upon or concert measures to disturb the Romans, or recover the ancient liberties of Greece. It might not perhaps be proper to suppress their meeting; but he took care to have so many new votes in the Roman interest introduced, and the number of the ancient members, who might have the Grecian affairs at heart, so lessened, that nothing could be attempted here to the prejudice of the Romans; and perhaps this was all that Strabo meant by hinting that Augustus dissolved this

[6] Diodor. Sic. lib. xv; Pausan. in Phocicis, c. 8.
[7] Pausan. in Phocicis, c. 8; Strabo, lib. ix.
[8] Æschinis in Orat. περι παραπρεσβειας.
[9] Pausan. in Phocicis, c. 8. [1] Id. ibid.

council. He did not deprive the Grecians of a council which bore this name; but so far new modelled it, that it was far from being in reality what it appeared to be; being in truth, after Augustus's time, rather a Roman faction than a Grecian assembly meeting for the benefit of the Grecian states: and in a little time the Amphictyones were not permitted to intermeddle with affairs of state at all, but reduced to have only some small inspection over the rites and ceremonies of religion practised in the temples under their cognizance; and thus upon abolishing the heathen superstitions, by Constantine, this assembly fell of course. The ancient writers are not unanimously agreed about the place where the Amphictyones held their meeting. That they met at first at Thermopylæ is undeniable; and in later ages a temple was built there to Ceres Amphictyoneis,[2] in which they held their assemblies; but after the temple of Delphos was taken into their protection, it is thought by some writers that the Amphictyones met alternately, one time at Thermopylæ, the next time at Delphos, then at Thermopylæ, &c. Sir John Marsham endeavours to argue from Pausanias,[3] that the Amphictyones, who met at Delphos, were a different council from that of the same name, which met at Thermopylæ. But the learned Dean Prideaux has shown this to be a mistake, Pausanias's words not necessarily inferring the two councils to be different, and many other good writers attesting that they were the same, and that the Amphictyones did meet at Delphos one time and at Thermopylæ another.[4] Strabo mentions a meeting held in the temple of Neptune, in the island Calauria,[5] to which seven neighbouring cities sent their deputies: this meeting was called by the name Amphictyonia, most probably because it was instituted in imitation of the famous council so called; but this meeting and that council were never taken to be the same.

Hellen the son of Deucalion reigned at Phthia, a city of Thessaly, about A. M. 2484, and his people were called Hellenes from his name: before his time they were called Græci, or Grecians,[6] most probably from Graicus, the father of Thessalus. Many ancient writers agree with the Marble in this remark, Apollodorus,[7] Aristotle,[8] and Pliny,[9] and the Scholiast upon Lycophron: but it should be observed from them all, that neither Hellenes nor Græci were at first the names of the inhabitants of the whole country called Greece in after-ages, but only of a part of it. The ancient Græci were those whom Hellen called after his name; and Hellen was a king of part

[2] Herodot. lib. vii, c. 200; Pausan. in Phocicis.
[3] Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 116; Pausan. in Achaicis, c. 24.
[4] Prideaux, Not. Historic. ad Chronic. Marmor. Ep. 5.
[5] Strabo, lib. viii, p. 374.
[6] Marmor. Arundel. Ep. 6.
[7] Lib. i, c. 7, sec. 2.
[8] De Meteoris, lib. i.
[9] Lib. iv, c. 7.

of Thessaly, and only his people were the ancient Hellenes. Thus Pausanias remarks, that Hellas, which in later ages was the name of all Greece, was at first only a part of Thessaly,[1] namely, that part where Hellen reigned. In Homer's time, Hellas was the name of the country near to Phthia; and it was then used in so extended a sense as to comprehend all the subjects of Achilles, who were two small nations besides the Hellenes, namely, the Myrmidons and the Pelasgian Achæans;[2] nay, it took in the country round about the Pelasgian Argos, for Homer places this Argos in the middle of it,

Ανδρος, τον κλεος ευρυ κατ' Ελλαδα και μεσον Αργος.[3]

But it is remarkable, that Homer never calls all Greece by the name of Hellas, nor the Grecians in general Hellenes; because, according to Thucydides's observation, none but the subjects of Achilles had this name in Homer's days.[4] Strabo indeed opposes this remark of Thucydides, and cites Archilochus and Hesiod to prove, that the inhabitants of all Greece were called Hellenes before the time of Homer;[5] but Archilochus was much later than Homer, and the verse cited from Hesiod falls short of proving what Strabo infers from it.[6] The descendants of Hellen were the founders of many very flourishing families, who in time, and by degrees, spread into all the countries of Greece, and in length of time came to have so great an interest as to have an order made, that none could be admitted as a candidate at the Olympic games, who was not descended from them. Therefore Alexander the Great, according to Herodotus,[7] was obliged to prove himself to be a Hellen before he could be admitted to contend for any prize in these games. And from the time of making this order, every kingdom was fond of deriving their genealogy from this family, until all the Greeks were reputed to be Hellenes; and thus the name became universally applied to all the several nations of the country. The Marble hints, that Hellen, the father of this family, first instituted the Panathenæan games; not meaning, I suppose, that Hellen called them by that name, but that he instituted games of the same sort with the Panathenæan. Erichthonius was the first in Greece who taught to draw chariots with horses, and he instituted the chariot race,[8] about A. M. 2499,[9] in order to encourage his people to learn to manage horses this way with the greater dexterity. And we are told, that in his days there was found, in some moun-

[1] Pausan. in Laconicis, c. 20.
[2] Il. ii, ver. 190.
[3] Odyss. i, ver. 344.
[4] Thucyd. Hist. lib. i.
[5] Strabo, lib. viii, p. 370.
[6] See Prideaux, Not. Hist. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. vi.
[7] Herodot. lib. v, c. 22.
[8] Virgil. Georg. iii; Euseb. Chron. Num. 543.
[9] Chron. Marm. Ep. x.

tains of Phrygia, the image of the mother of the gods; and that Hyagnis made great improvements in the art of music, inventing new instruments and introducing them into the worship of Cybele, Dionysius, Pan, and the other deities and hero-gods of his country.[1] Chariots may very properly be supposed to have been introduced into Greece by Erichthonius, for he was an Egyptian, and chariots were used in Egypt in the days of Joseph.[2] But as to Cybele's image, we cannot reasonably suppose it was thus early, nor can the heathen music be thought to have been much improved until after these times. If Hyagnis invented the pipe, or tibia, we must say of his pipe, in the words of Horace,

> Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta, tubæque
> Æmula; sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco,
> Aspirare, et adesse choris erat utilis, atque
> Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu.
> De Arte Poetica.

His pipe was a mean and simple instrument, of less compass even than the trumpet; and music was not advanced to any remarkable perfection in his days.

It is generally said, that the religion of Greece was anciently what these Egyptians, Cecrops, Danaus, Cadmus, and Erichthonius introduced. It may not be amiss, therefore, before we go farther, to examine what the ancient Egyptian religion was in their times; how far it might be corrupted when they left Egypt; and this will show us what religion these Egyptians carried into the countries where they removed. I have already considered, that the most ancient deities of the Egyptians, and of all other nations, when they first deviated from the worship of the true God, were the luminaries of Heaven.[3] Now, if we carry on the inquiry, and examine what farther steps they took in the progress of their idolatry, we shall find, that the Egyptians in a little time consecrated particular living creatures in honour of their sidereal deities; and, some ages after, they took up an opinion, that their ancient heroes were become gods. This opinion arose from a belief, that the souls of such heroes were translated into some star, and so had a very powerful influence over them and their affairs.

I. The first step they took, after they worshipped the luminaries of Heaven, was to dedicate to each particular deity some living creature, and to pay their religious worship of the deity before such creature, or the image of it. This was

[1] Chron. Marmor. Ep. x.

[2] Gen. l, 9. In the Latin version of Eusebius's Chronicon, Trochilus is said to have invented the chariot, Num. ccccxlvii; but it must appear, by what we have in the same version, Num. dxliii, where Erichthonius is mentioned, that either Trochilus was a foreigner, and did not live in Greece, or what is said of him is a mistake.

[3] See vol. i, book v, p. 189, &c.

practised in Egypt very early, evidently before the Israelites left that country; for the Israelites had learned from the Egyptians to make the figure of a calf for the direction of their worship.[4] The most learned, who were able to give the most plausible accounts of their superstition, did not allow, that they really worshipped their sacred animals, but only that they used them as the most powerful mediums to raise in their hearts a religious sense of the deity to which they were consecrated.[5] It may be asked how they could fall into this practice, which to us seems odd and humoursome; for of what use can the figure of a beast be, to raise in men's minds ideas of even the sidereal deities? To this I answer, their speculation and philosophy led them into this practice. When men had deviated from that revelation, which was to have been their only guide in points of religion, they quickly fell from one fancy to another; and after they came to think, that *the lights of Heaven were the gods that governed the world*, they, in a little time, apprehended that these gods had made the living creatures of the Earth more or less partakers of their divinity and perfections, that they might be the instruments of conveying a knowledge of them to men;[6] and men of the nicest inquiry and speculation made many curious observations upon them, which seemed highly to favour their religious philosophy. After the worship of the Moon was established, and the increase and decrease of it superstitiously considered, by men who had no true philosophy, the dilatation and contraction of the pupilla of a cat's eye seemed very extraordinary. Plutarch gives several reasons why the Egyptians reputed a cat to be a sacred animal; but that formed from the contraction and dilatation of the pupil of its eye, seems to have been the first and most remarkable.[7] This property of that creature was thought strongly to intimate, that it had a more than ordinary participation of the influence of the lunar deity, and was by nature made capable of exhibiting lively representations of its divinity unto men, and was therefore consecrated and set apart for that purpose. The asp and the beetle became sacred upon the same account; they thought they saw in them some faint images of the divine perfections, and therefore consecrated

[4] Exod. xxxii.

[5] Αγαπητεον ȣν ȣ ταυτα τιμωντας, αλλα δια τȣτων το θειον, ως εναργεςερων εσοπτρων και φυσει γεγονοτων. Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride, p. 382. In which words the learned heathen gives a more refined and philosophical reason for the Egyptian image worship than the Papists can possibly give of theirs.

[6] Ἡ δε ζωσα και βλεπȣσα και κινησεως αρχην εξ αυτης εχȣσα, και γνωσιν οικειων και αλλοτριων φυσις, εσπακεν απορροην και μοιραν εκ τȣ φρονȣντος. οπως κυβερναται το, τε συμπαν, οθεν ȣ χειρον εν τȣτοις εικαζεται το θειον η χαλκειοις και λιθινοις δημιȣργημασιν —περι μεν ȣν των τιμωμενων ζωων ταυτα δοκιμαζω μαλιςα των λεγομενων. Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 382.

[7] Αι δε εν τοις ομμασιν αυτȣ κοραι πληρȣσθαι μεν και πλατυνεσθαι δοκȣσιν εν πανσεληνω, λεπτυνεσθαι δε και μαραυγειν εν ταις μειωσεσι τȣ αςρȣ. τω δε ανθρωπομορφω τȣ αιλȣρȣ το νοερον και λογικον εμφαινεται των περι την Σεληνην μεταβολων. Id. ibid. p. 376

them to the particular deities, whose qualities they were thought to exhibit.[8] Now this practice of reputing some animals sacred to particular gods was the first addition made to their idolatry, and the reason I have given seems to have been the first inducement which led them into it. In later ages, more animals became sacred than were at first thought so; and they paid a more religious regard to them, and gave more in number and more frivolous reasons for it; but this was the rise and beginning of this error.

II. Some ages after, they descended to worship heroes or dead men, whom they canonized. That they acknowledged many of their gods to be of this sort is very evident from the express declaration of their priests, who affirmed, that they had the bodies of these gods embalmed and deposited in their sepulchres.[9] The most celebrated deities they had of this sort were Chronus, Rhea, Osiris, Orus, Typhon, Isis, and Nephthe; and these persons were said to be deified upon an opinion, that, at their death, their souls migrated into some star, and became the animating spirit of some luminous and heavenly body. This the Egyptian priests expressly asserted,[1] and this account almost all the ancient writers give of these gods: thus it was recorded in the Phœnician antiquities, that Chronus, or Saturnus, was after his death made a god, by becoming the star of that name.[2] This opinion was communicated from nation to nation, and prevailed in all parts of the heathen world, and was evidently received at Rome at Julius Cæsar's death, who was canonized upon the account of the appearance of a comet or a luminous body for seven days together, at the time when Augustus appointed the customary games in honour of him.[3] The phenomenon which then appeared was thought to be the star into which he passed at his leaving this world, and was accordingly called by Virgil *Dionæi Cæsaris Astrum*,[4] and by Horace *Julium Sidus*.[5] An opinion of this sort appears to have prevailed among the Arabians at the time of our Saviour's birth, when the Eastern Magi came to worship him, convinced of his divinity by an evidence of it which GOD was pleased to give them in their own way, from their having seen his star in the East.[6] Let us now see,

III. When the Egyptians first consecrated these hero gods, or deified mortals. To this I answer, Not before they took notice of the appearance of the particular stars which they appropriated to them. Julius Cæsar was not canonized until

[8] Ασπιδα δε και γαλην και κανθαρον, εικονας τινας εαυτοις αμαυρας ωσπερ εν σαγοσι φλιας της των θεων δυναμεως κατιδοντες. Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

[9] Ου μονον δε τεταν οι ιερεις λεγεσιν, αλλα και των αλλων θεων, οσοι μη αγεννητοι μηδε αφθαρτοις, τα μεν σωματα παρ' αυτοις κεισθαι καμοντα και θεραπευεσθαι. Id. ibid.

[1] Τας δε ψυχας λαμπειν ασρα. Plut de Iside et Osiride.

[2] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

[3] Suetonius, Hist. Cæsar. lib. i. ad fin.

[4] Eclog. ix, ver. 47.

[5] Od. xii, lib. i.

[6] Matth. ii, 2.

the appearance of the Julium Sidus; nor could the Phœnicians have any notion of the divinity of Chronus until they made some observations of the star into which they imagined he was removed. And this will at least inform us when five of the seven ancient hero gods of the Egyptians received their apotheosis. The Egyptians relate a very remarkable fable of the birth of these five gods.[7] They say that Rhea lay privately with Saturn, and was with child by him; that the Sun, upon finding out her baseness, laid a curse upon her, that she should not be delivered in any month or year; that Mercury, being in love with the goddess, lay with her also, and then played at dice with the Moon, and won from her the seventy-second part of each day, and made up of these winnings five days, which he added to the year, making the year to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, which before consisted only of three hundred and sixty; and that in these days Rhea brought forth five children, Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephthe. We need not inquire into the mythology of this fable; what I remark from it is this, that the fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days, and consequently, that by their own accounts, the five deities said to be born on the five επαγομεναι, or additional days, were not deified before they knew that the year had these five days added to it. Now this addition to the year was first made about the time of Assis, who was the sixth of the Pastor kings who reigned in Egypt; and it was towards the end of his reign,[8] *i. e.* A. M. 2665, a little after the death of Joshua. Had Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephthe been esteemed deities before this additional length of the year was apprehended, we should not have had this but some other fabulous account of their birth transmitted to us. But from this account one would think, that the Egyptian astronomers had about this time remarked the appearance of five new stars in their horizon, of which their predecessors had taken no notice; and as Julius Cæsar was reported a god from the appearance of the Julium Sidus, so these five persons being the highest in esteem among the Egyptians of all their famous ancestors, might be deified, and the five new appearing stars be called by their names; and the observation of these stars being first made about the time when the length of the year was corrected, this piece of mythology took its rise from them. It is indeed asserted in the fable, that these five deities were born at this time; but we must remember, that the relation is a fable; and Plutarch well remarks, just upon his giving us this story, that we must not take the Egyptian fables about their gods to relate matters of

[7] Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

[8] Syncell. p. 123; Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 235.

fact really performed, for that was not the design of them.[9] All that this fable can reasonably be supposed to hint is, that the five stars called by these names were first observed by their astronomers about the time when the addition of five days was made to the year; consequently, that the heroes and heroines, whose names were given to these stars, were first worshipped as deities about this time. We are not to infer hence, that these persons were born of Rhea, as the fable relates, nor that Mercury and Luna really played at dice, as is fabulously reported. Isis seems at first to have been reputed the star, which the Greeks called the Dog Star, the Egyptians Sothis;[1] and this they expressed on a pillar erected to her.[2] Orus was the star called Orion, and Typho the Bear Star.[3] Afterwards, the names both of these and their other gods were very variously used, and applied to very different powers and beings.

The Egyptians had other hero gods besides these five; they had eight persons whom their chronology called demigods. Diodorus gives them these names, Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius;[4] and their historical memoirs affirm, that these persons reigned in Egypt before Menes or Mizraim, and before their heroes, so that they certainly lived before the Flood.[5] They had after these a race of heroes, fifteen in number, and the persons I have been speaking of are five of them,[6] and these must likewise have been antediluvians.[7] But I do not suppose they were deified until about this time of the correcting of the year; for, when this humour first began, it is not likely that they made gods of men who were just dead, of whose infirmities and imperfections many persons might be living witnesses. They rather took the names of their first ancestors, whom they had been taught to honour for ages, whose fame had been growing by the increase of tradition, and all whose imperfections had been so long buried, that it might be thought they never had any. It has always been the humour of men to look for truly great and unexceptionable characters in ancient times. Nestor frequently tells the Greeks, in Homer, what sort of persons lived when he was a boy; and they were easily admitted to be far superior to the greatest and most excellent then alive. Had he been three times as old as he was, he might have almost deified his heroes; but it is hard to be conceived, that a set of men could ever be chosen by their contemporaries to

[9] Οταν εν α μυθολογουσιν Αιγυπτιοι περι των θεων ακουσης, δει των προειρημενων μνημονευειν, και μηδεν οιεσθαι τουτων λεγεσθαι γεγονος ουτω και πεπραγμενον. Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

[1] Id. ibid.

[2] Diodor. Sic. lib. i. Part of the inscription on the pillar is, Εγω ειμι η εν τω Αστρω τω κυνι επιτελλουσα.

[3] Plut. ubi sup.

[4] Lib. i, sec. 13.

[5] See vol. i, book i, p. 44.

[6] Diodorus Sic. lib. i

[7] See vol. i, book i, p. 44.

have divine honours paid them, whilst numerous persons were alive who knew their imperfections, and who themselves, or their immediate ancestors, might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them. Alexander the Great had but ill success in his attempt to make the world believe, that he was the son of Jupiter Ammon; nor could Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, make Romulus's translation to Heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room for subsequent historians to report, that he was killed by his subjects.[8] Nor can I conceive, that Julius Cæsar's canonization, though it was more politically contrived, and supported with more specious and popular appearances, would ever have stood long indisputable, if the light of Christianity had not appeared so soon after this time as it did, and impaired the credit of the heathen superstition. The fame of deceased persons must have ages to grow up to Heaven; and divine honours cannot be given with any show of decency, but by late posterity. Plutarch[9] observes, that none of the Egyptian deities were persons so modern as Semiramis; for that neither she among the Assyrians, nor Sesostris in Egypt, nor any of the ancient Phrygian kings, nor Cyrus among the Persians, nor Alexander the Great, were able, though they performed the greatest actions, to raise themselves to higher glory than that of being famous and illustrious princes and commanders; and he remarks from Plato, that whenever any of them affected divinity, they sunk instead of raising their character by it. Their story was too modern to permit them to be gods. Euemerus Messenius in Plutarch is reported to have written a book to prove that the ancient gods, of the heathen world, had been only their ancient kings and commanders. But Plutarch thought he might be sufficiently refuted, by reviewing all the ancient history, and remarking, that the most early kings, though of most celebrated memory, had not ever attained divine honours. Plutarch himself thought that these gods had been genii, of a power and nature more than mortal. The truth seems to have been this; they were their antediluvian ancestors, of whom they had so little true history, and such enlarged traditions and broken stories, that they thought them far superior to their greatest kings, of whose lives and actions they had more exact accounts.

It may perhaps be said, that if these hero-gods lived so many ages earlier than this supposed time of their being canonized, why should we not imagine that they were deified sooner? or, since eight of them, namely the demi-gods, are thought more ancient than the rest, and Chronus and Rhea, two of them, are fabled to be parents of some of the others, why should they be supposed to be all deified at this one particular time, and not rather some in one age and some in another? All I

[8] Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii, c. 56.

[9] Lib. de Iside et Osiride.

can offer towards answering these queries is, 1. I conclude from the fable related by Plutarch, that Osiris, Orus, Isis, Typho, and Nephthe, mentioned in it, were not deified before the addition of the five days to the ancient year; because the whole fable and the birth of these deities is founded upon the addition of those days. 2. We shall see reason hereafter to conclude, that no nation but the Egyptians, not even those who received their religion from Egypt, worshipped hero-gods, even so early as these days. 3. We have no reason to think that the number of their gods of this sort was very great; I cannot see reason to think they had any more besides what I have mentioned, except Anubis, who was contemporary with Osiris,[1] so that they had only fourteen demi-gods and hero-gods, taking the number of both together, and thus many they might well deify at one time. If these gods had been canonized at different times, and in different ages, there would have been a greater number of them; but all that the ingenuity of succeeding ages performed was only to give these gods new names. Thus Osiris, and sometimes Typhon, and sometimes the Sun, was called in after ages Serapis, and Orus was called Apollo, and Harpocrates. 4. Osiris, said to be born when the five days were added to the year, is reputed to be one of the most ancient of the Egyptian gods, and therefore sometimes taken for the Sun; so that this hero seems to have been deified as early as any,[2] and therefore most probably he and all the rest about the time I have mentioned. 5. About this time lived the second Mercury, who was the thirty-fifth king of Thebes, called Siphoas and Hermes for his great learning, and for being the restorer and improver of the arts and sciences first taught by the ancient Hermes or Thyoth. It was, perhaps, he who found out the defect in their ancient computation of the year. Strabo says this was first found out by the Theban priests;[3] and he adds, that they make Mercury (meaning undoubtedly this second Mercury) the author of this knowledge,[4] for the first Mercury lived ages before the length of the year was so far understood. And I think we cannot conjecture any thing more probable, than that, as Syphis, soon after Abraham's time, built the errors of the Egyptian religion upon his astronomy, so this prince, upon his thus greatly improving that science, introduced new errors in theology by this same learning. The one taught to worship the luminaries of Heaven, thinking them instinct with a glorious and divine spirit; the other carried his astronomy to a greater height than his predecessors had done. He apprehended that some stars were of a more benign influence to his country than others, and taught that the souls of some of their most famous ancestors lived and governed in them; from

[1] Diodor. lib. i, sec. 18.
[2] Ibid. sec. 17.
[3] Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 816.
[4] Id. ibid.

whence arose the opinion of Indigetes, θεοι πατρωοι, or deities peculiarly propitious to particular countries, of which we have frequent mention in ancient writers, and which spread universally by degrees into all the heathen nations. Philo Biblius mentions Taautus as a person who framed[5] a great part of the Egyptian religion; and, most probably, what he hints at was done by this second Taautus, Thoth, or Hermes; and the additions he made to the religion of his ancestors, seem, from Philo, to relate to what I have ascribed to him. Herodotus[6] seems to hint that the Egyptians had at first only eight of these gods, that in time they made them up twelve, and afterwards imagined that these twelve had been the parents of other gods. If any one thinks it most probable, that Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius (these being the eight terrestrial deities which Diodorus Siculus mentions as the first hero-gods, which the Egyptians worshipped;) I say, if any one thinks it most probable that Siphoas canonized these, and that the five deities, said to be born of Rhea, were deified later; and that a story was made upon the five additional days, not at the time of their being first found out, but many years after; and that afterwards they still added to the number of their gods, I cannot pretend to affirm that this opinion is to be rejected. For I must confess that all we can be certain of in this matter is only this, that the Egyptians did not worship hero-gods before the time of the second Mercury; and that Osiris, Isis, Orus, Typho, and Nephthe, were not deified before the five days were added to the Egyptian accounts of the year. Yet I think it most probable, from what is hinted about the inventions of Siphoas, or the second Mercury, that he began and completed the whole system of this theology; perhaps he did not begin and perfect it at once, he might be some years about it, and thereby occasion some of these gods to be deified sooner than others.

IV. After the hero-deities were received, a new set of living animals were consecrated to them; and cyphers and hieroglyphic characters were invented to express their divinity and worship. The bull called Apis was made sacred to Osiris,[7] and likewise the hawk:[8] the ass, crocodile, and sea-horse, were sacred to Typho:[9] Anubis was said to be the dog-star, and the dog was sacred to him;[1] and a very religious regard was paid to this animal, until Cambyses killed the Apis.[2] After that, some of the flesh of Apis being thrown to the dogs, and they readily attempting to eat it, they fell under great censure, for desiring to profane themselves by eating the flesh of so sacred an animal;[3] but this accident did not happen un-

5 Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.
6 Lib. ii, c. 145.
7 Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride.
8 Id. ibid.
9 Id. ibid.
1 Id. ibid.
2 See Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, book iii.
3 Plutarch. ubi sup.

til about A. M. 3480. The serpent or dragon was consecrated to Nephthe,[4] and other suitable animals to other gods. All this seems to have been the invention of Taautus, for so Philo represents it, making him the author of the divinity of the serpent,[5] or dragon, which was sacred to Nephthe; and also hinting, that he invented the hieroglyphic characters, for which the Egyptians were so famous,[6] taking his patterns from the animals which had been consecrated to the luminaries of Heaven. Philo does not sufficiently distinguish the first Hermes or Taautus from the second, but ascribes some particulars, which were true of the first Mercury only, to the person he speaks of. Yet what he hints about the sacred animals and hieroglyphics must be ascribed to the second Mercury; for if, as I have formerly observed,[7] the religion of the Egyptians was not corrupted in the days of Abraham, the first Taautus must be dead long before the sacred animals were appointed. And I may here add that hieroglyphics were not in use in his days, for the pillars upon which he left his memoirs, were inscribed, not in hieroglyphics, but ιερογραφικοις γραμμασι, in the sacred letters, in letters which were capable of being made use of by a translator, who turned what was written in these letters out of one language into another.[8] The hieroglyphical inscriptions of the Egyptians are pretty full of the figures of birds, fishes, beasts, and men, with a few letters sometimes between them. Now this alone is sufficient to hint to us, that they could not come into use before the animals, represented in inscriptions of this sort, were become, by allegory and mythology, capable of expressing various things, by their having been variously used in the ceremonies of their religion.

It may perhaps be said that the Egyptians had two sorts of hieroglyphics, as Porphyry[9] has accurately observed, calling the one sort ιερογλυφικα κοινολογουμενα κατα μιμησιν, *i. e.* hieroglyphics communicating their meaning to us by an imitation of the thing designed; and the other sort, συμβολικα αλληγορουμενα κατα τινας αινιγμους, *i. e.* figures conveying their meaning by alluding[1] to some intricate mythologies. Perhaps it may be thought, that this latter sort of hieroglyphics were probably invented about the times I am treating of, but that the former were in use long before; and being nothing else but a simple representation of things, by making their pictures or

[4] Plutarch. ubi sup.

[5] Την μεν εν δρακοντος φυσιν και την οφεων αυτος εξεθειασεν ο Τααυτος, και μετ' αυτον Φοινικες τε και Αιγυπτιοι. Euseb. Præp. Evang lib. i, c. 10.

[6] Τααυτος μιμησαμενος τον Ουρανον, των θεων οφεις, Κρονυ τε και Δημωνος και των λοιπων διετυπωσεν και τας ιερας των στοιχειων χαρακτηρας. Id. ibid.

[7] Vol. i, book v, p. 184.

[8] See vol. i, book iv, p. 147.

[9] In lib. de Vit. Pythag. p. 12.

[1] These hieroglyphics were something like Pythagoras's precepts, they expressed one thing, but meant another. Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 354.

imitations, might be perhaps the first letters used by men. But to this I answer, 1. We have no reason to think that these hieroglyphics were so ancient as the first letters. 2. They would be but a very imperfect character; many, nay most occurrences could be represented by them only by halves. The Egyptians intermingled letters with their hieroglyphics, to fill up and connect sentences, and to express actions; and the first men must have had letters as well as pictures, or their pictures could have hinted only the ideas of visible objects; but there would have been much wanting in all inscriptions to give their full and true meaning. 3. This picture character would have been unintelligible, unless men could be supposed to delineate the forms or pictures more accurately than can well be imagined. The first painters and figure drawers performed very rudely, and were frequently obliged to write underneath what their figures and pictures were, to enable those who saw them to know what was designed to be represented by them. The Egyptians drew the forms of their sacred animals but imperfectly, even in later ages; and I cannot doubt, but if we could see what they at first delineated for a bull, a dog, a cat, or a monkey, it would be difficult to tell which figure might be this or that, or whether any of their figures were any of them. Therefore to help the reader, they usually marked the Sun and Moon, or some other characters, to denote what god the animal designed was sacred to, and then it was easier to guess, without mistake, what the picture was, and what might be intended by it. Now something like this the men of the most ancient times must have done, for they cannot be supposed to be able to paint well enough to make draughts expressive of their meaning. They might invent and learn a rude character much sooner than they could acquire art enough to draw pictures; and therefore it is most probable, that such a character was first invented and made use of. But, 3. Porphyry did not mean by the expression κοινολογουμενα κατα μιμησιν, that the characters he spoke of imitated the forms or figures of the things intended by them; for that was not the μιμησις, which the ancient writers ascribed to letters. Socrates gives us the opinion of the ancients upon this point, namely, that letters were like the syllables of which words were compounded, and expressed an imitation, for he uses that word (not of the figure or picture, but,) of the ουσια or substance, power or meaning of the thing designed by them.[2] Thus he makes letters no more the pictures of things than the syllables of words are. The ancients were exceedingly philosophical in their accounts of both words and letters. When a word or a sound was thought fully to express, accord-

[2] Ὁ δια των συλλαβων τε και γραμματων την ουσιαν των πραγματων απομιμουμενος—τουτο δ' εστιν ονομα. Plato in Cratylo. Or in other words, he says, Δηλωμα συλλαβης και γραμματι ονομα εστι. Ibid.

ing to their notions, the thing of which it was designed to be the name, then they called it the εικων or picture of that thing. They apprehended that a word could not be completely expressive, unless it was compounded of letters well chosen to give it a sound suitable to the nature of the thing designed to be expressed by it; and when a word hit their fancy entirely in these respects, then they thought that the sound and letters of it expressed, imitated, or resembled the true image of the thing it stood for. All this may be collected from several passages of Plato upon this subject,[3] and in this sense we must take Porphyry's expression, which will lead us to think that the letters he treats of were the Egyptian sacred letters, as I have formerly hinted from this very description of them.[4] When language consisted of monosyllables only, a single stroke, dash, or letter, might be thought as expressive of a single sound, as various letters were afterwards thought of various and compounded words, or of polysyllables. And since the μιμησις, or imitation, which the ancients ascribed to their letters, was an imitation relating to the expressing well the word they stood for, and not an imitation of the form or shape of the thing, we err widely from their meaning, if we suppose that their letters had been pictures or hieroglyphics, because they ascribe such a *mimesis* to them.

V. It was customary in Egypt, in very ancient times, to call eminent and famous men by the names of their gods. This Diodorus Siculus informs us of, who, after his account of the celestial deities, adds, that they had men of great eminence, some of whom were kings of their country, and all of them benefactors to the public by their useful inventions. Some of these they called by the name of their celestial deities,[5] in which number he reckons the persons called Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius; intimating indeed that these were not their Egyptian names, but only equivalent to them. The Egyptians in the beginning of their idolatry worshipped the Sun and Moon, and in a little time the elements, the *vis vivifica* of living creatures, the fire, air, earth, and water.[6] Perhaps the wind might be the eighth deity, for they distinguished the wind and air from one another, and took them to be two different things;[7] and as the Assyrians called their kings and great men, Bel, Nebo, Gad, Azar, after the names of their gods, so did the Egyptians. Whilst they worshipped only the deities, they had only their names and titles with which to dignify illustrious men, but in

[3] Ουκουν ο μεν αποδιδους παντα καλα τα γραμματα—ωσπερ εν ταις ζωγραφημασι—και τας εικονας αποδιδωσιν· Ὁ δε η προσιδεις η αφιεις γραμματα, εικονας μεν εργαζεται και αυτος, αλλα πονηρας—ωσπερ και δεκα, η οσις βελει αλλος αριθμος, εαν αφελης τι η προσθης, ετερος ευθυς γεγονε.—Ει μελλει καλως κεισθαι το ονομα, τα προσηκοντα δει αυτω γραμματα εχειν. See Plat. Cratyl. edit. Ficini, p. 295, 296, 297, &c.

[4] See vol. i, book iv, p. 147.

[5] Diodor. lib. i, sec. 13.

[6] Ibid. sec. 10.

[7] Wisdom, chap. xiii, ver. 2.

after-times, when the men, who were at first called by the names of their gods, came to be deified, then the names of these men were thought honorary titles, for those who lived after them. Thus, as Osiris was called Sol, or Isis Luna,[8] by those who had a desire to give them the most illustrious titles and appellations, so when Osiris and Isis were reputed deities, a later posterity gave their names to famous men, who had lived later than they did. Thus the brother of Cnan or Canaan, *i. e.* Mizraim, was called Osiris.[9] I might add further; as the Assyrians called their kings sometimes by the names of two or three of their gods put together, as Nabonassar, Nebuchadnezzar,[1] so the Egyptians many times gave one and the same person the names of several gods, according as the circumstances of their lives gave occasion. Thus Diodorus remarks,[2] that the same person who was called Isis, was sometimes called Juno, sometimes Ceres, and sometimes Luna; and Osiris was at one time called Serapis, at another, Dionysius, at another, Pluto, Ammon, Jupiter, and Pan. Now as one and the same person was sometimes called by different names, so one and the same name was frequently given to many different persons, who lived in different ages. Osiris was not the name of one person only, but Mizraim was called by this name,[3] and so were divers kings who lived later than he did; amongst the number of whom we may, I believe, insert Sesostris. But we may see the application of these ancient names abundantly in one particular name, which I choose as an instance, because I have frequent occasion to mention it. The reader will find other names as variously given to different persons in all parts of ancient history. Chronus was the name of the star called Saturn, and most probably some antediluvian was first called by this name; afterwards the father of Belus, Canaan, Cush, and Mizraim, *i. e.* Moses's Ham the son of Noah was called by this name.[4] The son of this Ham, the father of Taautus, *i. e.* Mizraim himself, was called Chronus.[5] The father of Abraham was called Chronus,[6] and Abraham himself was also thus called.[7] I might observe the same of Belus, Bacchus, Pan, and of almost every other name; but abundance of instances will occur to every one who reads any of the ancient writers.

VI. The Egyptians, having first called their heroes by the names of their sidereal and elementary deities, added in time to the history of the life and actions of such heroes a mythological account of their philosophical opinions concerning the gods, whose names had been given to such heroes. This might be first done by the second Thyoth or Hermes, and to him

[8] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 11, 12.
[9] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 39.
[1] Vol. i, book v, p. 193.
[2] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, p. 12.
[3] See vol. i, book iv, p. 128.
[4] Id. p, 128.
[5] Ibid.
[6] See book vi, p. 62; Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.
[7] Ibid.

must belong what Philo in Eusebius[8] relates of the person of his name, that, being famous for his great parts and learning, he raised the style (as I might say) which had been used in subjects of religion, and instead of a plain way of treating these points, accommodated to the capacity of the low and vulgar people, he introduced a method more suitable to the learning which was then in esteem and reputation. Most probably he did what the same author mentions that the son of Thabion had practised upon Sanchoniatho:[3] to plain narrations of fact and history, he added mythology and philosophy. He put into a system the philosophy then in repute, concerning the stars and elements; and by inventing such fables as he thought expressive, he made a history of his system, by inserting the several parts of it among the actions of such persons as had borne the names of the sidereal or elementary deities, to whom the respective parts of his system might be applied. I might confirm all this, from numerous explications of the Egyptian fables, which Plutarch has given in his treatise upon Isis and Osiris. The ancient history of these two persons was most probably no more than this, which may be collected from Diodorus's account of them.[9] Osiris married Isis, taught men to live sociably, to plant trees, and to sow corn; and he not only taught one set or company of men these useful arts, but travelled up and down, far and near, instructing all who would be advised by him, leaving his domestic family or kingdom to be governed by his wife Isis, and son Taautus, whenever he went from home to instruct the neighbouring nations, or rather families. Osiris, after several useful and successful expeditions of this sort, returned home greatly honoured and esteemed by all who knew him, but upon some accident or quarrel, he is said to have been killed by Typho. Isis raised her family, fought with Typho, got her husband's body and buried it. This might be the whole account they had at first of Osiris, and all this might be true of Mizraim, the first king of Egypt; but then, this Osiris having had the names of several of their gods given to him in after-ages, all that was believed of these was added in mythology to his history. Thus Osiris, having had the name of the Moon given to him, and it being believed that the Moon completed its course in twenty-eight days; and that after the full she decreases, and is diminished by some potent cause for fourteen days together; they call the Moon Osiris, the cause of its decrease Typho, and they tell this story: that Osiris reigned twenty-eight years,

[8] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10. The words are, Ταυτος ον Αιγυπτιοι Θωθ προσαγορευκασι, σοφια διενεγκων—πρωτος τα κατα την θεοσεβειαν εκ της των χυδαιων απειριας εις επιστημονικην εμπειριαν διεταξεν.

[8] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, p. 39. The words are, Ταυτα παντα ο Θαβιωνος παις, πρωτος των απ' αιωνος γεγονοτων Φοινικων ιεροφαντης, αλληγορησας, τοις τε φυσικοις και κοσμικοις παθεσιν αναμιξας, παρεδωκε τοις οργιασι.

[9] Hist. lib. i.

and was killed by Typho, who pulled him into fourteen pieces.[1] Sometimes they call the element of water by the name of Osiris, and from hence they raise many fables. Osiris is water, and by consequence moisture. Heat is called Apophis, and said to be the brother of Sol, or nearly related to the Sun, or fire. Jupiter is the cause of all animal or vegetable life; and the Mythos or fable runs thus: Apophis the brother of Sol made war against Jupiter, but Osiris assisted Jupiter, *i. e.* Heat would parch, dry up, and wither every thing living, but that moisture affords a supply against it.[2] Sometimes Osiris is the river Nile, his wife Isis is the land of Egypt, which is rendered fruitful by the overflowings of that river. Orus is the legitimate child of Osiris and Isis, *i. e.* is the product of the land of Egypt, caused by the floods of the river Nile. Typho is put for heat, Nephthe is the high lands which the floods of Nile seldom reach, and is said to be Typho's wife, because they are commonly parched with heat. If the floods of Nile happen at any time to reach these high lands, then there commonly grow upon them some few water plants caused by the inundation, and these they reckon an uncommon product, and call them Anubis; and they hint all this in the following fable. They say Osiris begat of his wife Isis a legitimate child called Orus; and that he committed adultery with Nephthe the wife of Typho, and had by her the bastard Anubis.[3] They sometimes carry on this fable still farther, and tell us that Typho found out the adultery, killed Osiris, pulled his body into twenty-six, sometimes in twenty-eight pieces, put them into a chest, and threw them into the sea; *i. e.* the heat and warm weather dried up the floods of the Nile, in twenty-six or twenty-eight days, and his stream was received and swallowed up in the sea, until the time that the Nile flows again. Then they say, Isis found the body of her husband Osiris, conquered Typho, *i. e*, the hot and dry weather; and thus they go on without the end of either fancy or fable. Sometimes they affirm that Typho had been a red man, and Osiris a black one; not intending to describe the persons of either, but giving hints of some of their opinions about the elements of fire and water.[4] Osiris is sometimes the Moon, Isis the Earth, Orus the fruits of the Earth, Anubis the horizon, and Nephthe the parts of the globe which lie beneath it. Sometimes all these names are applied to stars, and the greater lights of Heaven, and correspondent fables framed to express what their philosophy dictated about them. I might enlarge here very copiously, but I would only give a specimen of what may be met with, if the reader thinks fit to pursue this subject. I am sensible, that such a theology as this must in our age ap-

[1] Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 368.
[2] Plutarch. ibid. p. 364.
[3] Id. ibid.
[4] Plutarch. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 364.

pear ridiculous and extravagant: but I would remark, that it was instituted by men who were universally admired in their day for the greatest learning. It was accounted no small attainment, for a person to be *learned in the learning of the Egyptians;* and I might add, upon what Plato and Plutarch have offered in favour and defence of the Egyptian superstitions, that if we consult history, we shall find, that there is nothing so weak, extravagant, or ridiculous, but men even of the first parts, and eminent for their natural strength of understanding, have been deceived to embrace and defend it. And from Plutarch it is abundantly evident, that they fell into these errors, not by paying too great a deference to tradition, and pretended revelation; but even by attempting to set up what they thought a reasonable scheme of religion, distinct from, or in opposition to, what tradition had handed down to them. If we look back and make a fair inquiry, we must certainly allow, that reason in these early times, without the assistance of revelation, was not likely to offer any thing but superstitious trifles; for the frame and course of nature was not sufficiently understood, to make men masters of true philosophy. It seems easy to us to demonstrate the being and attributes of GOD by reason, from the works of his creation; but we understand all the hints given by the inspired writers of the Old Testament, which are proper to lead us to a right sense of these things, much better than any of them were understood by the ancient philosophers of the heathen world: and by improving upon these hints, we are arrived at truer notions of the works of GOD's hands, than they were masters of. But until men could arrive at such true philosophy, the only certain way they had to know *the invisible things of* GOD, *even his eternal power and Godhead,* in all ages *from the creation of the world, was* τοις ποιημασι, i. e. *by the things which* he had done;[5] and the heathen nations *were without excuse,* because GOD had sufficiently manifested himself this way, if, instead of seeking after a false philosophy, they would have attended to what he had revealed to them. They might have known *by faith, that the worlds were framed by the word of* GOD, *so that the things which are seen, were not made by those things which do appear;*[6] i. e. they were the works not of visible causes, but of an invisible agent. But when, instead of adhering to what had been revealed about these matters, they imagined that they might *profess themselves wise* enough to find out these truths in a better manner, by reason and philosophy, *they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible* GOD *into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four footed beasts, and creeping things.*[7] *They took the lights of Heaven to be the*

[5] Rom. i, 20. [6] Hebrews xi, 3. [7] Rom i, 22, 23.

gods, which govern the world,[8] and believed them animated by the spirits of famous men, and consecrated birds and beasts and reptiles to them, and amassed together heaps of mythology. Now when I consider so great a genius as Plutarch, gravely pronouncing, that there is nothing in them unreasonable, idle, or superstitious, but that a good and moral, or historical, or philosophical reason may be given, for every part of every fable;[9] I see plainly, that if GOD had not been pleased to reveal himself to men in the first ages, many thousand years would have passed, before men could have acquired by reason such a knowledge of the works of GOD, as to obtain any just sentiments of his being or worship.

The writers of antiquities have made collections of images and pictures of the Egyptian gods, in order to get the best light they could into the ancient religion of this people, and F. Montfaucon has taken great pains this way. But, if I may conjecture, and none can do more in this dark and intricate subject, I suspect, that most of the figures, exhibited by the learned antiquities for Egyptian deities, were not designed for such by those who made them. Most of those, that were designed for gods, are commonly but ill or falsely explained; and few, very few of them of great antiquity, the greatest part being evidently made after the Greeks and Romans broke in upon the Egyptians. It is indeed true, that the sculpture in most of the figures in Montfaucon's collection seems so rude and vulgar, as to intimate that they had been made in the first and most early times of carving, before that art was brought to any neatness or appearance of perfection. But the rudeness of the sculpture is no proof of the antiquity of Egyptian images; for Plato expressly tells us, that it was a rule amongst their statuaries, to imitate the antique shapes of the ancient patterns, and that the carvers were by law restrained from all attempts which looked like innovation. The art of carving, being thus limited, was never carried to any perfection; but, as the same author remarks, their most modern statues were as ill-shaped, as poorly carved, and as uncouth in figure, as those of the greatest antiquity.[1] However, the chief reason for thinking that the relics, which are now described as gods of Egypt, are modern, is, that most of them are of human shape; and we find by universal consent of all good writers, that the ancient Egyptian images were not of this sort. As they had sacred animals dedicated to their several gods, so the images of these were their idols. A hawk was their ancient image for Osiris, a sea horse for Typho, a dog for Mercury, a cat for the Moon, and in the same manner other images of animals for other deities;[2] and this in-

[8] Wisdom xiii, 1, 2, 3, 4.
[9] Plutarch. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 358.
[1] Plato de Legibus, lib. ii, p. 789.
[2] Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride.

troduced a practice analogous to it, even in their pictures and statues of men. As they represented their deities by the figures of such animals as they thought exhibited some shadows of their divine qualities or operations; the Moon by a cat, because a cat varies it eye, in their opinion, according to the various phases of the Moon; so they drew or carved men, in figures which might represent not their visage, shape, or outward form, but rather their qualities or peculiar actions. Thus a sword was the known representation of Ochus,[3] a scarabæus was the picture of a courageous warrior;[4] and we may observe, that the priests of Egypt in Ptolemy Soter's time,[5] about A. M. 3700, were so little acquainted with sculptures of human form, that they could form no conjectures about the Colossus which was brought from Sinope, but by considering the figures of the animals which were annexed to it. Strabo expressly tells us, that the Egyptian temples had no images, or none of human form, but the image of some animal, which represented the object of their worship; and he recounts the several animals, whose figures were the respective idols of particular cities;[6] for some cities paid their worship before the images of some animals, and some before those of others. Pausanias says, that Danaus dedicated Λυκιον Ἀπολλωνα, perhaps an image to Apollo, in the shape of a wolf.[7] He remarks, that the statue which was in the temple of this deity, when he wrote, was not that which Danaus had made; but was the workmanship of a more modern hand, namely of Attalus the Athenian. In Attalus's days, the images of the gods might be made in the human form; but it is more agreeable to Strabo's observation, to think that the most ancient Delubra had either no image at all, or the image of some beast, for the object of worship.[8] The Israelites, about the time of Danaus, set up a calf in the wilderness, of which sort was most probably the wooden statue, which Danaus erected to Apollo; and perhaps from a statue of this sort the ancient Argives stamped their coin with a wolf's head.[9] F. Montfaucon has given the figures of several small Egyptian statues swathed from head to foot like mummies, which discover nothing but their faces, and sometimes their hands;[1] which I think can never be taken for Egyptian deities. Plutarch informs us, that they delineated their judges and magistrates in this dress,[2] so that these were probably the images of deceased persons, who had borne those offices. We have several representa-

[3] Ουτως εν τω καταλογω των βασιλεων ο κυριος δηπτε την ισιαν αυτε σημαινοντες, αλλα τε τρωτε την σκληροτητα και κακιαν οργανω φονικω παρεικαζοντες . . . Plutarch. et Iside et Osiride.

[4] Id. ibid.

[5] Id. ibid.

[6] Strabo. Geograph. lib. xvii.

[7] Pausan. in Corinth. lib. ii, c. 19.

[8] Strabo. lib. xvii, p. 805.

[9] Marsh. Can. p. 125.

[1] See Montfaucon, Antiq. vol. ii, part ii, b. i, plate xxxvii, fig. 15, 16, 17. 18, 19, 20; plate xxxviii, fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

[2] Lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 355.

tions in the draughts of the same learned antiquary, which are said to be Isis holding, or giving suck, to the boy Orus;[3] but it should be remarked, that Orus was not represented by the Egyptians in the figure of a new-born child. For Plutarch expressly tells us, that a new-born child was the Egyptian picture of the Sun's rising;[4] and if so, why may we not suppose, that these figures were the monuments of some eminent astronomers? They might be represented with the faces and breasts of women, to signify, that the observations, which they had made, had been the cause of great plenty. They have commonly some plant sprouting and flourishing upon their heads; which, probably, if well explained, would instruct us, what part of agriculture or planting was improved by the benefit of their learned observations. One of them has the head of a cow, and a bird's head upon that;[5] but I think we are not to guess from hence, that the Egyptians had received the Greek fable about Io, as the learned antiquary suggests; but that the person hereby represented was so eminent, that he had the names of two deities given to him. As Daniel obtained such reputation in the court of Babylon, as to have a name given him, compounded of the names of two of their deities, namely Belteshazzar;[6] so this person, whoever he was, was so eminent in Egypt, as to be called by the names of the two deities put together; the heads of whose sacred animals were for that reason put upon his statue. We meet with several figures,[7] said to be designed for Harpocrates. All these figures are representations of young men with their finger upon their mouth, as a token of their silence; but why may we not suppose these to be monuments of young Egyptian students, who died in their noviciate, or first years, whilst silence, according to the ancient discipline, was enjoined them? There are a variety of figures of this sort in various dresses, and with various symbols; all which, I imagine, might express the different attainments and studies of the persons represented by them. Jamblichus remarks, that Pythagoras, when he rejected any of his scholars, and after the five years' silence, turned them out of his school, for their defects and insufficiency, used to have statues made for them, as if they were dead.[8] This perhaps might be the ancient practice in Egypt, where Pythagoras long studied; and

[3] Montfaucon. ubi sup. plate xxxvi, fig. 3; plate xxxvii, fig. 11; plate xxxviii, fig. 9, 10, 11.

[4] Lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 355. Orus, when, in later times, images of a human form were introduced, was represented by a quite different figure.—Εν Κοπτῳ το αγαλμα τε Ωρε λεγεσιν εν τη ετερα χειρι Τυφωνος αιδοια κατεχειν.—Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 373.

[5] Montfaucon, ubi sup. plate xxxvi, fig. 3.

[6] Dan. i, 7; see vol. i, book v, p. 193.

[7] Montfaucon, plate xl, fig. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; in plate xli, these figures are numerous.

[8] Jamblichus de vita Pythag. c. 17.

some of the images, which go for Harpocrates, might be Egyptian students thus dismissed their schools; and the defect of symbols and want of ornament in some of them may perhaps distinguish those of this sort from the other. Plutarch indeed hints, that in his time they had human representations of Osiris in every city;[9] and Montfaucon gives us a figure, in some respects well answering to Plutarch's description of the statues of Osiris;[1] but if that be a statue of Osiris, it must be a modern one. The ancient image of Osiris was that of a hawk,[2] or he was sometimes represented by the picture of an eye and a sceptre;[3] and until later times, images and representations of him were very rare, and seldom to be met with;[4] but when he came to be represented in the human form, sculptures of him were common.[5] Montfaucon gives us the figure of an animal without ears, which he calls a Cynocephalus,[6] and supposes it to be a representation of Isis. Plutarch[7] tells us, that the Cretans anciently represented Jupiter in this manner; and may we not suppose that this figure was an ancient Egyptian Jupiter, and that the Cretans copied after them? I might enlarge upon this subject, for I cannot help thinking, that even the animal figures, like this instance I have mentioned, are commonly decyphered amiss; and that, if the learned would review their accounts and collections, and take the human figures for monuments of famous men, made after the old Egyptian custom, which, according to Plutarch, was to represent not the man, but his character, station, and honours, which he attained: if the animal figures were reviewed, if the Egyptian astronomy could be examined, and it could be determined what particular stars they worshipped, and what birds, beasts, or reptiles were dedicated to them, I think, that we might obtain accounts more serviceable towards illustrating their ancient history, politics, and religion, than any yet extant. Eusebius gives hints of some ancient representations;[8] but we find none, I think, which much resemble them, in the collections of our present antiquaries. Yet the heretics, who lived about Plutarch's time, in the second century, namely, Basilides, Saturnius,

[9] Lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 371.

[1] Plutarch's words are, 'Πανταχȣ δε και ανθρωπομορφον 'Οσιριδος αγαλμα δεικνυȣσιν εξορθιαζον τῳ αιδοιῳ.

[2] Id. ibid. [3] Id. ibid. [4] Id. p 382. [5] Πανταχȣ δεικνυȣσιν, &c.

[6] Antiq. vol. ii, part ii, plate xlii, fig. 14; see c. xvi, sec. 5.

[7] 'Εν Κρητη Διος ην αγαλμα μη εχον ωτα Lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 381.

[8] 'Επενοησε τω Κρονω παρασημα βασιλειας, ομματα τεσσαρα· εκ των εμπροσθιων και των οπισθιων μερων μερων· δυο δε ησυχη μυοντα, και επι των ωμων πτερα τεσσαρα, δυο μεν ως ιπταμενα, δυο δε ως υφειμενα·—τοις δε λοιποις θεοις, δυο εκαςω πτερωματα επι των ωμων·—Κρονω δε παλιν επι της κεφαλης πτερα δυο—Αιγυπτιοι Κνηφ επονομαζȣσι, προςιθεασι αυτω ιερακος κεφαλην.—το πρωτον ον θειοτατον [εςιν] οφις ιερακος εχων μορθην·—Οι Αιγυπτιοι τον κοσμον γραφοντες περιφερη κυκλον αεροειδη καε πυρωπον χαρασσȣσι και μεσον τεταμενον οφιν ιερακομορφον. και το παν σχημα ως το παρ' ημιν Θητα· τον μεν κυκλον κοσμον μηνυοντες, τον δε μεσον οφιν συνεκτικον τȣτον αγαθον Δαιμονα σημαινοντες. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

and Carpocras, who introduced the Egyptian symbols and figures into their religion, formed many, much like those mentioned by Eusebius, as may be seen by consulting Montfaucon's plates of the gems called Abraxas. Whether we have now any copies, or but very few, of the truly ancient Egyptian idols; whether the greatest part of what are offered to us be not copies taken from schemes and forms more recent than even the times of Plutarch, or of Eusebius, I entirely submit to the opinion of the learned.

F. Montfaucon has given a draught of a very celebrated piece of antiquity called the table of Isis, which was a table made of brass, almost four feet long, and of pretty near the same breadth. The ground work was a black enamel, curiously filled with silver plates inlaid, which represented figures of various sorts, distinguished into several classes and copartments, and decyphered by various hieroglyphics interspersed. This table fell into the hands of a common artificer, when the city of Rome was taken and plundered by the army of Charles V. about the year 1527; and it was sold by him to Cardinal Bembo, at whose death it came to the duke of Mantua, and was kept as a valuable rarity by the princes of that house, until the year 1630, when the town and palace of Mantua were plundered by the emperor's general, who carried off an immense treasure of curiosities, which the princes of this house had collected; and among the rest this table of Isis; the original of which, having never been found since this time, is supposed to have been broken in pieces by some person into whose hands it might fall; who, not understanding what it was, might think the silver plates, which were inlaid, to be the only valuable parts of it, and therefore brake it for the sake of them. Pignorius gave the world a draught, and an account of this table, in a book by him published at Amsterdam, A. M. 1670; and from his draught Montfaucon has taken the copy, which he has given us. The table of Isis is said to be so called, because it represents the form and mysteries of the goddess Isis;[9] but it is remarkable, that the very writers, who express the greatest inclination to represent Isis as the chief and principal goddess, upon account of representing whom the whole table was composed, cannot but acknowledge it contained "all the divinities of Egypt of every kind; and that it might properly be called a general table of the religion and superstitions of Egypt.[1] F. Montfaucon acknowledges, that no one can determine, whether this table represents some history of the Egyptian gods, or some obscure system of the religion of that country; or of the ceremonies of that religion, or some moral instruction, or many of these together. And Pignorius was so far from being confident, that

[9] Montfaucon, Antiq. vol. i, part ii, b. ii, c. 1. [1] Id. ibid.

he could sufficiently explain this table, that he confessed he did not fully comprehend the design of it, nor know the certain signification of its several parts; that he only pretended to venture to make some conjectures about it, but could not say, that he had hit the design of the composer; that both these learned men leave room for any one to conjecture about it as they did, without incurring censure for differing from them. Now, if I may take this liberty, I suppose, 1. That this table was not made until after genuflexion was used in the worship of the heathen deities. This custom began pretty early; the worshippers of Baal, in the time of Ahab, bowed the knees to Baal;[2] and this practice of kneeling was used before this time by the true worshippers of GOD. Solomon kneeled down upon his knees, when he prayed at the dedication of the temple;[3] and this posture of worship is mentioned Psalm xcv, ver. 6. At what time it was first introduced into the heathen worship I cannot say; but we find, in the border round the table of Isis, no less than nineteen persons in this posture of adoration. 2. We find no one person in this posture in the table itself: all the figures in the table are either standing, or sitting, or in a moving posture. 3. In the border, all the images that kneel are represented as paying their worship to some animal figure. There is not one instance or representation of this worship paid to an image of human form, either on the border, or in the table. 4. The several animals represented in the border, as receiving worship from their adorers, agree very nearly, both in number and shape, with the several animals described by Strabo, Plutarch, Eusebius, and other writers, as the objects of worship in the several cities of Egypt.[4] 5. The human figures in the table are distinguished by the animal representation of some deity annexed to, or put over or under them. 6. There are five figures in the table of a human form described in a sitting posture, and two of them very remarkable, one of which has the head of an ibis, and the other of a hawk; but figures of the same form are represented in the border of the table on their knees, as worshipping some animal figure placed before them. The human picture with the hawk's head is represented to worship a sort of scarabeus, which with the head of the ibis is represented as worshipping the Apis, or bull. These several observations must occur to any one, who carefully views and compares the several parts of this table; and from these observations it appears most probable, 1. That the border round about the table exhibits the several sacred animals worshipped in Egypt when this table was made, with their respective priests paying worship to them. 2. The table itself represents the

[2] 1 Kings xix, 18. [3] Chap. viii, 54; 2 Chron. vi, 13.
[4] Strabo, l. xvii; Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride; Euseb. de Præp. Evang. in var. loc.; Herodot. l. ii, &c.

several priests of some of these deities in their different habits, performing not actual worship, but some other offices of their ministrations. The animal figures annexed to them point out of what particular gods they were respectively the priests; and most probably the hieroglyphics and sacred letters inscribed to each of them would tell us, if we could read them, what particular office of their ministration they are described as performing. 3. The figures delineated in the sitting posture (like to figures which are in the border represented in postures of worship to particular animals) seem to me to be designed for monuments of some eminent priests, who had images made in honour of their memory when dead; which images might perhaps upon some occasions be carried in processions, and are therefore here delineated. The ibis and hawk's head, fixed upon the shoulders of two of them, was according to the ancient usage of representation, not the person of the men, but the dignity or honours which they attained. These two persons were honoured with the names of the gods, whose sacred symbols, or animal figures, were for that reason put upon them. 4. F. Montfaucon wanders unaccountably from the apparent meaning of this table, in supposing many of the human figures to be Isis and Osiris presenting goblets, and birds and staves to one another; when no ancient writers hint any sort of accounts, that they were ever represented as engaged in such trifling intercourses; and when all those figures may better be supposed to be different priests, employed in different offices and ministrations of their religion. 5. It does not appear from this table, that the Egyptians worshipped any idols of human shape, at the time when this table was composed; but rather, on the contrary, all the images herein represented, before which any persons are described in postures of adoration, being the figures of birds, beasts, or fishes; this table seems to have been delineated, before the Egyptians worshipped the images of men and women, which was the last and lowest step of their idolatry.

From what I have offered about the several steps, which the Egyptians took in the progress of their superstitions and idolatry, it will be easy to determine what their religion was, when Cecrops, Cadmus, or Danaus left Egypt; and consequently what religion or deities these men may be supposed to have introduced into Greece. The Egyptians had dedicated sacred animals to their sidereal deities, before these men left them: all their other innovations were more modern, and consequently these men carried this practice with them into foreign countries. The Greeks, in the first days of their idolatry, worshipped, as the Egyptians did, the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements.[5] In after-ages they worshipped hero gods, but these not until about the time of Homer. Herodotus says

[5] Plato in Cratylo.

expressly, that Hesiod and Homer introduced these deities;[6] I think them something earlier, but not much. The Greeks worshipped their gods without any images of any sort, until after Oenotrus the son of Lycaon led his colony into Italy;[7] and agreeably hereto, Pausanias remarks of some very ancient Delubra, which he saw at Haliartus, a city of Bœotia, that they had no sort of images.[8] Lycaon the father of Oenotrus was contemporary with Cecrops, the first of the travellers who came from Egypt into Greece;[9] and most probably Danaus, the last of them, introduced the image of a wolf, for the direction of his worship to Apollo Lycius;[1] so that, from all these circumstances, it is very plain, that the images of animals were at first set up as idols in Greece, much about the time of and by the direction of these men. As the Israelites made a calf in Horeb similar to their patterns, soon after Moses had led them out of Egypt, about A. M. 2513; so about this time the Greeks were led into the same sort of idolatry, by the Egyptian travellers, who came to live amongst them. Danaus taught them to worship Apollo, *i. e.* the Sun, in the form of a wolf; and it is very probable that he gave them the images of other animals for the worship of other deities. Plutarch tells us, that the Greeks anciently made a bull for the image of Bacchus;[2] and the modern images of their gods, made after their heroes were deified, and human forms introduced, have commonly such symbols of birds, beasts, or fishes annexed, as to hint what their sacred animals were, whose figures were made use of in their worship, before they came to be represented by human images. The eagle was the bird of the Grecian Jupiter, the peacock of Juno, the owl of Minerva, the dolphin or sea horse was sacred to Neptune, the ram, the cock, and other animals to Mercury; and the images of these and other animals were undoubtedly made use of at first as idols in the worship of the respective deities to whom they belonged, instead of images of those deities. In later ages, when the images of their gods were made in human shapes, then the figures of their sacred animals were annexed as symbols; and so we commonly now find them, in the statues or draughts we have of these deities. As true religion was at first one and the same in all the world; which it certainly would not have been had it not been at first appointed by positive directions from God, and express revelation; so men in all nations upon earth defaced and corrupted this universal religion, by steps and degrees very much the same. Animal figures were introduced into the idolatry of most nations, and I might add inanimate ones too. The Egyptians represented

[6] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 53.
[7] See vol. i, book v, p. 202.
[8] Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. 33.
[9] Pausan. in Arcadicis, c. 2.
[1] Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 19.
[2] Plutarch in lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 364.

Osiris by a sceptre, the Greeks anciently represented Juno by the trunk[3] of a tree, and Castor and Pollux by two cross beams; and Clemens Alexandrinus remarks from Varro, that the ancient Romans, before they had learned to give to their gods human shapes, worshipped a spear instead of an image of Mars.[4]

It is generally represented, that Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus built temples in the several countries where they travelled; but this is a mistake, arising from a careless reading of what the ancient writers remark concerning them. The Latin translator of Diodorus Siculus says, that Danaus built a temple to Minerva at Rhodes, and that Cadmus obliged himself by vow to build a temple to Neptune; but Diodorus himself says no such thing; his expression is, that they ιδρυσαντο ιερον, not built a temple, but appointed or dedicated a place of worship. Thus the author himself explains it, by telling us how Cadmus performed his vow, διασωθεις ιδρυσατο τεμενος;[5] upon his being preserved, he set out a piece of ground for the place of the worship of the god who had preserved him.[6] He did something like what Jacob did at Bethel,[7] when he set up the pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and made a vow, that that place should be GOD's house. Jacob did not design to erect any building in that place; but only meant, that he would come to worship there; which the ancients in these days did, not in temples, but in groves, or at altars erected in the open air, or in spaces of ground marked out and inclosed for that purpose; and of this sort were the ancient τεμενη of the heathens. Temples were far more modern than the days of Cecrops, Cadmus, or Danaus. Moses observes that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, frequently built altars wherever they fixed their habitations; and agreeable to this ancient practice, Eusebius says of Cecrops, that he raised an altar at Athens;[8] and we meet with this practice amongst the first inhabitants of Greece. They are said to have erected these βωμοι, *i. e.* altars, in all parts of their country, as it is remarked by Pausanias; and I believe I may add, that we have not one passage in any good writer of sufficient authority to induce us to think, that there were any temples in the world before the Jewish tabernacle was erected; or before it was known that the Jews were directed to build a temple, when they should be settled in the land of Canaan, in the place which the LORD their GOD should choose to cause his name to dwell there.[9] We may indeed meet with the word

[3] See vol. i, book v, p. 201.
[4] Clem. Alex. Cohortat. ad Gentes, c. iv, p. 41.
[5] Diodor. Sic. lib. v. p. 58.
[6] The strict and proper signification of the word τεμενος, derived from τεμνω, is, a part or portion of land separated or set apart for some sacred use.
[7] Gen. xxviii, 18.
[8] Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9.
[9] Deut. xii, 11.

Ναος in Pausanias, and in Homer, and in divers other writers; and if we always translate that word temple, as we commonly do, it may mislead us to think temples much more ancient than they really were; but we may remark, from Pausanias, that the word Ναος was at first used, as the word *beth*, or house, in Hebrew, and did not always signify a structure or a temple, but only a place set apart for God's worship. Thus Jacob called the place where he lay down to sleep Beth-el, or the house of God;[1] and thus the temples or Ναοι at Haliartus, mentioned by Pausanias, were open to the air; they were only inclosures set apart for the worship of their gods, but were not covered building or temples.[2] When the heathen nations first built temples, they were but small and of mean figure, probably designed only to defend the image of their idol from the weather, and to lay up the instruments which were used in the performances of their sacrifices. The house of Dagon amongst the Philistines was, I believe, of this sort;[3] and thus we are told, that there was a small temple at Rome made in the early ages for the reception of the Trojan Penates.[4] Certainly temples made no great figure in Homer's time; for if they had, he would have given us at least one description of a temple, in some part either of the Iliad or Odyssey. Before Virgil's time they were built with great pomp and magnificence; and accordingly he has described Dido's building a temple[5] to Juno at Carthage with all imaginable elegance. Homer would not have lost an opportunity of exerting his great genius upon so grand a subject, if temples had in his days made a figure which could possibly have shone in his poem. The true worshippers of God, at first worshipped in the open fields, and so did the ancient and first idolaters. Abraham set apart a place for his private addresses; he *planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the* Lord, *the everlasting* God;[6] and after this pattern groves were much in use in all the idolatrous nations, and τεμενη, allotments of ground, or sacred fields or inclosures, in every country for the worship of their several gods. When the Jews were come out of Egypt, and God had appointed them a moveable temple or tabernacle, the heathen nations imitated this too. Thus we read of a portable temple or tabernacle made to Moloch,[7] and when it came to be known, that the Israelites were to build a house to their God, when they should be settled in their land; then the heathen nations began to build houses to their deities, and Dagon the god of the Philistines had a house, into which the ark of God, when it was taken in battle, was carried in the days of Eli;[8] but these houses of their gods were not

[1] Gen. xxviii, 22.
[2] Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. 33.
[3] 1 Samuel v. 2.
[4] Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. lib. i, c. 68.
[5] Ænied, i.
[6] Gen. xxi, 33.
[7] Acts vii, 43.
[8] 1 Samuel v, 2.

large until after Solomon's time. After he had built the temple of Jerusalem, according to the pattern which David had given him;[9] foreign kings by degrees began to copy after him, and endeavoured to build temples with great splendour and magnificence; but when Solomon was to build his temple, it is evident from his own words, that the heathen temples were not near so large and magnificent as his design. *The house which I build*, said he, *is great; for great is our* GOD *above all gods.*[1] His design exceeded all other plans, as the GOD he worshipped was superior to the heathen idols.

I am sensible that Dr. Spencer has endeavoured to prove, that both the Jewish tabernacle and temples were erected in imitation of the places of worship made use of by the heathen nations, but whoever shall take the pains to consider what this learned writer has offered upon this subject, will be surprised that he could be satisfied with such slender proofs in favour of his opinion. But Dr. Spencer's darling hypothesis, of which what he offers about temples is only a part, is an unaccountable mistake for a writer of so great learning to fall into; and what he has produced, in the several parts of his laborious work, will abundantly convince every one, who will take the pains duly to weigh and consider the several texts of Scripture, and authorities cited by him, that no learning can sufficiently prove, that the Jewish religion was derived from the customs and practices of the heathen nations. On the contrary, most of the citations upon this subject will evidence in a much clearer manner, that a great part of the heathen ceremonies and practices was introduced into their worship and religion, in imitation of what GOD had by revelation appointed to his servants.

[9] 1 Chron. xxviii, 11, 12. [1] 2 Chron. ii, 5.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK IX.

WE left the children of Israel under difficulties in Egypt, distressed by all possible measures, which the king could take to keep them low; in which time of this affliction Moses was born. His mother hid him for three months;[1] and when she could conceal him no longer, nor bear the thoughts of having him thrown into the river, she made a sort of chest, or basket, put the infant into it, and set it among the bulrushes near the bank of the river, and there left it to God's providence. The king's daughter came to the river, heard the child cry, examined the basket, and was struck with the sight of the weeping infant, and determined to preserve it. Moses's sister stood at some distance, to see what would become of him; and upon the princess being inclined to take care of him, she mixed with her attendants, and offered to procure a fit nurse for the child. The princess liked the proposal, and the girl hereupon called Moses's own mother, to whom the princess put him out to nurse. Thus, by a wonderful providence, Moses was preserved, and nursed by his own mother for a time, but afterwards taken to court, and educated there by the favour of the princess as her own son, instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians,[2] and became a man of great eminence amongst them; was made general and leader of their armies, and fought some battles with great conduct and success.[3] The princess had no children, nor the king her father any male heir; and it is thought that she adopted Moses for

[1] Exodus ii. [2] Acts vii, 22.
[3] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 10.

her son, and that her father designed him to be king of Egypt;[4] but Moses declined this advancement, as a scheme which would deprive him and his posterity of the blessings which GOD had promised to the Hebrew nation, who were to be but strangers in Egypt for a time.[5] He had a full belief, that GOD would make good his promises to them; and *by faith he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter.*[6] Under a full persuasion of the certainty of those things, which GOD had promised, he turned his eye and heart from the crown of Egypt to the afflictions of his brethren; and rather wished, that it would please GOD to have him lead them out of Egypt to the promised land, than to sway the Egyptian sceptre. He went among them daily, and viewed their condition, and upon seeing an Egyptian severe with one of them he killed him.[7] The next day, finding two Hebrews in contest with one another, he admonished them to consider, that they were brethren, and would have decided their quarrel, thinking, that they would consider him as a person likely to deliver them out of their bondage,[8] and that they would have submitted their difference to him. But they had no such thoughts about him; his arbitration was rejected with contempt, and one of them upbraided him with his killing the Egyptian.[9] Thus he saw, that the people were not likely to follow his directions, if he should attempt to contrive their leaving Egypt; and thinking that his violence to the Egyptian might be known to Pharaoh; and finding that his spending so much of his time among the Hebrews had made his conduct much suspected, and that the king had determined to put him to death; he therefore thought it prudent to leave Egypt, and went to Midian, to Jethro, the priest and chief inhabitant of that country, with whom he lived as keeper of his flocks, and married one of his daughters.[1] Here he continued forty years. Jethro was perhaps descended from Abraham by Keturah, his second wife.[2] Moses was forty years old when he first thought of relieving the Israelites,[3] and lived forty years in Midian,[4] being eighty years old[5] when he led the Israelites out of Egypt. The exit

[4] Josephus relates, that the princess, having no child, adopted Moses, and brought him whilst a child to her father, and admiring both the beauty of his person, and the promising appearance of a genius in him, wished he would appoint him to be his successor, if she should have no children. That the king hereupon, in a pleasant humour, put his crown upon the child's head; and that Moses took it off, and laid it upon the ground, and there played with it, and turned it about with his feet. One of the priests, who attended, thought his actions ominous, and was earnest to have him killed, as a person, who would be fatally mischievous to the Egyptian crown; but the princess here again saved him from destruction, &c. See Josephus Antiq. lib. ii, c. 9.

[5] Gen. xv, 13; xlvi, 4; and l, 24.
[6] Heb. xi, 24.
[7] Exod. ii, 11, 12; Acts vii, 24.
[8] Acts vii, 25.
[9] Exod. ii, 14; Acts vii, 27, 28.
[1] Exod. ii, 21.
[2] Josephus Antiq. lib. ii, c. 11.
[3] Acts vii, 23.
[4] Ver. 30.
[5] Exod. vii, 7.

of the children of Israel out of Egypt will appear hereafter to be A. M. 2513; so that Moses was born A. M. 2433.

Josephus relates several particulars of Moses, of which we find no hints in the books of Scripture. He has a large account of a war with the Ethiopians, in which Moses was commander of the Egyptian armies. He reports, that he besieged Saba, the capital city of Ethiopia, and took the city, and married Tharbis, the king of Ethiopia's daughter.[6] Very probably this account of Josephus might be one inducement for our English translators of the Bible to render Numbers xii, 1, *And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Ethiopian woman, whom he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian woman.* Eusebius gives a hint about the Ethiopians, which favours this Egyptian war with them, mentioned by Josephus. He says, the Ethiopians came and settled in Egypt in the time of Amenophis;[7] and he places Amenophis's reign so as to end it about four hundred and thirty-one years after Abraham's birth, *i. e.* A. M. 2439. Now, according to this account, the Ethiopians were a new set of people, who planted themselves in the parts adjacent to Egypt much about Moses's time; and perhaps they might invade some part of Egypt, or incommode some of the inhabitants of it, and so occasion the war upon them, which Josephus mentions. According to Philostratus,[8] there was no such country as Ethiopia beyond Egypt until this migration. These people came, according to Eusebius, from the river Indus,[9] and planted themselves in the parts beyond Egypt southward, and so began the kingdom, called afterwards the Ethiopian. There are many hints in several ancient writers, which agree with this opinion, of the Ethiopians near to Egypt being derived from a people of that name in the eastern countries. Homer mentions two Ethiopian nations, one placed in the western parts, another in the eastern.

> Αιθιοπας τ' οι διχθα δεδαιαται, εσχατοι ανδρων,
> Οι μεν δυσομενυ Υπεριονος, οι δ' ανιοντος.
>
> Odyss. i, 23.

Strabo indeed endeavours to show, that the true meaning of this passage is generally mistaken, and that Homer did not intend by it, that there were two Ethiopian nations in parts of the world so distant as Egypt and India;[1] but the remarks of other writers do, I think, determine Homer's words to this sense more clearly than Strabo's arguments refute it. Herodotus says, that there were two Ethiopian nations, and he places one of them in the eastern parts of the world, and

[6] Josephus Antiq. lib. ii, c. 10.
[7] Euseb. in Chron. ad Num 402.
[8] In vit. Apollon. Tyanei, lib. iii, c. 20.
[9] In Chron. ubi sup
[1] See Strabo, Georg. lib. i, p. 29; lib. ii, p. 103.

reckons them among the Indians, and the other in the parts near Egypt.[2] Apollonius was of the same opinion, and says, that the African Ethiopians came from India;[3] and he supposes them to be masters of the ancient Indian learning, brought by their forefathers from India to Ethiopia.[4] Eustathius hints that the Ethiopians came from India.[5] Thus the Ethiopians were a people, who wandered from their ancient habitations, and settled in the parts near Egypt about the time when Moses lived; and very probably they and the Egyptians might have some contests about settling the bounds of their country, so that Egypt might not be invaded by them. Perhaps Josephus might have reason, from ancient remains, to relate that Moses was engaged in accommodating this affair; though it is evident that Josephus had added to the account some particulars which are not true. Saba, which Josephus supposes to be the capital city of Ethiopia, was a city of Arabia; and Moses did not marry the king of Ethiopia's daughter, as Josephus supposes; but it is easy to conjecture how Josephus was led into these mistakes. The LXX, in their translation, which Josephus was very fond of, render the land of Cush, as our English translators have done, the land of Ethiopia; and Josephus, finding that Saba was a head city in the land of Cush, or Arabia, taking Cush, according to the LXX, to be Ethiopia, he supposed Saba to be the capital city of that country; and perhaps finding also, that Moses married a Cushite woman (which was indeed true, for he married the daughter of Jethro, the Arabian,) here he mistook again, and translating Cush Ethiopia, he married Moses to Tharbis, the king of Ethiopia's daughter.

Whilst Moses lived in Midian, he is supposed to have used the leisure, which he enjoyed there, in writing his book of Genesis, and some writers say he also wrote the Book of Job. The matters treated in both these books were indeed extremely proper to be laid before the Israelites; for in one of them they might have a full and clear view of the history of the world, so far as they were concerned in it; of the creation of mankind; of their own origin; and of the promises which God had made to their fathers; so that it would give them the best account of their condition and expectations. And in the other they might see a very instructive pattern of patience and resignation to the will of God, in the life of a virtuous person, led from a great share of worldly prosperity into the most afflicting circumstances; and, after a due time of trial, brought back again to greater prosperity than ever. This subject was very fit to be represented to them when the Egyptian bondage pressed hard upon them; and they might want, not only to know the good things which God designed

[2] Herodot. lib. vii, c. 70.
[3] Argonaut. lib. vi, c. 1, 4, 6.
[4] Id. ibid. c. 8.
[5] In Dionys. p. 35.

to give them, but to have also some such particular example as that of Job, to remind them to possess their souls in patience, until the time should come when GOD should think fit to end their troubles. But though the subject matters contained in these books may very justly be represented as very suitable to the circumstances of the Israelites at this juncture, yet I cannot find any other reason to think, that Moses wrote the Book of Job at all, or that he composed that of Genesis at this time. Some authors have supposed, that the Book of Genesis was composed last of all the five books of Moses; but as this opinion is mere conjecture, so, it must be confessed, is all that can be said about the precise time of his writing any of them. As to the Book of Job, there are many opinions among the learned about the writer of it, but none of them so well supported with arguments as to leave no room to doubt in our admitting it. What seems most probable is, that Job himself, who could best tell all the circumstances of his condition, and of what passed in the conferences, which he had with his friends, did some time before he died leave a written account of it; but that the book of Job, which we now have, is not the very account which was written by Job; but that some inspired writer, who lived later than his days, composed it from the memoirs left by him. The greatest part of the present book of Job is written in verse; and I suppose no one will imagine, that poetry was attempted so early as the days of Job. Some later hand must have put what Job left into the measure, which was thought suitable to such a subject; but whether this was done by the hand of Moses, or Solomon, or some other of the inspired writers of the Old Testament, no one can determine; though I think it seems most probable, that it was not done so early as the days of Moses.

St. Jerome informs us,[6] that the verse of the Book of Job is heroic. From the beginning of the book to the third chapter, he says, is prose; but from Job's words, *Let the day perish wherein I was born*,[7] &c. unto these words, *Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes*,[8] are hexameter verses, consisting of dactyls and spondees, like the Greek verses of Homer, or the Latin of Virgil. Marianus Victorius, in his note upon this passage of St. Jerome, says, that he has examined the Book of Job, and finds St. Jerome's observation to be true. I have endeavoured myself to make trial, but cannot say, that I find the experiment answers exactly to their account. I cannot make the words run into hexameter verses only, but rather think that every other line is a pentameter. If the Reader will put the Hebrew words into Latin characters, making due allowance for the difficulty of expressing

[6] Præfat. in Lib. Job.
[7] Job iii, 3.
[8] Chap. xlii, 6.

the Hebrew sounds in our letters, he may perhaps admit, that the 3d, 4th, and part of the 5th verse of the third chapter of Job, to the end of these words, *Let darkness and the shadow of death stain it,* runs, in the following words, according to the measure subjoined under them.

Jobad Jom ivvalæd bo ve ha Lailah Amar
– – – – – – – v v – v v – –

Carah gaber haijom hahua jehi choshek
– v v – – – – v v – v v –

Al jidreshu eloah Mimnal ve al topan alaiv
– – – v v – – – – – – v v – –

Nahrah jegalhu choshek vetzlemaveh teshecon
– v v – v v – – v v – v –

I cannot be positive, that I have exactly hit the true spelling of the Hebrew words, though I cannot be far from it; and I think, that I could so write what follows in the Book of Job, as to make it fall into this sort of verse and measure; and the experiment would, I believe, succeed always in like manner, if tried anywhere with the words in this book, beginning with chap. iii, 3, and ending at chap. xlii, 7; only the several sentences, which direct us to the several speakers; such as these, *Moreover, the* LORD *answered Job, and said,* chap. xl, 1; *Elihu also proceeded, and said,* chap. xxxvi, 1; *Elihu spake moreover, and said,* chap. xxxv, 1; *Then Job, answered, and said,* chap. xxiii, 1. All these, and such other sentences as these, which occur in many places, to inform us who is the speaker, or to connect different speeches and argumentations, are in prose, and not in verse. At what time this sort of verse began is very uncertain; but, perhaps, not altogether so early as the days of Moses. Heroic verse was written with great exactness in the time of Homer; and the measure was then adjusted to a greater strictness than obtained when this book of Job was composed. For St. Jerome very justly remarks, that the verses in the Book of Job do not always consist of dactyls and spondees, but that other feet frequently occur instead of them; and that we often meet in them a word of four syllables,[9] instead of a dactyl or spondee, and that the measure

[9] Propter linguæ idioma crebro recipiunt alios pedes, non earundem syllabarum, sed eorundem temporum. *Hieron. Præfat. in Lib. Job.* Ego inveni—esse in Job hexametros versus ex spondæo, dactylo, et aliis pedibus, ut trochæo, iambo, et proceleusmatico currentes: non enim syllabarum, sed temporum in iis habetur ratio, ut, scilicet, duæ breves pro unâ syllabâ longâ ponantur; nam et proceleusmaticum, hoc est, quatuor breves pro dactylo, qui ex unâ longâ et duabus brevibus constat, poni omnes sciunt, quod eadem ratione in spondæo etiam fit apud Job. *Marian. Victor. Not. in Præfat. Hieron. in Lib. Job.*

of the verses frequently differs in the number of the syllables of the several feet; but allowing two short syllables to be equal to one long one, the sums of the measure of the verses are always the same. This incorrectness of measure evidently hints, that this poem is much more ancient than Homer; for before his time this liberty was laid aside. The mixture of the short verses agrees very well with Horace's observation,

Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primum.[1]

Melancholy accidents, and unfortunate calamities, were at first the peculiar subjects treated of in this sort of verse; but as we know not who was the inventor of elegiac verse,[2] so we cannot guess from hence at what time to fix the composing this elegiac poem.

It will perhaps be said, that we are so uncertain about the true pronunciation of the Hebrew tongue, and that the same Hebrew word may be so differently written in our modern letters, according to the fancy of the writer, that it is pretty easy to make a Hebrew sentence fall into any measure, and bear the resemblance of any sort of verse, which we have a mind to call it. But to this I answer, any one, who makes the experiment, will not find this to be true. Let any one try to reduce the words of the song of Moses[3] to this measure of the verse in Job, or let him try to reduce the song of Deborah and Barak,[4] and any part of Job, to one and the same measure, and he will presently see an irreconcileable difference in the structure of the words and syllables, sufficient to convince him, that any Hebrew sentence cannot be made appear to be any verse, according to the fancy of the reader. Upon the whole, in the Book of Job the words fall so naturally into the measures I have hinted, and the short verse so commonly ends in a period in sense, that though I cannot deny but that any other person, who might take a fancy to write over any number of the verses in Job in our letters, might probably spell the words differently, nay, and perhaps sometimes measure the particular feet of some verses differently from me, yet still I am apt to think, that no one could bring the whole, or a considerable part of the book to bear so remarkable an appearance of this measure as it evidently may be made to exhibit, if it really were not a poem of this sort; especially when other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, which are not of this composure, can by no way of writing be reduced to seem to have such a resemblance. However, I can by no means

[1] Horat. Lib. de Arte Poeticâ.

[2] Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor
Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est.
Hor. de Art. Poet. v. 77.

[3] Exodus xv. [4] Judges v.

pretend to any thing more than conjecture upon so nice a subject. St. Jerome has given a hint; and I have endeavoured to examine how far it may be true. I acknowledge, that many writers have been of opinion, that the book of Job is not composed in this sort of measure, and I must entirely submit their opinion, St. Jerome's, and what I have ventured to offer, to the judgment of the reader.

Moses is by St. Stephen said to have been *learned in all the learning of the Egyptians.*[5] The sacred writings bear abundant testimony to the Egyptian learning; both in these and in succeeding ages. As St. Stephen thought it remarkable in Moses's time; so we find it was as famous in the days of Solomon, of whom it was said, that his *wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt.*[6] Agreeably to which sentiment of the Eastern and Egyptian learning, all the ancient profane writers suppose that these countries had been the seats of learning in the early ages. It may not be improper to inquire what the Egyptian learning in the days of Moses might be. Sir John Marsham puts the question thus; "What was this learning of the Egyptians, when the second Mercury had not deciphered the remains of Thyoth?"[7] By this query, this learned gentleman seems to have been of opinion, that the Egyptian learning was but in a low state in these days; and it may be thought very reasonable to imagine, that when the pastor kings broke in upon Egypt, and, having enslaved the country, forced the priests to fly into other nations, as has been said; such a revolution might probably put a stop to the progress of their arts and learning; but it is not likely, that it should altogether suppress and extirpate them. The tillage of the ground made the study of astronomy absolutely necessary, in order to know, from the lights of Heaven, the times and seasons for the several parts of agriculture; and the nature of their country, overflowed yearly by the Nile, made it of continual use for them to study land-measuring, and geometry.[8] And though several of the priests might fly from the pastors, upon their invading the land; yet doubtless they must encourage a great many to stay amongst them for the public good, and to cultivate and carry on the Egyptian studies, of which foreign nations had so high an opinion, and most probably were not entirely strangers to it. It is not indeed to be supposed, that the Egyptians had thus early carried the study of astronomy or geometry to a great height. They had observed, as well as they could, the times of the rising and setting of some particular stars; and they had acquired such a knowledge of

5 Acts vii, 22. 6 1 Kings iv, 30.

7 Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 137.

8 Γεωμετριαν δε και την Αριθμητικην επι πλειον εκπονεισιν· ο μεν γαρ ποταμος κατ' ενιαυτον ποικιλως μετασχηματιζων την χωραν, πολλας και παντοιας αμφισβητησεις ποιει περι των ορων τοις γειτνιωσι. Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 80.

geometry, as gave them the reputation of being very learned, in comparison of other nations, who had not proceeded so far as the Egyptians in these studies. But if we consider that the Egyptians did not as yet apprehend the year to consist of more than three hundred and sixty days, and that Thales was the first who attempted to foretel an eclipse;[9] and that both Thales and Pythagoras, many ages after these times, were thought to have made vast improvements in geometry, beyond all that they had learned in Egypt; the one by his invention of the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid; the other by his finding out how to inscribe a rectangled triangle within a circle;[1] we must think, that neither astronomy nor geometry were as yet carried to any great perfection. The distinction, which Plato made between Αρχονομες and Αρχονομαντας,[2] may not be improper to be kept in mind, when we treat of these early astronomers or geometricians. They compiled registers of the appearances of the stars and lights of Heaven, took accounts of the weather and seasons which followed their several observations; recorded the best times of sowing or reaping this or that grain; and, by the experimental learning and observation of many years, became able prognosticators of the weather, of the seasons, and good directors for the tillage of the ground.[3] And in geometry, they found out methods of marking out and describing the several parts of their country; and probably were exceeding careful in making draughts of the flow and ebb of the river Nile every year; for they formed many theories and speculations from their observations made upon it.[4] We may say of their skill in these sciences, what Plutarch said of Numa's astronomy;[5] it was not such as would have been extolled in ages of greater learning; but it was considerable for the times in which they lived. One part of the Egyptian learning undoubtedly consisted in physiology, or the study of the traditions, which their learned men had amassed together, about the creation of the world. Of these I imagine the Egyptians had a very rich store;[6] and the commenting upon these, and forming notions of the natural powers of the several parts of the universe, according to their maxims and way of thinking, was undoubtedly one great part of that philosophy, in which their men of learning exercised themselves.[7] Before Moses's time, the Egyptian astronomy had led them into idolatry. Syphis, of whom I have formerly treated, had taught them to worship the luminaries of Heaven; and from his time, a great part of the Egyptian

[9] Laert. in Vit. Thalet. seg. 23; Cic. de Divin. lib. i; Plin. lib. ii, c. 12.
[1] Laert. ubi sup.
[2] Plat. in Epinomide.
[3] Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 80.
[4] See Plut. de Iside et Osiride.
[5] Ηψατο δε και της περι τον ουρανον πραγματειας, ουτε ακριβως ουτε παντα τασιν αθεωρητως. Plut. in Numa, p. 71.
[6] See Diod. Sic. lib. i; Preface to vol. i, p. 26. Strabo, lib. xvii.

learning consisted in finding out the influence, which these bodies had upon the world. They turned their learning this way, and formed and fashioned their religion according to it. Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptians first found out what deity presided over each day of the week, and every month of the year.[8] Clemens Alexandrinus says, that they introduced the use of astrology.[9] Dion Cassius, that they supposed the seven planets governed the seven days of the week;[1] and Cicero, that by the observation of the motion of the stars, through a series of a prodigious number of years, they had got the art of foretelling things to come, and knowing to what fate any person was born.[2] Philastrius Brixiensis supposes, that this particular science was the invention of the Egyptians; and intimates, that it had begun very early, by his supposing Hermes to be the author of it;[3] for the invention of all arts and sciences, which were reputed truly ancient, were ascribed to Hermes.[4] Necepsos, who, according to Eusebius, reigned in Egypt about the time when Tullus Hostilius governed Rome, was a great improver of the ancient Egyptian magic;[5] but it is evident, that the study and practice of it began before Moses's time, both in Egypt, and in the neighbouring nations. The caution, which Moses gave the Israelites,[6] shows evidently, that the idolatrous nations had then their professors of these arts, known by various denominations. They had *diviners, observers of times, enchanters, witches, charmers, consulters with familiar spirits, wizards, necromancers.*[7] Balaam was skilful in enchantments, and may probably be supposed to have built seven altars according to the Egyptian system, which supposed that the seven planets presided over the seven days of the week.[8] Seven bullocks and seven rams might be a proper offering in his days to be made to the true GOD;[9] but the dividing it upon seven altars implies an offering to more divinities than one, and seems to have been one of the practices, by which he went to seek for enchantments.[1] We may come up higher, and find earlier mention of these artificers. Pharaoh had his wise men, sorcerers, and magicians of Egypt, who pretended to work wonders with their enchantments;[2] and divination was reputed an art, and a cup used in the exercise of it in the days of Joseph;[3] and in his time, the kings of Egypt had their magicians to interpret dreams.[4] All these arts, in these days, were studied with great application in the idolatrous nations; and without doubt

[8] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 82.
[1] Dion. Cassius, lib. xxxvi, p. 37.
[3] Hæres. n. x; See Marsham Can. Chron. p. 448.
[4] Jamblichus de Myster. Ægypt.
[6] Deut. xviii, 10, 11.
[8] Numb. xxiii, 1.
[1] Numb. xxiv, 1.
[3] Gen. xliv, 5.
[9] Stromat. lib. i, c. 16.
[2] Cic. de Divinat. lib. i, c. 1.
[5] Ausonius, Ep. 19.
[7] Ibid.
[9] Job xlii, 8.
Exod. vii, viii.
[4] Chap. xli, 8.

a great part of the learning of the Egyptians consisted in the study of them. Now I cannot see why we may not suppose, that Moses, as he had an Egyptian education, was, according to their course of discipline, instructed in them. Philo indeed observes of him, that in all his studies, he kept his mind free from every false bias; and sincerely endeavoured to find out the truth in all his inquiries.[5] A happy disposition this, to which the most learned are often very great strangers: for it is not abundance of literature which gives this temper, but it rather arises from a virtuous and undesigning heart.

Many writers have imagined, that the magic of the heathen world, their oracles, interpretations of dreams, prodigies, omens, and divinations, were caused by a communication of their prophets, priests, and diviners, with evil spirits. They suppose, that as God was pleased to inspire his true prophets; to give signs, and work wonders, for his servants; to warn them by dreams, or to reveal to them his will; so the devil, and his angels, affected to imitate these particular favours, vouchsafed to good and virtuous men, and gave oracles, omens, signs, dreams, and visions to delude their superstitious votaries. When the heathens came to worship hero-gods, and to suppose that the world was governed by genii, or spirits of a higher nature than men, but inferior to the deity; then indeed they ascribed oracles, omens, signs, dreams, and visions, to the ministry of such spirits, intrusted with the government of this lower world. This opinion is well expressed by one of Plutarch's disputants,[6] and it was esteemed to be true by Plato and his followers.[7] Many of the fathers of the Christian church likewise ascribed the divination of the heathens to the assistance of their dæmons; but we have no reason to think that any opinion of this sort had obtained in the first ages of idolatry, or had appeared so early as the time of Moses. We meet with no names of any heathen diviners, mentioned in the Sacred Writings in these early days, which imply any converse with such spirits. There are indeed two which may seem to imply it; but, if we rightly translate the original words for them, we shall see that they have no such meaning. We mention *consulters with familiar spirits*, and necromancers, among the heathen diviners, against whom Moses cautioned the Israelites.[8] Our English expression, *consulter with familiar spirits*, seems to signify one that divined by the help of such spirit; but the Hebrew words, שאל אוב, *shoel*

[5] Αφιλονεικως τας εριδας υπερβας, την αληθειαν επεζητει, μηδεν ψευδος της διανοιας αυτȣ παραδεχεσθαι δυναμενης, ως εθος τοις αιρεσιομαχοις. Philo Jud. lib. i, de Vita Mosis, p. 606.

[6] Το μεν εφεςαναι τοις χρηςηριοις μη θεȣς, οις απηλαχθαι των περι γην προσηκον εςιν, αλλα δαιμονας υπηρετας θεων, ȣ δοκει μοι κακως αξιȣσθαι. Plut. de Orac. Defectu, p. 418.

[7] Plato in Sympos, in Epinomide; in Timæo; in Phædro; in Ione, &c.

[8] Deut. xviii, 10, 11.

aobv, are two persons, *shoel* is the consulter, *aobv* is the diviner. Our English translators have generally missed the true sense of this expression. We translate, *a man, or a woman, that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death;*[9] by this translation, *a man or woman that had a familiar spirit*, seems to be one sort of diviner, as a wizard is another; but the true translation of the Hebrew words is as follows. *A man or a woman, if there shall have been with them* (*i. e.* if they shall have consulted,) *an aobv or an yiddeoni* (*i. e.* a python, or a wizard,) *shall be put to death:* here the *aobv* is the diviner, and does not signify *a familiar spirit in a person*, possessing him, as our English translation seems to intimate. That the word *aobv* is to be taken in this sense is abundantly evident from another passage in this book of Leviticus; the words are,[1] *al tiphnu el ha aobvoth, veel ha yiddeonim: al tebakkeshu letameah bahem*, i. e. *Ye shall not have regard to the pythons, or to the wizards. Ye shall not make inquiries to the polluting of yourselves by them.* Here it is very plain, that *aobv* does not signify *a spirit in a person*, but is one sort of diviner, of whom the Israelites were not to inquire; as *yiddeoni*, the word translated *wizard*, is another;[2] and whoever compares our English version of this verse with the Hebrew words, must see that our translators wandered from the strict sense of the original text, to express their notion of *familiar spirits*. I have translated the Hebrew word *aobv*, *python;* if it was a woman diviner, it should be *pythonissa;* the Greek word is εγγαστριμυθος,[3] and that the diviners of this sort were anciently thought to answer those who consulted them, without the assistance of any dæmon, or familiar spirit, is evident from Plutarch.[4] Our English translators render *doresh el ha methim, necromancers*,[5] the vulgar Latin translates it *quærens a mortuis*, the LXX, επερωτων τους νεκρους. I must acknowledge, that all the translations, and the Targum of Onkelos, take the words in the same sense, and interpret them to signify consulters of departed spirits; and by the marginal reference in our English Bibles, we are directed at this word to 1 Sam. xxviii, 7, as if the woman at Endor, to whom Saul went to raise Samuel, were a *doresh el hamethim*, though she is there

[9] Leviticus xx, 27.

[1] אל תפנו אל-האבת ואל-הידענים אל תבקשו לטמאה בהם
Levit. xix, 31.

[2] The vulgar Latin, the LXX, the Targum of Onkelos, the Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic versions, render the passage as I have, and the Hebrew words cannot fairly bear a different translation.

[3] Vers. LXX.

[4] Ευηθες γαρ εστι και παιδικον νομιδη το οιεσθαι τον Θεον αυτον, ασπερ τους εγγαστριμυθους, Ευρυκλεις παλαι νυνι Πυθωνας προσαγορευομενους, ενδυομενον εις τα σωματα ἀνθρωπων υποφθεγγεσθαι, &c. Plut. de Defectu Orac. p. 414; Vid. Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 19.

[5] Deut. xviii, 11.

said to be *pythonissa;* and the *python*, or *pythonissa*, is here in Deuteronomy mentioned as a diviner of a different sort from the *doresh el hamethim;* or, as we render it, *necromancer.* The several translations, which we have of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as the Targum of Onkelos, were all made much later than the time of deifying the souls of heroes; and very probably, the prevailing opinion among the heathens, at the time of making these translations being, that such departed spirits were in this manner propitious unto men, this might occasion the translators to think, that the words might be rendered as they have translated them. But it should have been considered, that the notion of hero-gods arose later than the time of Moses, and the words *doresh el hamethim* may rather signify *one that inquires of the dead* idols, which the heathens had set up in the nations round about the Israelites, in opposition to those, who sought only to the living GOD. As in after-ages, the heathens believed, that the world was governed by genii, hero-spirits, or dæmons, by the appointment of the Deity; so in these earlier, and first ages of idolatry, they worshipped only the lights of Heaven, and the elements; allowing indeed a supreme Deity, but thinking these all had intelligence, and were appointed by him to govern the world.[6] And as, when the opinion of dæmons and hero-spirits prevailed, all prophecy, dreams, prodigies, and divinations of all sorts were referred to them; so in these earlier times, before men had proceeded to set up hero deities, and to worship dæmons; when the lights of heaven, and elements were the objects of their worship, it was thought reasonable to imagine, that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, by their natural influence upon the air, earth, and water, did frequently cause vapours and influences, which might affect the minds of persons, who by due art and preparation were fit for divination, so as to enable them to foretel things to come, to deliver oracles.[7] Nay, they thought a proper discipline might make them capable of working wonders, or procuring prodigies;[8] and all these things they conceived might be done, without the Deity being at all concerned in them.[9] They did not indeed deny, that GOD sometimes interposed; they acknowledged him to be the great author of all miracles, signs, wonders, dreams, prophecies, and visions, whenever he thought fit. But they believed also, that they might and would be

[6] Mundum—habere mentem, quæ se et ipsum fabricatum sit, et omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit persuasum etiam solem, lunam, stellas omnes, terram, mare, Deos esset quod quædam animalis intelligentia per omnia ea permeet et transeat. Cic. Acad. Qu. lib. iv, c. 37. Consentaneum est in iis sensum inesse intelligentiam, ex quo efficitur in Deorum numero astra esse ducenda. Id. de Nat. Deorum, lib. ii, c. 15.

[7] Plutarch, lib. de Defectu Oraculorum.

[8] Cumque magna vis videretur in monstris procurandis in haruspicum disciplina. Cic. de Divinat. lib. i, c. 2.

[9] Natura significari futura sine Deo possunt. Id. ibid, c. 6.

effected without his interposition;[1] either by fate, meaning hereby the natural course of things, which God had appointed to proceed in the universe;[2] that is, they thought that God had so framed the several parts of the mundane system, that from the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and the temperament and situation of the earth, air, and water; or, in general, from the disposition of the several parts of the universe to, and influence upon one another, prodigies, omens, signs, dreams, visions, and oracles, would constantly at the proper places and seasons be given, as necessarily as the heavenly bodies performed their revolutions; and that men might, by long observation and experience, form rules for the rightly interpreting and understanding what the Deity had thus appointed to be discovered to them;[3] or they said, that these things might be effected in a natural way, *i. e.* by the use of natural means proper to produce them. We are told by one of Plutarch's disputants, that the earth emits vapours, and powerful effluvia of several sorts, and some of such a nature as to cause men to divine, if they be in a proper temper of mind to be affected by them;[4] and the Pythia at Delphos is supposed, in Cicero,[5] to have been inspired from such an influence of the earth affecting her. In Plutarch it is remarked, that sometimes the natural temper of the air caused in the prophet the proper disposition to receive the vaticinal influence; at other times, that the vates disposed themselves for it by drinks and inebriations.[6] When the vaticinal influence operated upon the mind, by the conveyance of the air, without any artificial assistance, then they said the vaticination proceeded from fate, because it proceeded from the natural course of things, or order of nature, which God had appointed to go on in the

[1] Primum, ut mihi videtur, a Deo, deinde a fato, deinde a natura vis omnis divinandi, ratioque repetenda est. Id. ibid. c. 55.

[2] Fatum est non id quod superstitiose, sed quod physice dicitur causa æterna rerum. Id. ibid. Deum—interdum necessitatem apellant, quia nihil aliter possit, atque ab eo constitutum sit. Id. Acad. Quæst. lib. iv, c. 44. Τι καλυσει της τυ Διος ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ και προνοιας υπηκοους παντας ειναι; Plutarch. lib. de Defect. Orac. p. 426.

[3] Principio Assyrii—trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt, quibus notatis, quid euique significaretur memoriæ prodiderunt—Chaldæi—diuturna observatione siderum, scientiam putantur effecisse, ut prædici posset quid cuique eventurum, et quo quisque fato natus esset. Eandem artem etiam Ægyptii longinquitate temporum innumerabilibus pæne seculis consecuti putantur. Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 1. Atque hæc, ut ego arbitror, rerum magis eventis moniti quam ratione docti provaberunt. Ibid. c. 3. Observata sunt hæc tempore immenso, et in significatione eventus animadversa et notata; nihil est autem, quod non longinquitas temporum, excipiente memoria, prodendisque monumentis, efficere atque assequi possit. Ibid. c. 7. Affert autem vetustas omnibus in rebus longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam; quæ potest esse etiam sine motu atque impulsu Deorum, cum quid ex quoque eveniat, et quid quamque rem significet, crebra animadversione perspectum sit. Ibid. c. 49.

[4] Plutarch. de Def. Oracul. p. 432.

[5] De Divinat. lib. i, c. 19.

[6] Plutarch. ubi sup.

universe; but if drink, or any other artificial means, were used, then they said the vaticination came *a naturâ*, or from the use of means, which were thought to have a natural power to produce it. These were the first notions, which learning and *science*, *falsely so called*, introduced into the heathen world. Their kings and learned men did indeed know GOD, but they did not retain him so strictly in their knowledge as they ought to have done, but set up other deities besides, and instead of him. They thought that the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements, were appointed to govern the world;[7] and though they acknowledged that GOD might,[8] upon extraordinary occasions, work miracles, reveal his will by audible voices, divine appearances, dreams, or prophecies; yet they thought also, that, generally speaking, oracles were given, prodigies caused, dreams of things to come occasioned, in a natural way, by the influence or observation of the courses of the heavenly bodies, and by the operation of the powers of nature. And they conceived, that their learned professors, by a deep study of, and profound inquiry into natural knowledge, could make themselves able to work wonders, obtain oracles and omens, and interpret dreams. In all these particulars they thought the Deity was not concerned, but that they were mere natural effects of the influence of the elements and planets; seeming strange and unaccountable to the vulgar and unlearned, but fully understood by persons of science and philosophy.

That this was Pharaoh's sense of things, when Moses wrought his wonders in Egypt, is remarkably evident from the use he made of his magicians upon the occasion. When Moses and Aaron came to require him in the name of their GOD to let the Israelites go, he asked them to show a miracle, that he might know that they were really sent upon a divine mission.[9] Here he acknowledged, according to what I remarked from Tully, that GOD, by an extraordinary interposition, could work miracles;[1] but when Aaron's rod was turned into a serpent, he sent for his sorcerers and magicians, to see if they could with their enchantments cause such a transmutation; and upon finding that they could, he thought it no real miracle,[2] and refused to let the people go. In the same manner the magicians brought up frogs, and from hence Pharaoh concluded that the plague of frogs did not arise from any extraordinary divine interposition. The same observation may be made upon the river's being turned into blood; but when the magicians tried and could not produce lice, then

[7] Cic. Acad. Quest. lib. iv, c. 34. [8] Id. de Divinat. lib. i, c. 55.

[9] Exod. vii, 9, 10.

[1] Primum a Deo vis omnis et divinandi repetenda est ratio. Cic. ubi sup.

[2] See Philo Jud. de vita Mosis, lib. i. We may apply here what is said of Pharaoh, upon the rivers being turned into blood; when he saw the magicians do so with their enchantments, he did not set his heart to this miracle, *i. e.* he did not regard it. Exod. vii, 23.

they concluded that *this was the finger of* God.[3] Thus the trial of the magicians' skill was to bring Moses's wonders to the test, in order to discover whether they were effected by human art, or by the divine assistance; and shows evidently, that the prevailing opinion among the learned at this time was, that wonders, prodigies, divinations, &c., might be procured, as I have remarked, *sine Deo*,[4] without the Deity's being concerned in causing them, and that, either *a fato*, or *a naturâ*;[5] by the use of natural means or enchantments to cause them (which artifices Pharaoh's[6] magicians used to this purpose,) or from the planetary or elementary powers at set times and critical junctures of their influence. I might, I think, add, that when Pharaoh was convinced that Moses's miracles were not wrought by any magical arts or incantations, he still hesitated, whether they might not happen from some influence of the planets or elements, which Moses, as a master of their learning, might well know the times of, and thereby be able to denounce what would come in its place and season. But, in order to take away all possibility of such suspicion, Moses several times gave Pharaoh liberty to choose what time he would have the plagues removed when he desired it;[7] that he might know that God alone was the author of them, and that they were brought, and by his power might be removed in any hour, and at any season, without regard to the stars or elements, their temper, influence, or situation. These, I think, were the arts in which the learned men of Egypt chiefly exercised themselves; and undoubtedly Moses had full instruction in all parts of their learning; though, as Philo remarks of him, he preserved himself from being imposed upon by their errors and idolatry. He made himself a complete master of every thing excellent in their discipline, and rejected what would have corrupted his religion, under a false show of improving his understanding.

There are other sciences generally esteemed to have been parts of the Egyptian learning. One of their most early kings is supposed to have been very famous for his skill in physic, and to have left considerable memoirs of his art for the instruction of future ages; and his remains upon this subject were carefully preserved with their most valuable monuments, and were with the greatest diligence studied by posterity.[8] We read of the Egyptian physicians in the days of Joseph;[9] and Diodorus represents these as an order of men not only very ancient in Egypt, but as having full employ-

[3] Exod. viii, 19. [4] Cic. ubi sup. [5] Id. ibid.

[6] I should imagine, that the divination by drinking out of a cup, hinted at Gen. xliv, 5, was of the same sort with the supposed natural way of divining by drinking, which is suggested in Plutarch. Lib. de Defect. Orac. ubi sup.

[7] Exod. viii, 9, 10; ix, 5, 18.

[8] See vol. i, b. iv, p. 134; Syncell. p. 54; Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi, p. 634.

[9] Gen. l, 2.

ment, in continually giving physic to the people, not to cure, but to prevent their falling into distempers.[1] Herodotus says much the same thing; and represents the ancient Egyptians as living under a continual course of physic, undergoing so rough a regimen for three days together every month,[2] that I suspect some mistake both in his and Diodorus's account of them, in this particular. Herodotus allows, that they had lived in a favourable climate, and had been a healthy people;[3] which seems hardly consistent with so much medicinal discipline as he imagined they went through almost without interruption. The first mention we have of physicians in the sacred pages shows, indeed, that there was such a profession in Egypt in Joseph's time, and Jacob was their patient;[4] but their employment was to embalm him after he was dead; for we do not read, that any care was taken to give him physic whilst alive; which inclines me to suspect, that the Egyptians had no practice for the cure of the diseases of a sick bed, in these days. We read of no sick persons in the early ages. The diseases of Egypt, of which the Israelites had been afraid[5] (if by these Moses meant any other diseases than the boils inflicted upon Pharaoh and his people,)[6] were such as they had no cure for;[7] and any other sicknesses were then so little known, that they had no names[8] for them. Men lived temperately in the early times, their constitutions were strong and good, and they were rarely sick until nature was worn out; and age and mortality could have no cure. An early death was so unusual, that it was generally remarked to be a punishment for some extraordinary wickedness;[9] and diseases were thought not to come in the ordinary course of nature, but to be inflicted by the Deity for the correction of some particular crimes. It is remarkable, that the ancient books of the Egyptian physic were esteemed a part of their sacred records, and were always carried about in[1] their processions by the Pastophori, who were an order of their priests.[2] The Egyptians studied physic, not as an art by itself, but their astronomy, physic, and mysteries, were all put together, as making up but one science, being separately only parts of their theology;[3] for which reasons I imagine, that their ancient

[1] Τας νοσους προκαταλαμβανομενοι θεραπευσι τα σωματα κλυσμοις, και ποτιμοις τισι καθαρτηριοις και νησειαις και εμετοις, ενιοτε μεν καθ' εκασην ημεραν, ενιοτε δε τρεις η τετταρας ημερας διαλειποντες. Diodor. lib. i, c. 82.

[2] Συμμαιζουσι τρεις ημερας εφεξης μηνος εκαστου, εμετοισι θεραμενοι την υγιειην. Herodot. lib. ii, c. 77.

[3] Id. ibid.

[4] Gen. l, 2.

[5] Deut. xxviii, 60.

[6] Exod. ix.

[7] Deut. xxviii, 27.

[8] Ver. 61.

[9] Gen. xxxviii, 8, 10.

[1] Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. lib. vi, c. 4.

[2] Chæremon. apud Porphyr. lib. iv, de Abstinen. § 8.

[3] Οι Αιγυπτιοι εκ ιδια μεν τα ιατρικα, ιδια δε τα αστρολογικα, και τα τελεστικα, αλλα αμα παντα συνεγραψαν. Scholiast. in Ptol. Tetrabib.; vid. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 41.

prescriptions, which Diodorus and Herodotus suppose them so punctual in observing, were not medicinal, but religious purifications. The distinction of clean and unclean beasts was before the Flood,[4] and when men had leave to eat flesh, they most probably observed that distinction in their diet, eating the flesh of no other living creatures than what they offered in sacrifice, which were only the clean beasts and clean fowls.[5] And when the heathen nations turned aside to idolatry, as they altered and corrupted the ancient rites of sacrificing and sacrifices, and invented many new ones, so they innovated in their diet with it. Many new rites and sacrifices being introduced into their religion, new abstinences and purifications, new meats and drinks came with them; and it was the physician's business) he being the religious minister presiding in these points) to prescribe upon every occasion, according to the rules contained in their sacred books.[6] The Egyptians were very exact in these points. Herodotus informs us, that they ate no fish;[7] but, if we take either the reasons hinted from Julian by Sir John Marsham,[8] or the general one assigned by Plutarch,[9] their refusing this diet was not upon account of health, but of religion. In like manner they ate no beans, for they thought them a pollution:[1] and their rites in diet were so different from the Hebrew customs, that the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, in the days of Joseph, for that was an abomination to them.[2] It would be endless to recount the many fictions, which these men brought into religion. The astronomers formed abundance, as I have hinted already, from the advances made in their science; and it is easy to conceive, that in studying the nature of the living creatures, fruits, and plants in the world, they might invent as great a variety of abstinences and religious diets and purifications from this branch of knowledge, as they did deities from the other, and fill their sacred pharmaceutic books, not with recipes for sicknesses and distempers, but with meats and drinks, unguents, lotions, and purgations, proper to be used in the several services of every deity, and upon all the occasions of religion. Their monthly prescriptions also might vary as the stars took their courses, and as different deities in their turns called for the observance of different rituals to obtain their favours. Pythagoras was duly prepared with this sort of physic, before he could be instructed in the Egyptian mysteries; and though, without doubt, he, or the writers of his life, refined a little upon the Egyptian doctrines, yet he introduced some share of this pharmacy into his own school,

[4] Vol. i, book ii, p. 73.
[5] Vol. i, book v, p. 180.
[6] Κατα νομον εγγραφον. Diodor. Sic. lib. i.
[7] Lib. ii, c. 37.
[8] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 212.
[9] Plutarch. Sympos. lib. vii, p. 730. His words are, Αγνειας μερος αποχη ιχθυων.
[1] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 37.
[2] Gen. xliii, 32.

and disposed the minds of his scholars for his instructions by many mysteries in eating, drinking, and fasting.[3] He had likewise particular preparations of diet upon extraordinary acts of worship,[4] and had his recipes to cause divination both by dreams and vaticination;[5] so that we may guess from him, in part, what the Egyptian prescriptions in these points were. And as the Egyptian physicians prescribed the true ritual way of living, so another branch of their profession was to embalm the bodies of the dead. All nations had their rites for funerals, and the persons who directed in these were commonly either some of the priests, or at least persons well skilled in matters of religion.[6] The Egyptian rites in this matter were very numerous, and required many hands to perform them.[7] Moses informs us, that the physicians embalmed Jacob;[8] many of whom were employed in the office, and many days' time was necessary for the performance;[9] and different persons performed different parts of it, some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of another.[1] I imagine this manner of practice occasioned Herodotus to hint, that the Egyptians had a different physician for every distemper,[2] or rather, as his subsequent words express, for each different part of the body,[3] for so indeed they had, not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead. These, I imagine, were the offices of the Egyptian physicians in the early days. They were an order of the ministers of religion; for the art of curing distempers or diseases was not yet attempted. When physicians first began to practise the arts of healing, cannot certainly be determined; but this, I think, we may be sure of, that they practised only surgery until after David's time, if we consult the Scripture; and until after Ho-

[3] Jamblichus de vita Pythag. c. xxiv; Porphyr. de ead. 42, 43, 44, 45.
[4] Id. de ead. c. xxxiv. [5] Jamblich. ubi sup.
[6] Diodorus, lib. ii, p. 88. [7] Id. lib. i, p. 57.
[8] Moses's words are, that Joseph commanded his servants the physicians. It may be very needless to remark, that these words cannot imply, that the servants of great men were their physicians in these days; for physicians were always highly honoured in all civilized states, either considered as an order of the ministers of religion, as I think they were in these days, or when they were afterwards concerned in the cure of those who wanted their assistance. The word *servant*, in Scripture, is often used as we use it in English, not always in the literal sense. Thus Naaman called himself the servant of Elisha, 2 Kings v, and many other instances might be produced. Perhaps Joseph, in the high dignity to which he was advanced, might, though in a lesser number, have officers of state, elders of his house, as the king of Egypt himself had; and persons of the first rank might not refuse to be his servants in honourable posts of this sort; and he might appoint the embalming his father to those of his own house only, designing it merely to preserve his body, in order to carry it into Canaan, and not as a religious ceremony; for which reason he might desire not to have it publicly embalmed by the whole body of the Egyptian physicians, with all the rites of their religion to be used in public performances of this nature.
[9] Gen. l, 3. [1] Diodorus, lib. i, p. 58.
[2] Herodot. lib. ii, c. 84.
[3] Οι μεν γαρ οφθαλμων ιατροι κατεστασι, οι δε κεφαλης, οι δε οδοντων, &c. Id. ibid.

mer's time, if we consult the profane writers. In Scripture we have mention of many persons, who went to proper places to be cured of their wounds, in the books of the Kings and Chronicles; and in like manner we read in Homer of Machaon and other physicians, but their whole art consisted in Ιες τ' εκταμνειν, επι τ' ηπια φαρμακα πασσειν,[4] extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing anodynes; and therefore Pliny says expressly, that the art of physic in the Trojan times was only surgery.[5] In cases of sickness, not the physicians, but the priests, the prophets, or the augurs, were thought the proper persons to be consulted in these days;[6] for, as Diodorus remarks, it was the ancient custom for sick persons to obtain health from the professors of vaticination[7] by their art, and not by physic. And this we find was the ancient practice mentioned in the Scriptures. Jeroboam sent his wife to the prophet, when his son Ahijah was sick.[8] Ahaziah, when sick, sent to Baalzebub the god of Ekron.[9] The king of Syria sent to Elisha.[1] Asa, indeed, about A. M. 3087,[2] sought, when sick, to the physicians; but it was certainly even then a very novel practice, and stands condemned as an impiety.[3] In the days of Pythagoras, the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health,[4] and to prescribe in this point to sick persons, in order to assist towards their recovery; and in this, Strabo tells us, consisted the practice of the ancient Indian physicians, who endeavoured to cure distempers by a diet regimen, but gave no physic.[5] Hippocrates, who, according to Dean Prideaux, lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war,[6] *i. e.* about A. M. 3570,[7] raised the art of physic to a greater height than his predecessors could venture to attempt. He first began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribing medicines with success for their distempers.[8] This, I think, was the progress of physic down to times much later than where I am to end my undertaking; and it must evidently appear from it, that the Egyptians could have no such physicians in the days of Moses, as Diodorus and Herodotus seem to suppose. It is much more probable, that, in ages after these times, they were like the Babylonians, entirely destitute of persons skilful in curing any diseases which might happen amongst them;[9] and that the best method they could think of,

4 Iliad, xi, 515.

5 Medicina—Trajanis temporibus clara—vulnerum tamen duntaxat remediis. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxix, c. 1.

6 Homer. Iliad. i, 62.

7 Ιατρικην επισημην, δια της μαντικης τεχνης γινομενην, δι ης το παλαιον συνεβαινε θεραπειας τυγχανειν τους αρρωστουντας. Diodorus, lib. v, p. 235.

8 1 Kings xiv.

9 2 Kings i, 2.

1 Chap. viii, 8.

2 Usher's Annals.

3 2 Chron. xvi, 12.

4 Jamblichus de vita Pythag. c. xxxiv.

5 Strabo, Geog. lib. xv, p. 713.

6 Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, p. 569.

7 Usher's Annals.

8 Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxix, c. 1.

9 Herodot. lib. i, c. 197.

after consulting their oracles, was, when any one was sick, they took care to have as many persons see and speak to him as possibly could, that if any one, who saw the sick person, had had the like distemper, he might say what was proper to be done for one in that condition. Strabo expressly tells us, that this was the ancient practice of the Egyptians.[1]

Music is by some thought to be another of the Egyptian sciences, and their famous Mercury is said to have invented it. Diodorus hints, that he made the lyre of three strings, in allusion to the three seasons of the year,[2] though I think that the year was hardly as yet so well calculated as to be divided into seasons.[3] However, it is probable, that the Egyptians had, before these days, some rude way of singing hymns to their gods, though music was not as yet brought to any remarkable perfection. Men have naturally a difference in the tone and pitch of their voices, which might lead them to think of an instrument of more strings than one. Perhaps all the music as yet aimed at in singing hymns to the gods was no more than this, that some of the people recited the words in a high tone, others in a low, and others in a tone or note between both, according to the different pitch of the several voices of the singers, it being possible to reduce the voices of all to one or other of these three, and the three-corded lyre might be formed,

——————adesse Choris. HOR.

to strengthen the several sounds of the reciter's voices, without their attempting to make more than one note from each string. A trumpet made of a ram's horn could be but a mean instrument, yet this was a musical instrument in the days of Joshua.[4] It could be designed to sound but some one note, and three such trumpets of different lengths might serve as the ancient tibia, described in Horace, did, and perform by blasts what Mercury's three-corded lyre was designed to do by strings; namely, to direct the several pitches of the reciters' voices, and to join and add to the sound of them; and I imagine music was not carried higher than this in these days.

Philo suggests, that Moses had learned in Egypt the art of writing, both in prose, and in all sorts of measure or verse.[5] The best and most judicious heathen writers did indeed judge him to be very skilful in style and language. Longinus gives him an extraordinary character, and thought him a great master of the sublime, from his account of the creation.[6] This observation was so just, that one cannot but remark, with

[1] Strabo, Geog. lib. iii, p. 155.
[2] Diodor. Sic. lib. i.
[3] See vol. ii, book vi, p. 77.
[4] Joshua vi.
[5] Phil. Jud. de vita Mosis. lib. i.
[6] Ο των Ιεδαιων θεσμοθετης εχ' ο τυχαν ανηρ. Longin. de Sublim. c. ix.

some surprise, how much prejudice may vitiate the taste and judgment of a writer of considerable abilities, of which Lucian is an instance, who seems to ridicule this very passage, so judiciously admired by Longinus.[7] No understanding reader of Moses's writings can be insensible that he was in truth, what St. Stephen styles him, mighty in words,[8] even in Longinus's sense; numerous instances of which may be given; but perhaps no one more sensibly affecting than his account of Joseph's revealing himself to his brethren, where the narration, as he has given it, strikes the reader with the warmest pathos which words can give. There was certainly great force and life in the pen of this writer; but I do not think that he acquired these abilities merely from his Egyptian education, any more than that made him mighty in deeds also; which St. Stephen joins to his power in words, and in which he was undoubtedly assisted in an extraordinary manner by the Deity.

As to Moses writing sometimes in verse, Josephus says, that his song after the deliverance from the Egyptians was composed εν εξαμετρω τονω;[9] *i. e.* say some interpreters, in what we now call heroic, or hexameter verse; but I think this was not Josephus's meaning. He might, perhaps, call any verse hexameter, which consisted of six feet or twelve syllables, and give it that name,

——cum senos redderet ictus. Hor.[1]

If we may take Josephus in this sense, there is little or no difference between his opinion and Scaliger's,[2] about the verse or measure of this hymn. As to the lines of it being heroic verse, I think any one, upon making trial of the words, may be sure that they are not. Whether they may not be, as Scaliger conjectured, a sort of iambics, the song beginning in words of this measure,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
Ashirah la Jehovah ki gaoh gaah
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Sus verokbo ramah bajam;

whether the first verse may not consist of twelve syllables or six feet, and be a sort of the trimeter or Senarian iambic verse; and whether the second line may not consist of eight syllables, or four feet, and be a sort of dimeter iambic; and whether the rest of the hymn can be conceived to be of this

7 Λυει το σκοτος, και την ακοσμιαν απηλασε λογω μονω ρηθεντε υπ' αυτε, ας ο βραδυγλωσσος απεγραψατο. Lucian. Philopat. p. 1122.

8 Acts vii, 22.

9 Exod. xv.

1 Lib. de Arte Poetica.

2 Vid. Scaligeri Animadversion, in Euseb. Chron. p. 7.

sort of composition; I must entirely submit to the learned. Verse, in Moses's time, very probably consisted only in a just number of syllables, without any strict regard to what was afterwards observed, the quantity of them. A greater regard was perhaps paid to quantity, when the Book of Job was composed, but verse was not then adjusted to that strictness, which it had in the times of Homer.

From what has been said, concerning the learning of the Egyptians, and of Moses's education and military skill, he must appear to have been the most proper person to lead the Israelites out of Egypt, of any among them; and as he had formerly had an inclination to attempt it, and proceeded some steps towards it, so upon computing the time they were to be there, and finding it near expired,[2] he might consider the wonderful providence of God in his preservation, and in so preserving him as to have him so educated, as that at this time his people had one of their number well qualified in every respect to be their leader. However, in all the thoughts he might have had of this sort, he found himself disappointed; the people refused to have him to be a judge and ruler over them,[3] and he saw that no scheme could be contrived by human wisdom, which might promise him success in endeavouring to deliver them. Therefore he left Egypt, and went and married in another country, and very probably had given over all thoughts of ever seeing or coming any more to the Israelites. But the private affairs of all considerate men, do, I believe, afford them many instances of some turn of life brought about by the direction of Providence, in unexpected events, when they could not be compassed by all the contrived schemes which they could lay for them. And thus it happened in Moses's life, in a most extraordinary manner. Moses was taking care of Jethro's flock, and followed them, as they wandered in their feeding, to the borders of the desart near Mount Horeb, where he saw before him a bush on fire, flaming for a considerable time, but not in the least consumed or diminished with the fire. He was very much surprised at it, and stood still to consider the meaning of it; and whilst he did so, heard a voice, which declared the design of God Almighty to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt by his hand, and the whole manner and method[4] by which he would effect it. Moses had so entirely laid aside all thoughts of this enterprise, and had so little opinion of his being able to succeed in it, that, though he was appointed in an extraordinary manner to undertake it, he very earnestly refused[5] it, until he had received many demonstrations of the miraculous power which God deigned to assist him. Then, indeed, he went to Jethro, and asked him leave to go from him; and upon Jethro's dis-

[2] Gen. xv, 13, 14, 15, 16.
[3] Exod. ii, 14; Acts vii, 25, 27, 35.
[4] Exod. iii.
[5] Exod. iii, iv.

missing him, he took his wife and sons, and set out for Egypt. Moses had, I think, cast away all thoughts of ever seeing his people more, and probably began to think that he had no part or expectation in the promises made to Israel. He had not circumcised one of his children, for he did it in this journey.[6] Aaron, by GOD's appointment, met him in the wilderness,[7] from whence they went together into Egypt, and gathered the elders of the people of Israel, and acquainted them with the business they came about, and showed them the mighty works which GOD had enabled them to perform as signs that he had sent them,[8] upon seeing which the people believed that GOD did indeed now design to visit them.

Thus Moses and Aaron undertook their expedition into Egypt, not rashly, nor upon any contrived scheme of their own, but at a time when neither of them thought of being employed in such a manner, and when Moses had a very great disinclination to go at all. He was settled in Midian well enough to his satisfaction; thought he should find the people very obstinate and unmanageable, not disposed to believe him, or to be directed by him; and he seems most earnestly to have wished, that it would have pleased GOD to have permitted him to live quiet and retired in the land of Midian, and to have sent some other person for the deliverance of his people.[9] And when he undertook to carry the message which GOD had directed him to go with unto Pharaoh, he had, perhaps, some doubts, whether the deliverance of the Israelites might not be a work which would proceed slowly, and require much time to manage; therefore upon his being informed that the men were dead who sought his life,[1] he took his wife and sons with him, as if he designed to go and live in Egypt, and not like one who expected in a short time to return with the people, and to serve GOD in Mount Horeb.[2] Certainly, in some respects, his behaviour was faulty, and as we are informed that the anger of LORD was kindled against him,[3] when he expressed the many excuses which he made against his being sent to Egypt; so we are told, after he had begun his journey, that it *came to pass by the way, in the inn, that the* LORD *met him and sought to kill him.*[4] The account here is exceeding short, but the circumstances which are hinted are thought to imply, that GOD was displeased at Moses's not having circumcised his younger son; that his wife Zipporah was unwilling to have the child circumcised;[5] that, as in the case of Balaam, when Balaam went with the princes of Moab,

6 Exod. iv, 25, 26.
7 Ver. 27.
8 Ver. 31.
9 Exod. iv, 13.
1 Ver. 19.
2 Chap. iii, 12.
3 Chap. iv, 14.
4 Exod. iii, 24. Our translators have here used a very modern term, in the *inn*. The Hebrew word, מלון *Malon*, signifies only where they rested all night; which most probably was in some cave, or under some shade of trees.
5 Ver. 25, 26. See Pool's Synops. Critic. in loc.

according to the command which he had received, an angel opposed him in the way, because he went with a perverse intention,[6] so here, though Moses began his journey, yet perhaps he had some coldness to the undertaking, or some thoughts about it which disposed him to keep this child uncircumcised, not suitable to that better spirit, which ever after appeared in all his conduct, and gained him the testimony of being *faithful to Him that appointed him in all his house*,[7] in every part of his dispensation. It is generally thought, that Moses at this time sent back his wife and children to Jethro his father-in-law,[8] and went with Aaron only into Egypt, according to the directions which he and Aaron had received.

Moses, Exodus iii, 13, represents, that when he came unto the Israelites, they might ask him what the name of GOD was, and desires to be instructed how to answer this question. GOD had before told him, that he was *the* GOD *of his father; the* GOD *of Abraham, the* GOD *of Isaac, and the* GOD *of Jacob*.[9] Now as Moses acknowledged himself instructed, before he asked this question, to tell the Israelites, *that the* GOD *of their fathers* had sent him,[1] what need could there possibly be of his either having, or asking, any farther information? The Israelites knew of and acknowledged but one GOD. What then could it signify for them to be told, that his name was *Jehovah, El, Shaddai, Elohim, Adonai*, or any other, when, by whatever name he was known, they must consider him as one and the same, the *only* GOD, *most high over all the Earth?* The ancients, both Jews and Heathens, and afterwards some of the early and learned writers of the Christian church, imagined that the names of persons and things were of the greatest importance to be rightly understood, in order to lead to the truest knowledge which could be had of their natures; and they frequently speculated upon this subject with so much philosophical subtlety, that they built upon it many foolish fancies and ridiculous errors, The Jewish Rabbins thought the true knowledge of names to be a science, preferable to the study of the written law,[2] and entertained many surprising fancies about the word JEHOVAH: one of which was, that it was so wonderfully compounded, that no one but an inspired person could give it a true pronunciation.[3] Plotinus and Jamblichus thought some names to be of so celestial a composure, that the rightly using them could not fail of obtaining oracles,[4] and Phœbus and Pythagoras are said to have cured diseases by the use of such names.[5] Such opinions

[6] Numb. xxii, 32.
[7] Heb. iii, 2.
[8] See Exod. xviii, 2, 3, 4, 5.
[9] Exod. iii, 6.
[1] Ver. 13.
[2] Ficini Argument. in Cratyl. Platonis.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

as these might have their admirers in the days of Origen, and some of them seem to have been too easily admitted by him.[6] When they began, I cannot say, nor whether Naaman the Syrian thought that the name of the GOD of Israel was powerful in this manner;[7] but certainly it must be a mistake to think, that Mercury Trismegistus was, as Ficinus hints,[8] of this opinion. For all these opinions took their rise in after-ages, and began from false notions, which the heathens took up about the reverence paid to, and the use of the name JEHOVAH amongst the ancient Jews, and Moses can in nowise be supposed to have been so absurd, to desire to know GOD's name, as if the use of that could have given any extraordinary powers, other than GOD might give him without his knowing it. It is every evident, that Abraham and his descendants worshipped not only the true and living GOD, but *invoked him in the name of the* LORD,[9] and they worshipped *the* LORD, in whose name they invoked, so that two persons were the objects of their worship, GOD, and this LORD. And the Scripture has distinguished these two persons from one another by this circumstance; that GOD *no man hath seen at any time, nor can see*,[1] but the LORD, whom Abraham and his descendants worshipped, was the person who appeared to them.[2] GOD did not always reveal his will by this LORD, for we meet with instances of angels commissioned for this purpose; therefore I imagine, that Moses, by asking in whose name he was to go, might desire to be informed, whether *the* LORD, who appeared to Abraham, was to be his mighty assistant and protector; or whether some angel, such as went to Lot,[3] was to deliver the Israelites.

If we take what the ancients offered about the science of names, rejecting the idle and fanciful superstructures which they built upon it, we may form a farther reason for Moses's desiring to be informed what the name of GOD was. Men did not, at this time, know the works of creation well enough to demonstrate from them the attributes of GOD; nor could they,

[6] Πολλοι των επαδοντων δαιμονας χρωνται εν τοις λογοις αυτων τω ο Θεος Αβρααμ—εκ επισαμενοι τις εστιν ο Αβρααμ—Εβραια ονοματα πολλαχοι τοις Αιγυπτιοις επαγγελλομενοι ενεργειαν τινα ενεσπαρται μαθημασι—εαν τοινυν δυνηθωμεν παραστησαι φυσιν ονοματων ενεργων, ων τισι χρωνται Αιγυπτιων οι Σοφοι, η των παρα Περσαις Μαγων οι λογιοι, η των παρ' Ινδοις φιλοσοφησαντων Βραχμανες, η Χαμαναιοι, και κατασκευασαι οιοιτε γενωμεθα, οτι και η καλουμενη μαγεια αρχ', ως οιονται οι απο Επικηρη και Αριστοτελης, πραγμα εστιν ασυστατον παντη, αλλ', ως οι περι ταυτα δεινοι αποδεικνυουσι, συνεσως μεν, λογως δ' εχει σφοδρα ολιγοις γινωσκομενως, τοτ' ερημεν. οτι το μεν Σαβαωθ ονομα, και το Αδωναι και αλλα παρ' Εβραιοις μετα πολλης σεμνολογιας παραδιδομενα, ουκ επι των τυχοντων και γενητων κειται πραγματων, αλλ' επι τινος θεολογιας απορρητε, αναφερομενης εις τον των ολων δημιουργον—ουτως ουκ τα σημαινομενα κατα των πραγματων, αλλ' αι των φωνων ποιοτητες και ιδιοτητες εχουσι τι δυνατον εν αυταις προς ταδε τινα η ταδε. Leg. Origin. cont. Celsum, lib. i, p. 17, 18, 19, 20.

[7] 2 Kings v, 11.

[8] Ubi sup.

[9] See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 115.

[1] 1 Tim. iv, 16; Exod. xxxiii, 20.

[2] Gen. xviii, 1.

[3] Gen. xix.

by speculation, form proper and just notions of his nature. Some philosophers, indeed, of these times, thought themselves wise enough to attempt these subjects; but what was the success? *professing themselves wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible* GOD.[4] There was not a sufficient foundation for a true knowledge of the heavens, elements, and the frame of the universe then laid, for men to build upon, so as to attain from the study of them suitable and proper notions of the Deity. Hence it came to pass, that the builders of these ages, having bad materials to work with, composed weak and indefensible systems of theology. When they had speculated upon *the fire*, or *the wind, the swift air*, or *the circle of the stars, the violent water*, or *the lights of Heaven*, not forming true notions of their natures; they were *delighted with their beauty*, or *astonished at their power*, and framing very high and false estimates of them, they lost the knowledge of the workmaster, and took the parts of his workmanship to be GOD. Now some error of this sort, or errors as pernicious as these, Moses himself might have fallen into, if he had endeavoured to have formed his notions of GOD, either from the Egyptian learning, or from any learning at this time in the world. Faith, or belief of what GOD had revealed,[5] was the only principle upon which he could hope rightly to know GOD, and upon this principle Moses here desired to go. For as the revelation, which GOD had made of himself, was as yet but short, so Moses, by desiring to know GOD's name, desired that he might have some revelation of his nature and attributes made to him. We do not find that the ancients gave their names arbitrarily, and without reason; but when Cain, Seth, Noah, Peleg, or when Jacob's children were to be named, reasons were given for the particular names by which they were to be called.[6] We find some names in Scripture given by GOD himself, which are always expressive of the nature or circumstances of the person to whom they belong; thus Adam was so called, because he was taken out of the ground. GOD called Abram, Abraham, because he designed to make him a father of many nations,[7] and men endeavoured, in naming persons, even from the beginning, to give names thus expressive, as well as human wisdom would enable them to do it. Thus Adam called his wife *woman*, expressing thereby her origin, because she was taken out of man,[8] and afterwards he called her *Eve*, because she was the mother of all living;[9] and we find that the Egyptians were curious in attempts to name persons in this manner, even before Moses's days. For we read, that Pharaoh, upon Joseph's interpreting his dreams, called him Zaphnath-paaneah, *i. e.* a

[4] Rom. i, 22, 23.
[5] Heb. xi, 3, 6.
[6] Gen. iv, 1, 25; v, 29; xxx.
[7] Chap. xvii, 5; see chap. xxxii, 28, &c.
[8] Gen. ii, 23.
[9] Chap. iii, 20.

discoverer of things hidden;[1] and this notion of names was held by the Israelites, who thought a person rightly named, when his name expressed his nature. Thus Abigail speaks to David about Nabal her husband; *As his name is, so is he; Nabal is his name, and folly is with him.*[2] Plato observes, that the names of heroes, or famous men, cannot always be expressive, but that we may often be deceived, if we guess at the characters of persons by their names; because, he says, men receive their names according to those of their ancestors, or their friends express their good wishes to them in naming them, calling them by such names as may intimate what the persons so named may prove to be.[3] Thus a dissolute and wicked man may be named Theophilus by his parents, who wish to have another sort of person; and a weak and insufficient prince may be called Menelaus by those who name him, in hopes that he may be a great defender of his people, though he does not afterwards prove to be so. And he represents Socrates in some doubts about the names which were given to their gods; because, as he expresses it, they were not the true and real names of the gods, by which they could call themselves, but only such as men had framed from their opinions and apprehensions of the deities to whom they gave them.[4] He adds, likewise, that we should pray to the gods to enable us to call them by their true names, for without this, we cannot form any well-grounded speculations concerning their natures.[5] This was Plato's opinion, after he had well weighed all the learning which had been in the world; and I think it agrees with Moses's sentiments upon this subject. Moses thought, that when he was to go to the Israelites, to bring them out of Egypt, and to tell them that their GOD had appointed him and them to serve him in Mount Horeb, they might ask him, whether he knew what a being their GOD was, and how he expected to be served by them. This question he could not pretend to answer, unless GOD thought fit by revelation to enable him;[6] therefore he desired to be informed, as far as GOD might think fit to discover it, by what name GOD would call himself, knowing that by obtaining this, he might form just notions of his nature and worship. That this was Moses's design in asking for the name of GOD, might be confirmed from several passages of Scripture. When Moses desired to see GOD's glory, he obtained that the name of the LORD should be proclaimed before him, and the proclaiming his name manifested to him that he was *Jehovah, El, merci-*

[1] Chap. xli, 45.

[2] 1 Sam. xxv, 25.

[3] Plato in Cratylo, p. 273.

[4] Οτι περι θεων κδεν ισμεν, ωτε περι αυτων, ωτε περι των ονοματων, αττα ποτε εαυτως καλωσι. Δηλον γαρ οτι εκεινοι γε τ' αληθη καλωσι. Plato in Cratylo, p. 276

[5] Δευτερος δ' αν τροπος ορθοτητος εστιν ημιν ευχεσθαι οστινες τε και οτοθεν χαμοθεν ονομαζομενοι, ταυτα και ημας αυτως καλειν, ως αλλο μηδεν ειδοτας. Id. ibid.

[6] See Exodus iii, 13.

ful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and fourth generation.[7] Thus, the name or names, which GOD thought fit to give himself, were understood to be appellations, which might discover his attributes; and when GOD was declared to be *a jealous* GOD, his name was said to be *jealous.*[8] In the same style and manner of speaking, Isaiah, prophesying what the Messiah should be, declares his name to be *wonderful counsellor, the mighty* GOD, *the everlasting Father, the prince of peace.*[9] And the name of the same person was Emmanuel, because *he was* GOD *with us*;[1] and JESUS, because he was to *save his people from their sins.*[2] Thus, I think, it must be plain, that the design of Moses, in asking GOD's name, was to obtain information, 1. Who the person was that was to be their deliverer, for we find this he particularly inquired after;[3] and, 2. What the nature and attributes of that person were, in order to know what duties he would expect from them, and how they were to serve him.

In the answer, which GOD thought fit to give to Moses's question, he declared himself to be I AM THAT I AM, and bade Moses call his name I AM, and says I AM *hath sent me unto you.*[4] Moreover he added, that he was *the* GOD *of Abraham, the* GOD *of Isaac, and the* GOD *of Jacob.*[5] In these last words, he declares himself to be the person who had appeared to Abraham, and had made the promise to him and his seed,[6] had made the covenant with him,[7] and was worshipped by him and his descendants, Isaac and Jacob.[8] And in the former words, he intimates his essential divinity, expressing himself to be I AM, or, I AM THAT I AM,[9] *i. e.* independent, immutable, self-existent. That the name here declared, as belonging to the GOD of Abraham, is of this signification, is incontestably proved by the most celebrated writers, to whose reasonings upon this subject, as I cannot pretend to add either strength or perspicuity more than they have given, so I shall only refer the reader to them.[1] But as there is a passage in a most excellent heathen writer, though very apposite, yet as not offering itself in a controversy between Christian writers, has not, that I know of, been taken notice of, I would produce it, because it may show what an acute and judicious heathen would have concluded from this name of GOD here revealed

[7] Exodus xxxiii, 18, 19; xxxiv, 5, 6, 7.
[8] Ver. 14.
[9] Isaiah ix, 6.
[1] Matt. i, 23.
[2] Ver. 21.
[3] Exodus xxxiii, 12.
[4] Chap. iii, 14.
[5] Ver. 15.
[6] Gen. xii, 7.
[7] Chap. xiii.
[8] Chap xii, 7, 8; xiii, 18; xxvi, 24, 25; xxxii, 9.
[9] Exodus iii, 14.
[1] See Waterland's Vindication, &c. Qu. iii.

to Moses. We are informed, that there was an ancient inscription in the temple at Delphos, over the place where the image of Apollo was erected, consisting of these letters, EI. And Plutarch introduces his disputants querying, what might be the true signification of it; at length Ammonius, to whom he assigns the whole strength of the argumentation, concludes, that the word EI was the most perfect title they could give the Deity,[2] that it signifies THOU ART, and expresses the divine essential Being; importing, that though our being is precarious, fluctuating, dependent, subject to mutation, and temporary, so that it would be improper to say to any of us, in the strict and absolute sense, ει, or THOU ART; yet we may with great propriety give the Deity this appellation, because GOD is independent, uncreated, immutable, eternal, always and everywhere the same, and therefore HE only can be said absolutely TO BE. Plutarch would have called this Being το οντως ον; Plato would have named him το ον, which he would have explained to signify κσια, implying him to be essentially or self-existent.[3]

In the sixth chapter of Exodus, we have a farther account of GOD's revealing himself to Moses by the name JEHOVAH, a word of much the same import with I AM, or I AM THAT I AM; and we are there told, that the LORD was not known to Abraham, to Isaac, or to Jacob, by this name JEHOVAH, but by the name of GOD ALMIGHTY, or El-Shaddai. This must seem to be the plain meaning of the words,[4] and in this sense I thought myself obliged to take them,[5] until I should come to examine this subject more at large here in its proper place. The name JEHOVAH was, I believe, known to be the name of the supreme GOD, in the early ages, in all nations. The person, who here spoke unto Moses, and declared himself to be the person who appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, is nowhere particularly mentioned in the Book of Genesis before the Flood, or after the Flood, before the birth of Abraham. But though this person did reveal himself to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by the name of El-Shaddai, or GOD ALMIGHTY,[6] yet it is most evident, from some very express passages in the book of Genesis, that they all knew him likewise by the name of JEHOVAH; therefore, if we explain this passage in Exodus to

2 Ημεις δε αμειβομενοι τον Θεον Ει φαμεν, ως αληθη και αψευδη και μονην μονω προσηκουσαν την τε ειναι προσαγορευσιν αποδιδοντες· ημιν μεν γαρ ουτιας τε ειναι μετεστιν ουδεν, αλλα πασα θνητη φυσις εν μεσω γενεσεως και φθορας γενομενη φασμα παρεχει και δοκησιν αμυδραν και αβεβαιον αυτης·—αλλ' εστιν ο Θεος χρη φαναι, και εστι κατ' ουδενα χρονον, αλλα κατα τον αιωνα, τον ακινητον και αχρονον και ανεγκλητον, και ο προτερον ουδεν εστιν, ουδ' υστερον, ουδε νεωτερον. αλλ' εις ων ενι τω νυν το αει πεπληρωκε, και μονον εστι το κατα τατο οντας ον, ο γεγονος, ουδ' εσομενον, ουδ' αρξαμενον, ουδε παυσομενον. Vid. Plutarch. Lib. El apud Delphos, p. 392, 393.

3 Plat. in Cratyl. p. 289.

4 ושמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם. Ver. 3.

5 See vol. ii, book vi. p. 53.

6 Gen. xvii, 1; see xxviii, 3, and xxxv, 11.

signify, that HE was not known until Moses's time by the name JEHOVAH, we shall make it directly contradict some very clear and express passages of the history of the precedent times.

I. The name JEHOVAH was known to be the name of the supreme GOD, in all nations, in the early times. Ficinus remarked, that all the several nations of the world had a name for the supreme Deity, consisting of only four letters.[7] This, I think, was true at first in a different sense from that in which Ficinus took it, for I question not but they used the very same word, until the languages of different nations came to have a more entire disagreement, than the confusion at Babel at first caused.[8] When the corruptions of religion grew to be many, and very considerable, men found different names for their gods, according to their different fancies and imaginations about them;[9] but whilst they adhered to the knowledge and worship of the true GOD, who had revealed himself to their fathers, there was no room for them to invent other names by which to express his nature or divinity, than those which he had revealed himself to them. Accordingly, as we find the word JEHOVAH used in the earliest days, for it occurs above thirty times in the Book of Genesis before the Flood; so we meet with many instances of the supreme GOD called by this name, in different countries, where the particular revelations[1] made to Abraham and his descendants were not known, or not embraced as part of their religion. The king of Sodom knew the most high GOD by the name of Jehovah, for he admitted Abraham's giving him this appellation,[2] and Lot knew GOD by the name of Jehovah,[3] and so, I imagine, did the men of Sodom; for though they thought Lot's account of GOD's design to destroy their city, to be but a romantic imagination of his, yet they are not represented not to know the LORD, as Pharaoh was afterwards,[4] though they were exceedingly wicked and abominable in their lives. Abimelech, king of the Philistines, knew Jehovah, and was his servant in Abraham's time,[5] for the fear of GOD was then in that kingdom, though Abraham had entertained, without just grounds, a bad opinion of Abimelech and his subjects; and we find Jehovah mentioned here by the king, in the days of Isaac.[6]

[7] Ficini Argument. ad Platon. Cratyl. The word *Jehovah*, though the insertion of the vowels in our language requires it to be written with seven letters, is written in Hebrew with four only, thus יהוה *i. e.* J h v h, and is therefore called the *tetragrammaton*, or four-lettered name of GOD.

[8] See vol. i, book ii, p. 98; b. iii, p. 100, 101.

[9] Plato supposes, that the Greeks formed the word Θεος from the verb Θεειν, observing the stars and lights of Heaven, which they took to be gods, to run their several courses, and therefore they called them Θεοι. See Plat. in Cratyl. p. 273.

[1] See vol. i, book v, p. 173.
[2] Gen xiv, 22.
[3] Ibid. xix, 14.
[4] Exod v, 2.
[5] Gen. xx, 11, and 18.
[6] Gen. xxvi, 28.

God was known by this name in the family of Bethuel in Mesopotamia, when Abraham sent thither;[7] and afterwards, in Jacob's days, Laban knew God by this name,[8] though it is remarkable, that he did not use the word entirely in the same sense as Jacob did, for Laban meant by it the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, but Jacob sware by the *fear of his father Isaac*:[9] *i. e.* Laban meant by Jehovah, the supreme true and living God, which the fathers of Abraham, and Abraham, had worshipped, before he received farther revelations, than were imparted to the rest of mankind, and before he built an altar *to the* Lord *who* had *appeared to him*. After this, Abraham and his posterity determined, that this Lord also should be their God,[1] and they invoked God *in the name* of this Lord.[2] God was known by the name of Jehovah to Job the Arabian,[3] but it was not *the* Lord, *who appeared* unto Abraham, whom he knew by this name, but rather God, *whom no man hath seen at any time*.[4] Pharaoh, king of Egypt, in Moses's time, is said not to know Jehovah;[5] and, indeed, corruptions in religion began in Egypt very early, and were arrived at a very great height before these days; yet still it may be queried, whether Pharaoh was really ignorant, that Jehovah was the name of the supreme Deity, or whether he only did not know the God of the Hebrews[6] by this title. God's judgments were executed upon Egypt, not to convince Pharaoh and his people, that Jehovah was the supreme God, but to make them know, that the God of the Hebrews was Jehovah.[7] The Moabites knew the supreme God by this name,[8] though they were greatly corrupted with idolatry,[9] and we have a hint from Philo-Biblius, which seems to intimate, that the God of the Phœnicians was anciently called by this name, if we may suppose that Jevo or Jao may be a corruption of it; for it is said, that Jerombalus, who supplied Sanchoniatho with materials for his Phœnician history, was priest of the God Jevo.[1] But we have a very remarkable instance of the word Jehovah used by a heathen for the name of the supreme Deity, in contradistinction to the God of the Hebrews, in times very late, even in the days of Hezekiah.[2] Rabshakeh, who well understood the Hebrew language, in delivering his master the king of Assyria's message, which he expressed in the Hebrew tongue,[3] professed, that he was not *come out against Jerusalem without the* Lord, *i. e.* Jehovah, *to destroy it*, for that *the* Lord

7 Chap. xxiv, 31, 50.
8 Chap. xxx, 27.
9 Chap. xxxi, 53.
1 Chap. xxviii, 21.
2 See vol. i, book v, p. 176.
3 Job i, 21.
4 See Job ix, 11.
5 Exod. v, 2.
6 Ver 1, 3.
7 Chap. vii, 5; xiv, 18.
8 Numb. xxiv, 11.
9 Chap. xxv, 2, 3.
1 Eusebius Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 9.
2 2 Kings xviii.
3 2 Kings xviii, 26.

said unto him, *go up against this land and destroy it.*[4] That Rabshakeh, by *the* LORD, or *Jehovah*, here did not mean the GOD of the Jews, though at the same time he knew that they called their GOD by this name, is evident, from his very plainly distinguishing them one from the other. He asserts, that he had an order from Jehovah (*i. e.* he meant from the supreme GOD) to destroy Jerusalem; but as to the GOD, whom the Jews called Jehovah, and whom Rabshakeh styled *the* LORD *their* GOD,[5] he observes, 1. That he would not assist them if he could, for that Hezekiah had provoked him.[6] 2. That he could not preserve them if he would, for that none of the gods of the nations had been able to deliver their favourites out of his master's hand.[7] The gods of Hamath, of Arpad, and of Sepharvaim, had not been able to deliver Samaria; and he thought all hopes of preservation from the GOD of the Jews would be alike vain. 3. That Rabshakeh really thought the GOD of the Jews was only an inferior deity, or god of a country, is evident from the opinion which the Assyrians had of him. They thought him the GOD of the land of the Jews,[8] and appointed a priest to teach the people, which they had planted in *Samaria, the manner of the God of the land, that he might not slay them with lions.* Thus the Greeks in Homer thought it necessary to appease Apollo, that he might not destroy them with a pestilence; or rather I might instance from Xenophon, who represents Cyrus taking particular care to render the Θεοι πατρωοι, or gods of the countries, which he warred against propitious to him.[9] Such a god as one of these Rabshakeh thought the god of Israel. For, 4. It is plain, that he did not think him to be the Deity, or the LORD, without whom he affirmed, that he was not come up against Jerusalem; for Hezekiah remonstrated, that he had reproached the living GOD,[1] and prayed, that GOD would save them; that, says he, *all the kingdoms of the Earth may know, that thou art the* LORD GOD, *even thou only.*[2] When Rabshakeh had professed, that he was not come up *without the* LORD, against them, and that *the* LORD had said unto him, go up against this land and destroy it, if by *the* LORD, he had here intended the GOD of the Jews, what reason could there be to accuse him of reproaching this GOD? But Hezekiah's charge against him is well grounded, and pertinent to his whole speech and behaviour, if we take him by *the* LORD to mean not the GOD of the Jews, but the supreme Deity in opposition to him. For herein consisted his blasphemy, that he thought the GOD, whom Hezekiah called *the* LORD, was not the supreme Deity, but only a god of a nation, such a deity as the god of Hamath, or Arpad, and of Sepharvaim, who in truth

[4] Ver. 25.
[5] Ver. 22.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ver. 33, 34, 35.
[8] 2 Kings xvii, 24—28.
[9] Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. iii.
[1] Kings xix, 4.
[2] Ver. 19.

were no gods; and what Hezekiah prayed for was, that the GOD of the Jews would, in opposition to these blasphemous sentiments, show, that he was *the* LORD GOD, even *he only*, and that there could not be any divine commission to hurt those who were under his protection. The heathens, even in the later days of their idolatry, were not so gross in their notions; for they believed that there was but one supreme GOD. They did indeed worship a multitude of deities, but supposed that all, except one, were subordinate divinities. They had always a notion of one Deity, superior to all the powers of Heaven; and all the other deities were conceived to have different offices or ministrations under him, being appointed to preside over elements, over cities, over countries, and to dispense victory to armies, health, life, and other blessings to their favourites, if permitted by the Supreme Power. Hesiod supposes one god to be the father of the other deities;

——Θεων πατερ' ηδε και ανδρων·[3]

and Homer, in many passages in the Iliad, represents one supreme deity presiding over all the rest;[4] and the most celebrated of their philosophers always endeavoured to assert this theology,[5] which was undoubtedly Rabshakeh's opinion; and as the supreme Deity had in time different names in different languages, so Rabshakeh thought that Jehovah was the proper Hebrew name for him.

II. We have no reason to suppose, that the patriarchs, who lived before the days of Abraham, knew *the* LORD, *who appeared* unto Abraham, and who spoke unto Moses,[6] by the name Jehovah. If we consider the history of the Bible, we may find just reason to remark of the several revelations recorded in it, that they all tend, with a surprising harmony and consistency, to confirm and illustrate one uniform scheme of Providence, which was gradually opened through a long succession of ages, until *in the fulness of time* CHRIST *was manifested in the flesh*, and *the will, counsel* or *design, hidden wisdom*, or *purpose of* GOD,[7] *which was ordained before*

[3] Hesiod. Theogon.

[4] Vid. Iliad. vii, ver. 202; viii, ver. 5—28, &c.; see Virg. Æn. ii, ver. 777.

—— non hæc sine NUMINE Divûm
Eveniunt; non te hinc comitem asportare Creüsam
Fas: haud ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.

Jupiter is here supposed to be the Numen Divûm, and his will to be the fas, or fate, which no one might contradict. Fatum est, says Cicero, non id quod superstitiose, sed quod physice dicitur causa æterna rerum. De Divin. lib. i, c. 55. Deum—interdum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab eo constitutum sit. Id. Academ. Quæst. lib. iv, c. 44.

[5] Cic. in Lib. de Nat. Deorum; in Arcad. Quæst lib. i, c. 7; ibid. c. 34; Plat. de Legib. lib. 10, in Phileb. in Cratyl. &c.; Aristot. l. de Mundo, c. 6; Plutarch. de Placit. Philos. lib. i; id. in lib. de EI apud Delphos. p. 392.

[6] Exodus vi, 2, 3.

[7] See vol. i, p. 173.

the world,[8] but not fully revealed to the former ages and generations, came at length to be made manifest to those who embraced the Gospel.[9] And the farther we look backward, we find a lesser discovery of this intended scheme, though we have plain intimations of some part of it in every age from the foundation of the world. Adam and Eve had a revelation made to them of a person to come, for the great and universal benefit of mankind;[1] and the whole system of worship, by way of sacrifice, practised in the very first ages, appears most reasonably to have been founded upon the design of the true propitiation which was to be made by CHRIST for the sins of the world.[2] But we read of no divine appearance to any person before the days of Abraham, who was the first who *built an altar to*, and worshipped *the* LORD *who appeared to him*.[3] Adam heard the voice of GOD many times;[4] GOD spoke to Cain,[5] to Noah,[6] and probably to many others of the Antediluvians; but it is nowhere intimated, that *the* LORD *appeared* unto any one person, until we are told that he appeared unto Abraham,[7] and then it is observed as what had not been before practised, that *Abraham built an altar unto the* LORD *who appeared to him*;[8] so that Abraham seems to have been the first person who knew or worshipped this LORD. Man, before he had received fresh and farther revelations than had been made to the world, worshipped Jehovah Elohim, the true and living GOD, but they worshipped GOD *whom no man had ever seen nor could see*, and whom Job therefore believed to be invisible.[9] But the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their children, worshipped not only the invisible GOD, but this LORD also; and this LORD appeared to Moses, and declared himself to be the GOD of their fathers, who had appeared unto divers of them, and who purposed by his hand to deliver the Israelites. This was the person who was to be Jacob's GOD,[1] whom he called *the fear of his father Isaac*, and whom he distinguished from the GOD of Abraham, the GOD of Nahor, the GOD of their father, *i. e.* from the GOD whom they worshipped before this LORD had revealed himself to them. In all the several passages where the word Jehovah occurs, before the LORD's appearing unto Abraham,[2] which are near forty, I am not sensible that there are any, where the word necessarily refers to the LORD, who appeared to Abraham; and it is evident that the Antediluvians used the words Jehovah or Elohim as equivalent terms, taking them both for names of the one true and living GOD. Thus

[8] 1 Cor. ii, 7.
[1] See vol. i, b. v, p. 173.
[3] Gen. xii, 7.
[5] Chap. vi, 9, 15.
[6] Ver. 13; vii, 1; viii, 15; ix, 1, 8, 12, 17.
[7] Chap. xii, 7.
[9] Job ix, 11. [1] Gen. xxviii, 20.
[9] Coloss. i, 26.
[2] Book ii, p. 74.
[4] Gen. ii, 16, 18; iii, 8, 9, &c
[8] Gen. xii, 7.
[2] Chap. xii, 7.

Eve, when upon the birth of Cain she said that she had *gotten a man from* (Jehovah) *the* LORD,[3] meant exactly the same by the term Jehovah, as she did by Elohim, when at the birth of Seth she said that (Elohim) GOD *had appointed her another.*[4] And thus likewise it was remarked, that in the days of Enos men were called *by the name of* (Jehovah) *the* LORD,[5] by which expression was meant, that they obtained the name, which we find afterwards given them, and were called the sons (ha Elohim) of GOD.[6] Elohim and Jehovah were the names of the GOD of Heaven, and GOD was generally called in the history of these times by both these names put together, Jehovah Elohim, or, as we render them in English, the LORD GOD.

III. The LORD, who appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, did indeed many times reveal himself to them by the name[8] of *El Shaddai,* or, as Moses expresses it, he *appeared* unto them *by the name* of GOD ALMIGHTY, but it is evident, that by his name Jehovah he was also known unto them. When Abram was ninety years old and nine, the LORD (Jehovah) appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the ALMIGHTY GOD (El Shaddai.[9]) In this passage it is related, that Jehovah appeared unto Abraham; this is Moses's narration of the fact, and it may be observed, that he might here, as an historian, knowing that the person who appeared had a right to the name Jehovah, call him by that name, though it is evident, that GOD who appeared here did not call himself in this place Jehovah, but said to Abraham, *I am* (El Shaddai) *the Almighty God,* and by that name only was here known unto him. In the same manner it is remarkable, that this person manifested himself to Isaac and his descendants, by this particular name of GOD ALMIGHTY. The GOD who appeared unto Jacob, said unto him, *I am* GOD *Almighty ;*[1] and this El Shaddai, or GOD ALMIGHTY, was the person whom Jacob prayed to be with his sons when he sent them to Egypt,[2] who, he reminded them, had appeared to him at Luz in Canaan,[3] and whom he particularly calls the GOD of Joseph's father, in his blessing him at his death.[4] So that what Moses records, that this their GOD was known to them by his name of GOD ALMIGHTY, is abundantly clear from these and many other passages which might be cited. But that this LORD was also known to them by the name Jehovah, seems apparent from the following passages among others. Abraham called the place, where he went to offer Isaac,[5] Jehovah-jireh, which

3 Gen. iv, 1.
4 Ver. 25.
5 Ver. 26; see vol. i, b. i, p. 53.
6 Chap. vi, 2.
7 Chap. ii, 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, &c.; iii, 8, 9, 13, 14, 22, &c. and thus ix, 26.
8 Exod. vi, 3.
9 Gen. xvii, 1.
1 Gen. xxxv, 11.
2 Chap. xliii, 14.
3 Chap. xlviii, 3.
4 Chap. xlix, 25.
5 Chap. xxii, 14.

I imagine he would not have done, if he had not known the LORD by this name of Jehovah at that time. Abraham's servant called the GOD of his master Abraham, Jehovah;[6] but Gen. xxviii, 13, is very full and express. Jacob, in the vision there recorded, saw the LORD standing before him, and the LORD said, *I am the* LORD GOD, or rather, *I am Jehovah the* GOD *of Abraham thy father, and the* GOD *of Isaac.*[7] Here the LORD very expressly revealed himself to Jacob by his name Jehovah; and accordingly Jacob hereupon resolved, that the LORD should be his GOD,[8] and in pursuance of this resolution, he was reminded afterwards to build an altar, as Abraham had done, not unto GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time, nor can see,* but unto GOD, *who had appeared to him.*[9] It is therefore evidently clear, that GOD, who spoke unto Moses, and declared himself to have appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, was known unto them by his name Jehovah; and therefore our English translation of the latter part of the third verse of the sixth chapter of Exodus, in these words, *but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them,* is undoubtedly a faulty translation, not rightly expressing what Moses intended in this place. The best and most accurate writers have remarked upon this place, that the latter part of the verse should be read interrogatively, thus: *By my name Jehovah was I not known unto them?* If we take the sentence interrogatively, every one will see that it plainly intimates, that the LORD had revealed himself to them by this name, which is agreeable to Moses's account of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob's knowledge and worship of the Deity. But to take the words without the interrogation, and suppose them to intend, that the LORD, who appeared to Abraham, was not known to him, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by his name Jehovah, cannot be reconciled to some very express passages in the Book of Genesis.

In the LXX version, the words are agreeable to our English translation, και το ονομα μȣ Κυριος ȣκ εδηλωσα αυτοις; but it has been observed by the learned, that some of the Greek writers read the words και το ονομα μȣ Κυριος εδηλωσα αυτοις· that is, *my name Jehovah I made known unto them;* which interpretation is favoured by the Arabic version. The words of Moses may indeed be supposed to hint, that the LORD, who appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and to Moses, was not known by the name Jehovah, before Abraham's days; which I think agrees with the Book of Genesis, for we nowhere find him mentioned, before he appeared unto Abraham,

[6] Gen. xxiv, 12, 26, 40.

[7] See Gen. xxv, 1, where Jacob was directed to GOD who appeared to him at Bethel, *i. e.* in the place where he saw this vision. And Jacob himself says, that GOD Almighty appeared here unto him. See Gen. xlviii, 3.

[8] Gen. xxviii, 21.

[9] Chap. xxxv, 1.

and before Abraham built an altar unto the LORD, who appeared to him.[1]

I am sensible, that I have been very large in this digression upon the name of GOD. I was willing to be as particular as might be, because I would observe from the whole that occurs about it, that it is remarkable from the writings of Moses, that there were two different and distinct persons known and worshipped by the faithful from the days of Abraham; GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time*, and *the* LORD, *who* at divers times *appeared* to them. The LORD, who appeared to them, is allowed by the best[2] and most judicious writers, to have been the same divine person, who afterwards *took upon him the seed of Abraham*, and was made man, and dwelt among the Jews; and accordingly, the prophet Zechariah calls this person, whom the Jews were to pierce, Jehovah.[3] Therefore, since, according to Plutarch's sense and interpretation of the Delphian EI, this divine person could not justly have been called Jehovah, if he had not been truly and essentially GOD; since, according to Plato's account of the ancient opinions about names, no person could have a name given from Heaven but what truly agreed with, and expressed his nature and person;[4] since we must conclude from Isaiah, that GOD would not *give his name and glory to another*;[5] since, according to what may be inferred from the words of the inspired writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we ought to think this divine person *so much better than the angels, as he hath obtained a more excellent name than they*:[6] it must appear (this person being many times called by the name of Jehovah in the Old Testament) that we have, if we duly attend to them, great and weighty proofs of the true and essential Deity of our blessed Saviour in the Old Testament, whatever some very learned and considerable writers have hinted to the contrary. I need not, before I leave this subject, remark, that neither Abraham nor his children ran into the errors of polytheism; for, though it appears, that they acknowledged more persons than one to have a right to the essential name of GOD, yet their belief was, that *the* LORD *their* GOD *was one* (Jehovah) LORD.[7] GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time, nor can see, and the* LORD, *who appeared unto Abraham*, were not supposed to be one and the same person; but as they were called by one and the same name, by a name which could not be given to another, so they were believed to be of one nature, they were one Being; in a word, as is expressed, Deuter. vi, 4, they were one Jehovah, though revealed to be more persons than one.[8]

[1] Gen. xii, 7.
[2] See vol. i, b. ii, p. 176.
[3] Zech. xii, 10.
[4] In Cratylo.
[5] Isaiah xlii, 8.
[6] Heb. i, 4.
[7] Deuter. vi, 4.
[8] See Dr. Waterland's Defence, &c. Qu. iii.

When Moses and Aaron were come to Egypt, after they had conversed with the elders of the children of Israel, they went to Pharaoh, and delivered their message, according to the orders, which GOD had given them, requiring the king to give the Israelites leave to go three days' journey into the wilderness, to perform a sacrifice unto the LORD their GOD.[9] Pharaoh, as he was satisfied with the belief of his own religion, did not see that there was any necessity for such a sacrifice as they spake of, and therefore answered, that he knew of no such god as the GOD of Israel.[1] He thought that they might serve the gods where they were, and resolved not to suffer them to go out of the land. He suspected that they had a design of revolting from his service, and had been laying schemes to get out of his dominions. This was an argument to him, that they had too much leisure, and he thought he should effectually check their indulging themselves in contrivances of this sort, if he took care to leave them fewer vacant hours, and therefore he ordered greater tasks and more work to be enjoined them.[2] He reprimanded Moses and Aaron for going among the people, and interrupting them in their employments, and ordered his task-masters to be more strict with them, and to press them to harder labour;[3] so that the people began to be greatly discouraged, and to wish that Moses and Aaron had never come among them.[4]

A few days passed, when Moses and Aaron came again unto Pharaoh, and repeated the demand, which they had before made, for his dismissing the Israelites.[5] Hereupon Pharaoh desired them to show him some miracle, to induce him to believe that they were indeed sent by the GOD they spake of. Moses ordered Aaron to cast the rod, which he had in his hand, upon the ground; Aaron did so, and the rod was immediately changed into a serpent. Pharaoh was surprised at this transmutation, but called together his learned men, the magicians and sorcerers of Egypt, and ordered them to try if they could not, by their arts and sciences, cause such a transmutation. They attempted and succeeded, changed their rods,[6] into serpents as Aaron had done; so that Pharaoh did not think this a true miracle, but only an effect, which might be produced by a man who had studied the secret powers of nature. As it pleased GOD to permit the magicians so far to succeed as to delude Pharaoh, so at the same time GOD, who never tempts or ensnares any man into evil,[7] did, by a remarkable circumstance in this miracle, give the king sufficient reason to consider it more seriously. Aaron's rod swallowed up all the rods of the magicians; but Pharaoh's heart was averse to the thoughts of parting with the Israelites, and therefore

[9] Exodus v, 3.
[1] Ver. 2.
[2] Ver. 6.
[3] Ver. 17.
[4] Ver. 21.
[5] Exod. vii, 10.
[6] Ver. 12.
[7] James i, 13, 14.

he did not let this circumstance make a due impression upon his mind.

I have already hinted, that Pharaoh's design in opposing his magicians to Moses, was to see whether the wonders which Moses wrought were the effect of the art of man, of the powers of nature, or the finger of GOD. Philo Judæus[8] and Josephus[9] do both set this transaction in the same light. I am sensible that it may seem possible to represent it otherwise. It may perhaps be said, that Pharaoh never questioned, but that the wonders which Moses did were real miracles, wrought by the power of the GOD who sent him; and that he employed his magicians, not in order to judge whether Moses's works were real miracles, or not; but to see whether his own priests could not, by the help and assistance of the Egyptian gods, do as great miracles as Moses did by the power of the GOD of Israel, that he might know, whether the GOD of Israel could really compel him to dismiss his people, or whether he might not hope to be protected in keeping them by the power of his own gods, in opposition to the threatenings of the GOD of Israel. But this supposition is not to be supported by any true accounts of the heathen theology; nor can it agree with Moses's representation of the magicians using their enchantments, and the confession they made when they could not succeed in the use of them.

It cannot be thought, that Pharaoh employed his magicians to vie with Moses in working miracles, in order to determine whether the gods of Egypt were as powerful to protect him, as the GOD of Israel was to afflict him; for it was not the custom of the heathens to endeavour to support themselves by the favour of one god, against the express and known demands of another. But they believed, that when the supreme Deity determined to afflict them, no other god could help them against his determinations; and that every or any god had full power to distress them, unless they took care, when required, duly to make atonement for any trespasses or commissions against him. Rabshakeh[1] believed, that when he was come up against Jerusalem, *not without the* LORD (*non sine Numine Divum*, Virgil would have expressed it,) that no god could be able to deliver the Jews out of his hand. Thus Homer represents Hector delivered up to the fury of Achilles. When Jupiter determined that he should be killed, then Phœbus left him;[2] no deity any longer interposed in his behalf; and Virgil gives up Turnus to Æneas in the same manner.[3] Now as they thought no god able to deliver any favourite from the fate appointed by the supreme Deity, so we do not find instances, which intimate, that when any

[8] Philo de Vita Mosis, lib. i, p. 616.
[9] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 13.
[2] Iliad. xxii.
[1] 2 Kings xviii.
[3] Æneid. xii.

god threatened to afflict them, they thought they could support themselves against divine vengeance, by seeking the more immediate favour of some other god. When Calchas had informed the Greeks, that Apollo had sent the pestilence among them, for neglecting his priest and favourite, the Greeks did not endeavour to fly to Jupiter, or to some other god, to be protected against Apollo's anger, but immediately took the best care they could to appease Apollo.[4] Thus, when the Assyrians thought that the people, whom they had planted in Samaria, had lions sent among them by the god of the country into which they had removed them; they did not think it sufficient to endeavour to procure them protection against this strange god, whose manner they did not know, by setting up the worship of their own gods; but the king of Assyria thought fit to command, that they should carry thither one of the priests, whom they had brought from thence, that he might go and dwell there, and teach the people the manner of the god of the land.[5] When Cyrus invaded Assyria, he made libations, to render the soil propitious to him; then he sacrificed to the gods and heroes of the Assyrian nation; then to Jupiter Patrius; and it is remarked, that if there appeared to him to be any other god, he took care not to neglect him.[6] This was the Pagan practice, and it could have been to no purpose for Pharaoh to employ his magicians to try to work miracles as Moses did, if he had thought them assisted by a divine power in working them; for it had been no detection of Moses's not being sent from GOD, that when he had wrought a miracle to confirm his mission, a person, who, by the same, or a like divine power, could work the same miracle, had been opposed to him. This could not prove, that either of the persons had not wrought a true miracle, for each of them must have known and confessed that they had both wrought a true miracle by divine assistance. It is nowhere suggested, that the gods of Egypt commanded Pharaoh to keep the Israelites; nor can it be conceived that Pharaoh could desire his priests to try to work miracles, to know whether this was their will or not. For, supposing him to think that Moses had been able, by the power of one deity, to work a miracle to demand their dismission, it is impossible to think he or his people could be so absurd to imagine, that the gods would work miracles in defiance of, and opposition to, one another. In this case, had he thought Moses had wrought a true miracle, he would have believed that some deity had really sent him; and though this deity was not an Egyptian god, yet when convinced that he really was a god, like Cyrus, when he had appeased the several gods he knew of, if he found that there was any other deity, to whom he had hitherto

[4] Homer, Il. i.
[5] 2 Kings xvii.
[6] Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. iii.

been a stranger, he would not have neglected him: but Pharaoh doubted whether Moses really wrought a miracle or not. The learned in Egypt thought, that miracles, prodigies, and omens, were given by the planetary and elementary influences; and that students, deeply versed in the mysteries of nature, could cause them by arts and incantations. Pharaoh thought his magicians great masters of these arts; and that therefore, if they could perform what Moses did, then Moses was only such a one as they, and endeavoured to delude him, by artificial wonders instead of real miracles. Now this is abundantly confirmed to be the fact, by the account which Moses gave of the magicians using their enchantments; and of the confession extorted from them, when they could not succeed in the use of them.

When the magicians of Egypt endeavoured with their enchantments to produce lice, and could not do it; the confession which they made hereupon was, not that they were overpowered by the GOD of Israel; not that he assisted his servants beyond what their gods did them; but אצבע אלהים הוא *Atsban Elohim Houa; This is the finger of* GOD:[7] the Targum of Onkelos renders it, This plague comes from GOD. The Arabic version expresses it, A sign of this nature is of GOD. So that this appears evidently to have been what Pharaoh endeavoured fully to convince himself of; whether the works, which Moses performed, were artificial, or whether they were *the finger of* GOD; and when the magicians had answered him this question, we find that he made no farther use of them. Whereas, had the question been, whether the GOD of Israel or the gods of Egypt were the most able to assist their servants, Pharaoh might have doubted, whether the want of success in the experiment was not more owing to some defect in the magicians' enchantments, than in the power of the gods. He would have thought that the magicians had made improper applications to obtain the favour of the gods, and that, according to the notions which prevailed when Balaam was desired to curse the Israelites,[8] though some enchantments or religious arts of address might not obtain the divine favour, yet others might.[9] And being disappointed in one trial, would rather have argued a defect in the priest or magician's attempts to make the gods propitious, than want of power in their gods to assist them. But the inquiry was evidently not of this nature: all that Pharaoh wanted to be informed of was, whether Moses was a magician, or was really sent by the GOD, whom he spoke of; and he expected to be convinced of this, by examining whether his wonders were such as the magicians by their arts could perform or not.

There are several queries, which may be very justly made

[7] Exodus viii, 19.
[8] Numbers xxiii.
[9] Chap. xxiv, 1.

upon Pharaoh's employing his magicians to attempt to work the wonders which Moses performed. It may be asked, was there really any knowledge of the powers of nature, or arcana of art, by which magicians, without the miraculous assistance of the Deity, could perform such operations as Pharaoh here employed his wise men and sorcerers to attempt? Did the Egyptian magicians really perform those wonders, in which they are recorded to have imitated Moses? How could Pharaoh think or imagine, that they could possibly perform them; or how could they themselves be so weak as to attempt them? or how came they to have success in some instances, wherein they tried and performed wonders like what Moses had done? But to all these queries it is not difficult to find a just and sufficient answer.

I. Was there really any knowledge of the powers of nature, or any secrets of art, by which magicians might be able to do such wonders as Moses performed before Pharaoh, without their having an extraordinary and divine assistance? It is easy to return an answer to this question. The knowledge of natural causes and effects is so clear in this age, by the light which has been introduced by experiment and philosophy, that we may positively say, no effects like what these men pretended to accomplish by sorcery and enchantment, can be artificially produced by any or all the powers of nature. No art, no study of occult sciences, can enable a man really to change a rod or stick of wood into a living serpent. There are no enchantments sufficient to enable us to make a living frog, or to strike our neighbour with a disease or boil, or to inflict any vengeance of this sort upon him. There never were the instances, which are pretended to, of things of this nature effected by arts of this sort. How the magicians of Egypt performed their wonders before Pharaoh, shall be by and by mentioned; and in the same manner in which we account for them, we may account for all other wonderful and supernatural works, represented to have been effected by any heathen magicians in the sacred pages. As to many accounts of such facts, which are mentioned in profane historians, we may venture to assert, that they were never really done as they represent them; but that they are generally some of the Scripture miracles falsely reported, or attributed to persons, who were never concerned in them, or accounts of facts, which were never done at all. Julian, the son of Theurgus, is said to have caused the Heaven to be black with clouds, and a fast shower to fall with terrible thunders and lightening, σοφια τινι, by some magic art; but others think that Arnuphis the Egyptian philosopher performed this miracle.[1] Such as this are the relations of the heathen wonders; no certainty of the performer of them, and nothing but a vague and undetermined conjecture

[1] Suidas in Voc. Ιαμβλιχος.

how they could be performed. This fact may as well be ascribed to Arnuphis as to Julian, and was certainly true of neither; being probably the account of Elijah's obtaining rain in the time of Ahab,[2] falsely ascribed to one or other of these heathens, in order to raise the credit of the heathen learning. But it will be asked,

II. Did the Egyptian magicians really perform those wonders which are ascribed to them? Some learned writers have imagined, that there was not any real transmutation, when the rods of the Egyptian magicians were pretended to be turned into serpents;[3] and that they did not really turn water into blood;[4] or produce frogs,[5] or exhibit any real miracle in their opposition to Moses; but that they either played their parts as jugglers, pretending to do what they really did not do; or that some dæmons assisted them, and, by their power over the air, enabled them to deceive the sight of the beholders, and to cause phantoms, or delusive appearances of what was really not done, though it seemed to be performed in the sight of Pharaoh, and those who were present with him. Many of the fathers of the Christian church are cited as abettors of this opinion,[6] and Josephus is said to favour it;[7] but certainly we have little reason to admit it. As to the magicians imposing upon Pharaoh by artifice and pretence, I cannot see how they could possibly do it, without giving Moses and Aaron an opportunity of detecting the cheat, aud exposing them to Pharaoh, and his people. Elijah found it no great difficulty to detect the false pretences of the priests of Baal, when they pretended by prayer to bring fire from Heaven, but could not really obtain it.[8] In the same manner Moses would, without doubt, have brought the artifices of the Egyptian magicians to a trial, which would have detected the cheat; if the wonders, which they pretended to perform, had been only pretended, and not really performed by them. And as to their being able to exhibit appearances of serpents, frogs, and blood, when no such things really were in being, but only appeared to be, by the air being so directed, by the agency of beings which had power over it, as to affect Pharaoh and his subjects in such a manner, as to cause them to think they saw the magicians' rods turned into serpents, frogs produced, and water converted into blood, when none of these things were really done: to this I answer, that to argue in this manner, is indeed to be unwilling to allow that the Egyptian magicians were able to perform a true miracle; and yet at the same time it supposes them to have performed wonders, of which we can give as little account as of a miracle. Let any one try to give

[2] 1 Kings xviii.
[3] Exodus vii.
[4] Ver. 22.
[5] Chap. viii, 7.
[6] See Pool's Synops. Crit. in loc.
[7] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 13.
[8] 1 Kings xviii.

a satisfactory account, how any magician could, by a power over the air, either by himself, or by the assistance of a dæmon, represent to the naked view of the beholders, in opposition to a true miracle, serpents, frogs, and water converted into blood; nay, and so represent them, as that the fictitious appearances should not be distinguishable from the real, but should bear to be seen with them at one and the same time, in the same light, and in the same view (for so the rods of the magicians turned into serpents certainly were, when Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.)[9] I say, let any one try to give a reasonable account of this fancy, and he will quickly see, that he may more reasonably suppose the magicians able to perform a true and real transmutation, than to ascribe to them such imaginary powers as this supposition requires; and which, if they could be conceived, can tend only to destroy the certainty of all appearances whatever. The account, which Moses gave of the miracles performed by himself and Aaron, and of what the magicians performed by their enchantments, does not hint any difference as to the reality of the performances of either of them; and undoubtedly the rods of the magicians were truly and really turned into serpents, as well as the rod of Aaron; and were truly and really swallowed up by Aaron's rod. The frogs, which the magicians produced, were true real living frogs, as well as those produced by Moses; and the magicians certainly turned water into blood, truly and really as Moses himself did. There can be nothing offered from the sacred history, to suppose the one appearance more real than the other; and if a believer of revelation will argue, that the magicians' performances were only phantasms, or deceptions of the sight of the beholders; why may not an unbeliever with equal assurance argue, that all that Moses did was of the same sort? Nothing but the most extravagant scepticism can be built upon so wild a supposition. But,

III. If there were no secret arts, no occult sciences, by the study of which the Egyptian magicians might think themselves able to perform these wonders; how could Pharaoh imagine, that his magicians could perform them, or how could they themselves be so weak, or so vain, as to attempt them? I answer: we read of no miracles of this sort ever performed in the world before this time. God had discovered his will to mankind by revelation in all ages. In the first and most early times by voices or dreams. From Abraham's time the Lord appeared frequently to his servants. But no such wonders as were done in Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh, are recorded to have ever been performed in the world before; so that they were a new thing, undoubtedly surprising to all that saw them. Accordingly we find, that Moses, when he saw the bush on fire, and not consumed, was amazed; and turned aside

[9] Exodus vii, 12.

to see *this great sight, why the bush was not burnt.*[1] And when God turned his rod into a serpent, Moses was terrified and fled from it.[2] God had not as yet enabled any person to work wonders, as Moses and Aaron did in Egypt; therefore Pharaoh, upon seeing these things performed, might well inquire whether his magicians could do such things as these; and the magicians might without absurdity try whether they could or not. God had before this time frequently revealed himself to his servants by dreams, by voices, by sending angels, or by appearing to them. And the world in general was in these days full of belief of the truth of such revelations; until, as human learning increased, the conceit of science, falsely so called, seduced the learned to think themselves able, by philosophy and speculation, to delineate a religion of nature, sufficient to render revelation unnecessary and superfluous. The Egyptians began early, and had proceeded far in this false way of thinking. Instead of one God and one Lord, whom Abraham and his descendants worshipped, they corrupted their faith very near as early as Abraham's days;[3] and admitted, that there was indeed a Supreme Deity, presiding over the universe (for this I think the heathens never really denied, though the grossness of polytheism, which time introduced, greatly obscured their knowledge of even this truth;) but they imagined they had reason to think, that the planets and elements were also gods,[4] and governed the world by their influence, though subject to the fate,[5] will, or direction of the supreme God. And as to what was generally believed of dreams, visions, and revelations, which had been made to men, the learned in these times thought as freely about them, as our modern querists. The belief of them was of service to the legislators, who knew how to make them a state-engine to govern their people by;[6] but they thought themselves wise enough to know, that they were occasioned *sine Deo*, in a natural way, by the planetary and elementary influences; and that they were made a part of their religion, only for the utility of their popular influence,[7] and for reasons of state, for

[1] Exodus iii, 3. [2] Chap. iv, 3.

[3] See vol. i, b. v, p. 184; vol. ii, b. vii, p. 116.

[4] Mundum—habere mentem, quæ et se, et ipsum fabricatum sit, et omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit persuasum etiam solem, lunam, stellas omnes, terram, mare Deos esse. Cic.

[5] Τι κωλυσει της τε Διος ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ υπηκοους παντας ειναι. Plut. lib. de Defect. Orac. p. 426. Fatum est non id quod superstitiose sed quod physice dicitur causa æterna rerum. Cic. Deum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab eo constitutum sit.

[6] Ονειρατα και φασματα, και τοιουτον αλλον οχλον προισαμενοι—ο πολιτικος μεν ανδρασι, και προς αυθαδη και ακολαστον οχλον αναγκασμενοις ζην, εκ αρχης ισως εστιν, ωσπερ εκ χαλινε της δεισιδαιμονιας προς το συμφερον αντισπασαι και μεταστησαι τους πολλους. Plut. lib. de Socratis Genio p. 580.

[7] Non enim sumus ii nos augures, qui avium, reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus:—crrabat enim multis in rebus antiquitas, quam vel usu jam vel doctrina vel vetustate immutatam videmus; retinetur autem

the government of kingdoms.[8] Hitherto the Egyptians had proceeded; and had Moses come to them, and could only have assured them, that he had received a command from God in a dream, or by a vision, or by a voice, or any other revelation; neither Pharaoh, nor his wise men, would have regarded him at all, but have concluded, that some natural prodigy had happened; for such they would, most probably, have imagined the bush on fire to be, and have supposed that Moses had made a political use of it; and for this reason Pharaoh bade him *show a miracle;* knowing, that if the Deity really sent him, he could give this proof of it. Hereupon God enabled Moses to work several very extraordinary signs and wonders, such as had never been seen or heard of in the world before. Upon seeing which, Pharaoh very naturally consulted his Magi; and they tried all the mystical operations, and examined all the schemes, which their systems of science furnished, to see whether these things could be done or accounted for by any natural influences, or human learning; and after several trials acknowledged that they could not, but that they were the effect of an omnipotent hand, *the finger of* God.[9] But

IV. If the Egyptian magicians had no mystical arts, by the use of which they could really turn their rods into serpents, produce frogs, and change water into blood, how came they to succeed in these attempts, which they made in opposition to Moses? We have no reason to think that the king knew, that those works, which he employed his magicians to try to perform, were within the reach of any art they were masters of, because he ordered them to try to perform them; rather, on the contrary, he ordered them to try to perform them, that he might know whether art could effect them or not, or whether they were indeed true miracles. Kings were wont in all extraordinary cases, where any thing happened, which was thought ominous or surprising, to send for their priests and learned professors, and to order them to answer the difficulties which perplexed them. And though much was pretended to, yet they had not yet advanced so far in the true knowledge of nature, but that kings sometimes thought they might require of their Magi things impossible. We have an instance of this in the Book of Daniel.[1] Nebuchadnezzar dreamed a dream and forgot it, and required his Magi, not only to tell him the meaning of his dream, but to find out what his dream was. And though the Chaldeans answered him, that *no man upon Earth could do it*, and that *no king, lord, or ruler had ever asked such a thing of any magician*,

et ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reipublicæ mos, religio, disciplina, jus augurum, collegii authoritas. Cicer. de Divinat. lib. ii, c. 33.

[8] Existimo jus augurum, etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea reipublicæ causa conservatum ac retentum. Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii, c. 35.

[9] Exodus viii, 19.

[1] Daniel ii.

astrologer, or Chaldean, yet the king was so resolutely set upon compelling them to use their utmost endeavours, that he *resolved*, and *commanded to destroy all the* Magi, or *wise men of Babylon*. In these cases, the Magi might try all possible experiments, though they had no reason to hope for success from them. 2. It does not appear from the magicians here trying their experiments, and succeeding in them, that they thought at first that their arts would be effectual, and that they should be able to perform such works as Moses and Aaron had done. The priests of Baal, in the time of Elijah,[2] had no reason to think, that the invocations of their god, or the cutting themselves with knives and lancets, would produce the fire from Heaven to consume their sacrifice; but yet they tried all the artifices they could think of from morning until evening. So here the Egyptians had no reason to think their incantations would produce serpents; but they would try all experiments, in order to judge farther of the matter; and upon their attempting, God was pleased in some cases to give an unexpected success to their endeavours, in order to serve and carry on his own purposes and designs by it. For, 3. The success they had was certainly unexpected, as evidently appears, by their not being able to follow Moses in all his miracles. They produced serpents and frogs, and converted water into blood, but when they attempted to produce the lice, they could not do it. It is here evident, that the magicians did not know the extent of their powers, if they can be conceived to have had any, for they attempted to equal Moses in all his performances, but upon trial they found they could do some, but in others, though not a whit more difficult, they could not obtain any success at all. Had they had any effectual rules of art or science to work by, they would at first, without trial, have known what to attempt, and what not; but in truth, they had no arts to perform any thing of this sort. In some instances, God was pleased to give a success, which they little expected, to their endeavours, and with which they were so far from resting satisfied, that they took the first opportunity, which was given them, when their attempts failed, to acknowledge, that Moses was certainly assisted by the divine power.

Moses and Aaron went the third time to Pharaoh, and urged again the demand they had made for his dismissing the Israelites; and as a farther sign, that God had really sent them, upon Aaron's stretching out his hand, and touching the waters of the river with his rod, all the waters in the land of Egypt were turned into blood, and continued so for seven days, so that the fish died, and the Egyptians could get no water to drink;[3] but Pharaoh, finding that his magicians could

[2] 1 Kings xviii.

[3] Exodus vii, 15—25. Pharaoh is here mentioned as going down in the

turn water into blood, was not convinced by this miracle, and so refused to part with the Israelites.

Some time after Moses and Aaron came again to him, requiring the dismission of the people, and withal assuring him, that, if he did not grant it, they should bring a great plague of frogs upon all the land; and in order hereto, Moses directed Aaron to stretch his rod again over the waters, upon doing which there came up abundance of frogs, so as to *cover the land of Egypt*, and to swarm in the houses, bed-chambers, upon the beds, in the ovens, and kneading troughs of the Egyptians;[4] but here it likewise happened that the Magicians also produced frogs, so that Pharaoh was not much influenced by this miracle.[5]

There were several other miracles wrought by Moses and Aaron in Egypt after the same manner. The swarms of lice;[6] the murrain upon the Egyptian cattle;[7] the plague of the flies;[8] the boils inflicted not only upon the Egyptian people, but upon the magicians also;[9] the terrible rain and hail and fire mingled with hail;[1] the plague of the locusts,[2] and the darkness[3] for three days; all these things being caused at the word of Moses, exceedingly perplexed the king. He found that all the powers, art, and learning of his magicians could not perform these miracles; nay, upon attempting one of them, they themselves confessed to him, that it was done by the finger of God[4]; and in the plague of the boils, the magicians themselves were afflicted,[5] and *could not stand before Moses, because of the boil; for the boil was upon the magicians, and all the Egyptians.* The king's heart was several times almost overcome. He offered the Israelites leave to sacrifice to the LORD their GOD, provided they would do it in Egypt;[6]

morning to the river. It is probable, that the Egyptians accounted it a necessary part of religion to purify themselves every morning, by washing in the river. Virgil represents Æneas as thinking such a purification necessary, before he might touch the Trojan *sacra*, having polluted himself in battle; he says to his father Anchises,

> Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu, patriosque penates;
> Me, bello e tanto digressum, et cæde recenti,
> Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
> Abluero.
>
> VIRG. ÆN. ii, v. 717.

But the Egyptians used these purifications twice every day, says Herodotus, δις της ημερας εκαστης, και δις εκαστης νυκτος. Lib. ii, c. 37. Chæremon says, thrice every day (απελουντο ψυχρω απο τε κοιτης, και προ αριστου, και προς υπνον. ap Porphyr. περι αποχ. lib. iv, sec. 7,) when they came from bed in the morning, just before dinner, and at night when they went to sleep. Moses was here directed to go to Pharaoh in the morning, at his going out to the water; so that Pharaoh was here going to perform the morning purification.

[4] Exod. viii, 3, 6.
[5] Ver. 7.
[6] Exod. viii, 16.
[7] Chap. ix, 3, 7.
[8] Chap. viii, 21.
[9] Chap. ix, 9—12.
[1] Ver. 18.
[2] Chap. x, 4.
[3] Ver. 21.
[4] Chap. viii, 19.
[5] Chap. ix, 11.
[6] Chap. viii, 25.

but to this Moses answered, that their religion was so different from the Egyptian, that were they to perform the offices of it in Egypt, the people would be so offended as to rise against them, and stone them.[7] Afterwards Pharaoh would have permitted them to go out of Egypt, provided the adult persons only would go, and that they would leave their children behind them as pledges of their return;[8] but upon Moses insisting to have the people go, *with their young and with their old, with their sons and with their daughters, with their flocks and with their herds,* Pharaoh was incensed against him, and, having severely threatened him, ordered him to be turned out of his presence.[9] Afterwards Pharaoh was willing that all the people should go, only that they should let their flocks and their herds stay;[1] very probably knowing, that they could not go far without sustenance, and that, if they left all their flocks, and their herds, they must soon return again; for what nation would receive or maintain with their own product and provisions so numerous a people? or how, or where should they subsist, if their flocks and herds were left behind them? So that the leave of departing, which Pharaoh offered, would soon have been of no service; therefore Moses rejected it, and required that their *cattle also should go with them,* and *not a hoof be left behind.*[2] But upon Moses requiring this, Pharaoh grew exceeding angry, and charged him to get away, and never attempt to see him more; for that if he did, he would certainly put him to death.[3]

Thus was this unhappy prince, by the obstinacy of his heart, carried on through many great misfortunes to himself and his people, at length to his ruin. He had all along sufficient means of conviction. When his magicians' rods were turned into serpents, and Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods, how would a circumstance, far less remarkable and extraordinary, have moved him, if what Moses required had not been disagreeable to him? In several of the plagues, which were inflicted upon him and his people, Pharaoh was compelled to make application to Moses, to intreat the LORD his GOD to remove the evil;[4] and in others, the king himself was nice and exact in inquiring, whether the Israelites did suffer in them with his people or not; and found, upon examination, that GOD had distinguished the Israelites from the Egyptians, and that they were not partakers[5] in the remarkable calamities inflicted upon the land. I might add the particular confession of the magicians, that Moses's works were *the finger of* GOD;[6] and observe how the magicians themselves suffered in the plague of the boils; and how Moses was able, at any time

[7] Ver. 26. [8] Exod. x, 11. [9] Ibid.
[1] Ver. 24. [2] Ver. 25. [3] Ver. 28.
[4] Exodus viii, 8, 29; ix, 28; and x, 17.
[5] Id. viii, 21; ix, 7, 26; and x, 23. [6] Chap. viii, 19.

or hour, to obtain from GOD a removal of the plagues, upon Pharaoh's address for it. How could the king, if he attended at all to these circumstances, not be entirely convinced by them? Yet I do not see that we have any reason to think that he fully believed that Moses was really and truly sent from GOD to him upon the message which he had delivered. There were many of the servants of Pharaoh, who regarded not the word of the LORD, but left their servants and cattle in the field, when Moses had threatened the rain and the fire and hail to destroy them.[7] Undoubtedly, after all that had been done before this, these men did not believe, that any such storm would happen; and after this, and after the inflicting another plague, the Egyptians only thought that Moses was *a snare* to them;[8] a snare, from which Pharaoh seemed to think he might perhaps free his people, if he put him to death.[9] All the effects which Moses's miracles seem to have had was, not that the power of GOD was at last revered, or acknowledged by Pharaoh or his people; but *the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people;*[1] they admired the man as far superior to their own magicians; but what he had done had no true influence for the end for which it was intended. For we may reasonably suppose, that when Pharaoh and his army pursued the Israelites to the Red Sea, though they were terribly struck at the death of their firstborn, and therefore had dismissed them; yet when they came to consider more at leisure what they had done, it is probable they believed at last, that they had been imposed upon more by the art of Moses, than any true and real power of GOD, exerted for the deliverance of his people, and for that reason they went after them to retake them, or to revenge themselves upon them. I am sensible it may be asked, how could men of common sense and understanding be so wonderfully absurd? But I answer; sense and understanding are not the only requisites to make men judge rightly of even clear and very evident truths. The inspired writer most justly advises, to *take heed of an evil heart of unbelief;*[2] *out of* the heart *are the issues of life.*[3] Our passions and affections have a very powerful influence over us; and where they are not carefully managed and governed, it is amazing to see how the slightest evasions will pass for most weighty and conclusive arguments, and how the brightest and most apparent evidences of truths, will be thought to be of little moment even to persons of the greatest sense and sagacity in other matters, where their interest or their humours do not contradict the truths which are offered to them. Pharaoh's fault was in his heart, and that made him unfortunate

[7] Exodus ix, 21.
[8] Chap. x, 7.
[9] Ver. 28.
[1] Chap. xi, 3.
[2] Heb. iii, 12.
[3] Prov. iv, 23.

in the use of his understanding. The Israelites were numerous and serviceable slaves, and it was a terrible shock and diminution to his wealth and grandeur to dismiss them; and not being able to reconcile his inclinations to the thoughts of parting with them, the vague and ill-grounded learning of the times he lived in, was thought to afford arguments sufficient to take off the force of all the miracles, which were offered to induce him to it. It is no very hard matter to judge of truth, if we are but sincerely disposed to embrace it; *If any man will do* God's *will, he* will *know of the doctrine, whether it be of* God.[4] A common capacity, and an ordinary share of understanding, will afford light enough, if evil passions do not make *the light that is in us* to become *darkness.* But if our heart be not duly disposed to embrace the truth; *neither may we be persuaded,* by the greatest arguments and demonstrations which can be offered, even though we have uncommon abilities to judge of, and understand the force of what is represented to us.

Some writers have imagined, that the non-compliance of Pharaoh was an effect of temper produced in him by God himself. They endeavour to support their opinion by the many expressions of Moses, that God hardened Pharaoh's heart;[5] and by St. Paul's seeming to represent, from what is recorded by Moses, that God raised up Pharaoh on purpose to make him a terrible example of his power and vengeance to the whole world.[6] But, 1. God is said in Scripture to do many things, which are permitted by him to come to pass, in the ordinary and common course of things; according to which manner of expression, God may be said *to harden* Pharaoh's *heart,* only because he did not interpose, but suffered him to be carried on by the bent of his own passions to that inflexible obstinacy which proved his ruin. And in this sense, perhaps, we may interpret the words of St. Paul,[7] *therefore hath he mercy, on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth.* God had not so much mercy upon Pharaoh as to prevent his being hardened; and therefore in this sense is said to have hardened him. 2. It is plain, that Moses, unto whom God used these expressions about Pharaoh, understood them in this sense, from many parts of his behaviour to him; and especially from his earnestly intreating him to be persuaded, and to let the people go. If Moses had known, or thought, that God had doomed Pharaoh to unavoidable ruin, what room or opportunity could there be to endeavour to persuade him to avoid it? But that Moses attempted, with all possible application, to make an impression upon Pharaoh for his good, is very evident from the following passage, which if

[4] John vii, 17.
[5] Exod. iv, 21; vii, 3; ix, 12; x, 1, 20, 27; xi, 10, &c.
[6] Rom. ix, 17.
[7] Rom. ix, 18.

rightly translated would be very clear and expressive. *And Moses said unto Pharaoh, glory over me, when shall I entreat for thee and for thy servants*[8] —? The translating the Hebrew words, *hithpaar gnalai, glory over me*, makes the sense of the place very obscure; the true rendering the words would be, *do me glory or honour*, i. e. believe me, which will be to my honour in the sight of the people; and the whole of what passed between Pharaoh and Moses at this time, if rightly translated, is to this purpose. 'Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said; intreat the LORD, that he may take away the frogs from me, ... and I will let the people go, that they may do sacrifice unto the LORD. And Moses said, do me the honour to believe me, when I shall entreat for thee, and for thy servants . . . . . And Pharaoh said, to-morrow I will. And Moses said, be it according to thy word.[9] Moses here made a very earnest address to Pharaoh, to induce him to be persuaded to part with the people; which he certainly would not have done, if he had thought that Pharaoh could no ways avoid not being persuaded, but that GOD himself prevented his compliance, on purpose to bring him to ruin. But I might observe, that Moses frequently expresses it, that Pharaoh hardened his own heart,[1] and not that GOD hardened it; so that the two expressions, GOD hardened Pharaoh's heart, and Pharaoh hardened his own heart, are synonymous, and mean the one no more than the other; unless perhaps it may be said, that as it is agreeable to the Hebrew idiom, to call very high hills, *the hills of* GOD,[2] or very flourishing trees, *the trees of the* LORD,[3] so in the same manner of speaking, it might be said, that *the* LORD, *hardened Pharaoh's heart*, to express, that it was exceedingly, and beyond measure obdurate. 3. The expression cited by St. Paul from Moses, *For this cause have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee* . . . . does not support the sense, which these expositors would put upon it. The Hebrew word, *hegnemadtika*, does not signify, *I have raised thee up*, or brought thee into being; but *I have made thee stand or continue.** The LXX translate the place very justly, ενεκεν τουτου διετηρηθης. *For this cause thou hast been preserved.*[4] For the words of Moses were not designed to express to Pharaoh, that he was born or created on purpose to be brought to ruin; but the reason for saying the words, and the true meaning of them is this; Moses had wrought several miracles before

[8] Exod. viii, 9.
[9] Exod. viii, 8, 9, 10.
[1] Ibid. vii, 13, 22; viii, 15, 19, 32; ix, 7, 34.
[2] Psalm lxviii, 15.
[3] Ibid. civ, 16.

* See Remarks upon this passage by the Rev. Walter Sellon, in his Tract entitled, 'General Redemption considered.'—EDIT.

[4] Most of the versions express the true meaning of this place better than our English translation. Onkelos renders it; Verum propter hoc sustinui te. The Arabic expresses it; Propter rem hanc te reservavi.

Pharaoh, but they had had no effect upon him. Hereupon Moses delivered to him a severer message, threatening, that God would send all his plagues upon his heart, and upon his servants, and upon his people, to smite him with pestilence, and to cut him off from the earth; and indeed (continues he, speaking still in the name of God) for this cause have I preserved thee hitherto, to show in thee my power; *i. e.* I had cut thee off sooner for thy obstinacy, but that I intended to make my power over thee more conspicuous; so that the words only signify, that Pharaoh was hitherto preserved by the forbearance of God, to be a more remarkable example; not that he was born to be brought to ruin.

Moses, by command from God, went once more to Pharaoh. The king had charged him never to see his face more, upon pain of death;[5] and Moses had purposed to have so much regard to his own safety, as never to attempt it;[6] but upon God's specially commanding him to go, he was not afraid; knowing, that He who sent him could abundantly protect him. Moses now delivered to Pharaoh the severest message he had ever brought him; and represented to him, that at midnight[7] God would strike dead the first-born of every family throughout all the land of Egypt; and that there should hereupon be such a dread and terror upon all the Egyptians, that they should come to him in the most submissive manner, and beg of him to lead the people out of the land; and after that, said he, I shall go. Pharaoh was in a great rage at Moses speaking thus to him; but Moses, not desiring to stay only to incense and provoke him, turned away and left him.

It is surprising, that not only our English, but all the versions, represent Moses to be the person here said to be in a great anger. The vulgar Latin is very faulty; we there find the place rendered, *exivit a Pharaone iratus nimis.* "He went out from Pharaoh too much angry."[8] All the other versions represent him as exceedingly incensed against the king; but how can we suppose this of Moses, who *was very meek, above all the men, which were upon the face of the Earth?* Besides that, it is hard to imagine he should carry himself so void of that regard and respect, which he must think it his duty to pay, in his behaviour to the king of Egypt

[5] Exod. x, 28. [6] Ver. 29.

[7] This message was delivered to Pharaoh, after the Israelites had made preparations for eating the passover, some time in the day before they left Egypt.

[8] The critics imagine, that the Latin word, *nimis* is synonymous with *valde;* and to signify *very much*, or *exceedingly;* but I think, that where it seems to be thus used, it always implies some excess: thus; Non nimis me delectarunt literæ illius. Cic. His letters delighted me not very much. I would translate it not over-much. Fundam tibi nunc nimis vellem dari. Ter. I would very fain, that you had a sling. I think it might be translated, I am over-earnest in wishing you a sling, *i. e.* more earnest than I need to be. For it was the flatterer's excess of care that wished the soldier this instrument; and by the word *nimis*, he seems nicely to hint that his valour did not need it. See Eunuch. act iv, scene 7.

in his own kingdom. Some of the commentators insinuate, that Moses was thus exceeding angry, and incensed against Pharaoh, because *he was made a god unto Pharaoh.*[9] But how absurd must it be to imagine, that Moses should receive any character from the Deity, which would justify him in rudeness and misbehaviour to a ruler of a kingdom? Certainly it was not Moses here, but Pharaoh, who was in the passion. Moses undoubtedly delivered his message with all the weight and authority which the divine commission he had received required; and yet at the same time behaved himself with all the regard and respect which was due unto the king; and when he had delivered what he had to say, *Ietzea menim Pharaoh bechari aph.* The words, *bechari aph, in a fury of anger,* belong to Pharaoh, and not to Moses; and the place ought to be translated, *he went out from Pharaoh, who was in a furious anger.*

GOD had before this instructed Moses and Aaron to direct the people to prepare the passover,[1] the getting all things ready for which took up near four days; for they were to begin on the tenth[2] day of the month Abib, and to kill the lamb on the fourteenth day in the evening;[3] and accordingly on the fourteenth of Abib in the night[4] the Israelites ate the first passover; and at midnight they heard a great cry and confusion amongst the Egyptians; for Pharaoh and his princes, and his people, found that there was one person dead, and that the first-born, without any exception or difference in any one family, in every house of the Egyptians. They came immediately to Moses and Aaron in a great fright and terror, and desired him to get the people together, and take their flocks and their herds, and all that belonged to them, and be gone; *and the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste, for they said, we be all dead men.*[5] Hereupon Moses took the bones of Joseph, which his brethren had sworn to him should be carried with them out of Egypt, and the Israelites began to journey in the morning; and on the morrow after the passover, on the fifteenth day of the month, they travelled from Rameses to Succoth,[6] about ten or twelve miles. Here they made a stop, reviewed their company, and found that they were six hundred thousand, besides children.[7] In this manner the Israelites

[9] Exod. vii, 1.

[1] The first verse of Chap. xii, does not imply that the LORD spake to Moses about the passover, after he came from Pharaoh, because these directions were given before he went; for he went to Pharaoh the day on which he told him, that at midnight GOD would slay the first-born, namely, on the fourteenth of the month Abib; but these directions were given before the tenth day; for on that day they began to prepare for the passover. So that the former part of this chapter is an account of some particulars which had passed, but were not related historically in their place.

[2] Exod. xii, 3. [3] Ver. 6. [4] Ver. 7.
[5] Ver. 33. [6] Numb. xxxiii, 3. [7] Exod. xii, 37.

were brought out of Egypt; a transaction so wonderful and extraordinary, that the heathen historians could not avoid taking some notice of it. Justin, the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius, gives us hints of it, in his account of the History of the Jewish Nation.[8] He tells us, that some time after the birth of Moses, "the Egyptians had the leprosy amongst them; that upon consulting their oracle for a cure, they were directed to send away all the infected persons out of the land, under the conduct of Moses. Moses undertook the command of them, and at his leaving Egypt stole away the Egyptian Sacra. The Egyptians pursued them, in order to recover their Sacra, but were compelled by storms to return home again. Moses in seven days passed the Desert of Arabia, and brought the people to Sinai." This account is indeed short, imperfect, and full of mistakes; but so are the heathen accounts of the Jews and their affairs. If the reader peruses the whole of what Justin says of the Jews, he will see that his account of them is all of a piece, and that he had made no true inquiry into their history. However, after all the mistakes, which either the misrepresentation of the Egyptian writers might cause, or the carelessness and want of examination of other historians occasion, thus much we may conclude from Justin to be on all hands agreed; that the Jews were sent out of Egypt under the conduct of Moses, that the Egyptians might get free from plagues inflicted upon them by the divine hand; and that after they were dismissed the Egyptians pursued them, but were disappointed in their pursuit, not by force of arms, but by obstructions from Providence, in the direction of storms and weather to defeat them. Justin hints so many points, which are so near the truth, in the several parts of the Jewish history, that I imagine, if due pains had been taken to examine, he would have given a truer account of this, and all the other particulars which he has hinted about them and their affairs.

Justin relates, that the Jews at their departure stole the Egyptian Sacra. We say, *they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment.*[9] If they borrowed them, we cannot say that they had any design of returning them again; and therefore the injustice may be thought the same as if they stole them. Some modern writers have taken the greatest liberty of ridiculing this particular, and are pleased in thinking that it affords them a considerable objection against the sacred Scriptures. For they insinuate, with more than ordinary assurance, that no one can, consistently with plain and common honesty, which all men know too well to be deceived in, suppose that God Almighty directed, or ordered the Israelites to borrow in this manner. "The wit of the best poet is not sufficient to recon-

[8] Justin. Hist. lib. xxxvi, cap. 2.

[9] Exod. xii, 35.

cile us to the retreat of a Moses, by the assistance of an Egyptian loan;" said Lord Shaftsbury, amongst other things, which he thought might bear hard against the morality of the sacred history.[1] Some very judicious writers have endeavoured to justify the Israelites borrowing of the Egyptians; but I shall not offer any of their arguments, because I cannot find, that the sacred text does in the least hint, that they borrowed, or attempted to borrow any thing of them. The Hebrew word, which our translators have rendered *borrow*, is *shaal*,[2] which does not signify to *borrow*, but *to ask one to give*. It is the very word used Psalm ii, 8. *Sheal-ve ettenah, Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.* The fact was, GOD had told Moses, that the Israelites should not go out of Egypt empty; but that every woman should *ask* her neighbour, and the person she lived with, to give her jewels and raiment, and that he would dispose the Egyptians to give them.[3] Thus, when they were leaving Egypt, the children of Israel asked the Egyptians for *jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and the* LORD *gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians*, so that they gave them what they asked for, so freely as to impoverish themselves by making presents to them. Josephus represents this fact agreeably to the true sense of the sacred text. He says that the Egyptians (δωροις τε τους Εβραιους ετιμων· οι μεν υπερ το ταχιον εξελθειν. οι δε και κατα γειτνιαχην προς αυτους συνηθειαν) made the Hebrews considerable presents; and that some did so, in order to induce them to go the sooner away from them; others out of respect to, and upon account of the acquaintance they had with them.[4]

The exit of the children of Israel out of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years after Abraham's first coming into Canaan. Now Abraham came into Canaan A. M. 2083,[5] so that, counting four hundred and thirty years forward from that year, we shall fix the exit A. M. 2513, in which year it was accomplished. Our English translators have rendered the xiith chapter of Exodus, verse 40, very justly; *now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* The interlinear translation of the Hebrew Bible, and the vulgar Latin version, both misrepresent the true sense of the place, by rendering it to this effect; *now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years.* The children of Israel did not live in Egypt four hundred and thirty years; for they came into Egypt with Jacob A. M. 2298,[6] and they went out of Egypt A. M. 2513,

[1] Charact. vol. i, p. 358.
[2] See Exod. iii, 22; xii, 35.
[3] Ibid. iii.
[4] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 14.
[5] See vol. i, b. v, p. 252.
[6] See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 113.

so that they lived in Egypt but two hundred and fifteen years; therefore the sojourning of the children of Israel must not be limited to their living in Egypt only, but taken in a more general sense, and extended to the time of their living in Canaan; for the four hundred and thirty years, here mentioned, begin from Abraham's first coming into Canaan. The Samaritan text has the verse thus, *now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years.* The most learned Dean Prideaux observes, "that the additions herein do manifestly mend the text, and make it more clear and intelligible, and add nothing to the Hebrew copy, but what must be understood by the reader to make out the sense thereof;"[7] and therefore, why may we not suppose that the ancient Hebrew text was in this verse the same with the present Samaritan, and that the words, which the Samaritan text now has in this place more than the Hebrew, have been dropped by some transcribers? Josephus fixes the time of the Israelites' departure out of Egypt very exactly. He says, it was four hundred and thirty years after Abraham's coming into Canaan; and two hundred and fifteen years after Jacob's coming into Egypt,[8] both which accounts suppose it A. M. 2513, the year above mentioned. If the pastors came into Egypt A. M. 2420, as I have supposed, then the exit of the Israelites will be ninety-three years after the beginning of the reign of Salatis, who was the first of the pastor kings; and according to Sir John Marsham's table of these kings, Apachnas was king of Egypt at this time.

From the time when the children of Israel were arrived at Succoth, to their getting over the Red Sea into Midian, it does not appear that Moses led them one step by his own conduct or contrivance. They removed from Succoth to Etham, a town near the border of the wilderness of Arabia; from thence they moved back into the mountainous parts of Egypt, on the west side of the Red Sea, and encamped near to Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the Sea. According to Moses's narration of their movements, it was in nowise left to his conduct where to lead the people. *When Pharaoh had let the people go,* God *led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near, lest they should repent when they saw war, and return to Egypt; but* God *led them about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea; and the* Lord *went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light, to go by day and night. And the* Lord *spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of*

[7] Prideaux, Connect. vol. ii, part i, b. vi, p. 602.
[8] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 15.

Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over-against Baal-zephon, before it shall ye encamp by the sea.[9] Our very learned countryman, Sir Walter Raleigh, represents the conduct of Moses, in this march of the Israelites, as in some measure the effects of his own prudence and skill in the art of war; and gives some reasons to show how Moses performed, in the several stations of this march, the part of a very able commander. I cannot pretend to judge of the reasons of war suggested by him; but I imagine, that Sir Walter Raleigh's great military skill might lead him to draw an ingenious scheme here for Moses, where we have no reason to think that Moses laid any scheme at all. It is indeed probable, that reason might suggest to Moses, that it could be in nowise proper to lead his people directly through Philistia to Canaan. His people, though very numerous, were a mixed multitude, not used to, and altogether undisciplined for war; and the Philistines were a strong and valiant people, and could not well be thought willing to suffer six hundred thousand persons to enter their country. Discretion and prudence therefore might suggest to him, that it would be more proper to lead them about by the wilderness of Arabia, and to retire with them to Midian, where he was sure he should be well received by Jethro the ruler there; and there to form them, for what undertakings it might please GOD to design them. All this may be consistent with the Hebrew expression of GOD's leading them; who is often said to do several things, by permitting them to be done by the conduct of the persons employed to do them. But though all this might reasonably be supposed; yet, as I said, the journeying of the Israelites from Succoth to the Red Sea, was evidently conducted by GOD's immediate direction. For, 1. if Moses designed to carry the people to Jethro's country, he had a much nearer way from Etham, through the wilderness of Sinai, than to lead the people into the mountainous and rocky country, on the Egyptian borders of the Red Sea, out of which he could not expect to find any passage into Midian, without coming back to Etham again. 2. As far as I am able to judge, this had been a much safer, as well as a much nearer way. When Pharaoh heard that the people had taken this rout, he immediately concluded, that he could easily destroy them; for he said, *they were entangled in the land*, shut up in the rocky and impassable parts of a wild and uncultivated country.[1] I cannot possibly see, why Moses should lead them so much out of their way, and into such a disadvantageous country; but upon the view of the miraculous deliverance, which GOD designed them at the Red Sea. 3. But it is evident, that from Succoth to the Red Sea the Israelites travelled under the especial guidance of Heaven; for the pillar of the cloud, and of

[9] Exod. xiii, 17—22; xiv, 1, 2.

[1] Exod. xiv, 3.

fire, which went before them, directed them where to go. Moses had no room left to choose the way; for *the* LORD *went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them in the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light: to go by day and night. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people.*[2] Moses had only to observe the guidance of this glorious and miraculous direction; and to follow as that led him from Succoth to Etham, to Pihahiroth between Migdol and Baal-zephon, and to the sea.

After the Israelites were gone out of Egypt, Pharaoh repented of his having given them leave to depart, especially upon its being remonstrated to him that the people *were fled;*[3] that they were not gone a few days journey merely to serve the LORD their GOD, but that they designed never to return to him any more. The loss of so many slaves was a very sensible diminution of his grandeur as well as wealth, and the manner in which they were extorted from him, inglorious both to him and his kingdom; and the hearing that Moses had led them into a part of the country, where he thought it would be easy to distress them, made him resolve to follow them, and try if possible to redress his losses, or revenge himself upon them. He therefore immediately summoned together his forces, and with a numerous[4] army pursued the Israelites, and overtook them at their encamping near the Red Sea.[5] At the approach of Pharaoh, the Israelites were afraid; they gave over their lives for lost, and were ready to mutiny against Moses for bringing them out of Egypt.[6] But Moses exhorted the people to fear nothing, assuring them, that they should not be exposed to the difficulty of a battle, but that they should *see the salvation of* GOD; that GOD would give them a miraculous deliverance, and destroy all the Egyptians who pursued them.[7] It was night when Moses thus spake to them, and soon after he had done speaking, the wonderful appearance of the pillar of fire, and of the cloud, which went before them to direct their journey, removed and placed itself between them and the Egyptians, with its shining or bright side towards the Israelites, and with its dark or cloudy side towards the Egyptians; so that the Israelites had light to be moving forward towards the sea, and the Egyptians not being able so well to see their way, could not follow so fast as to get up with them.[8] When the Israelites were come to the sea, they made a stop for some hours. Moses held up his hand over the sea, and GOD was pleased, by a mighty wind, to divide the

[2] Exod. xiii, 21, 22.
[3] Chap. xiv, 5.
[4] Josephus says, that Pharaoh's army, with which he pursued the Israelites, consisted of six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot soldiers. Antiq. lib. ii, c. 15.
[5] Exod. xiv.
[6] Ver. 11.
[7] Ver. 13.
[8] Ver. 19, 20.

waters, and to make a space of dry ground from one side of the sea to the other, for the Israelites to pass over. Hereupon Moses and Aaron led the way,[9] and the Israelites followed them into the midst of the sea; and the waters stood on heaps on each side of them, and were as a wall to them on their right hand, and on their left, all the way they passed. The Egyptians came on after them, and it being night, and they not having the light of the pillar, which guided the Israelites, finding themselves upon dry ground, all the way they pursued, might, perhaps, not at all suspect that they were off the shore; for I imagine, that if they had seen the miraculous heaps of waters on each side the Israelites, they would not so eagerly have ventured still to press after a people saved by so great a miracle. When the Israelites were got safe on the land over the sea, towards morning, *the* LORD looked from the pillar of fire and of the cloud upon the Egyptians, and troubled their host, *and took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily.*[1] The Egyptians began to find their passage not so easy; the waters began to come upon them, and their chariot wheels to sink and stick fast in the muddy bottom of the sea, so that they could get no farther, and Moses, at the command of GOD, stretched forth his hand over the sea. The Egyptians began now at daybreak to see where they were, and to fear their ruin; they turned back as fast as they could, and endeavoured to get back to shore; but the waters came upon them in their full strength, and overwhelmed them. Thus Pharaoh and his whole army were lost in the Red Sea.

Some writers have imagined, that there might be no real miracle in this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Moses was a great master of all science and learning, and had lived in Midian, a country near the borders of this sea, forty years. He had had time and abilities, whilst he kept the flocks of Jethro in this country, to observe, with great accuracy, the ebb and flow of it. The Red Sea, at its northern end, divides itself into two branches, one of which, namely, that over which Moses led the Israelites, from Toro, where the two arms divide, up to the shore upon the wilderness of

[9] Some of the Hebrew writers represent, that when Moses had divided the sea, the Jews were afraid to attempt to go over it, but that the head of the tribe of Judah led the way; and that as a reward for the courage of this tribe in this attempt, they were appointed to march foremost in all the future journeyings of the Israelites; but the Psalmist seems to hint that Moses and Aaron went before the Israelites into the sea, Psalm lxxvii; and this fiction about the tribe of Judah has no better foundation than the numerous other fancies of these writers, one of which, relating to this passage over the Red Sea, is wonderfully extravagant. They say, that GOD, in dividing the waters, made twelve different paths, that each tribe might have a path to itself; but conceits of this sort want no refutation.

[1] Exod. xiv, 25.

Etham, is about thirty leagues, or ninety miles, in length. At Toro this sea is about three leagues, or nine miles, over, and it continues of much about the same breadth for twenty-six leagues, or seventy-eight miles, upwards; from thence for about two leagues it is three miles over, and so it continues up to the land's end, for about six miles, three or four miles over all the way. The adjacent places, Migdol, Pihahiroth, and Baalzephon, direct us whereabouts the Israelites passed over this sea, namely, over this narrow arm, and not above six miles from the land's end; and it may be said, that the flux and reflux of the sea may perhaps cover, and leave dry, every tide, a tract of land, from the place where Moses passed over the Israelites, up to the wilderness of Etham, as the ebb and flow of the sea does all the Wash, on the borders of Lincolnshire in our country; and if so, Moses might easily, by his knowledge of the tides, contrive to lead the people round about among the mountains, so as to bring them to the sea, and pass them over at low water; and the Egyptians, who, pursuing them, came later, might at first enter the wash safely as they did, but at midway, they might find the waters in their flow, loosening the sands, and prevent their going farther. Hereupon they turned back, but it was too late; for the flood came to its height before they could reach the shore. Artapanus in Eusebius[2] informs us, that the inhabitants of Memphis related this transaction in this manner. And it may, perhaps, be thought that Josephus favoured this account, and therefore compared the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, to Alexander's over the sea of Pamphylia.[3] I have given this cavil all the weight and strength of which it can be capable; let us now see how it may be refuted. And I would observe,

I. That the passage of Alexander the Great over the sea of Pamphylia, bears no manner of resemblance to this of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Alexander was to march from Phaselis, a sea port, to Perga, an inland city of Pamphylia. The country near Phaselis, upon the shore of the Pamphylian sea, was mountainous and rocky, and he could not find a passage for his army without taking a great compass round the mountains, or attempting to go over the strand between the rocks and the sea. Arrian observes, that there was no passing here, unless when the wind blew from the north.[4] A wind from this quarter was so directed as to keep back the tide from flowing so far up the shore as the southern winds would drive it; and therefore Alexander perceiving, just at this

[2] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 27. Artapanus's words are, Μεμφιτας μεν λεγειν, εμπειρον οντα τον Μωυσον της χωρας την αμπωτιν τηρησαντα δια ξηρας της θαλασσης το πληθος περαιωσαι.

[3] Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii, c. 16.

[4] Arrian de Exped. Alex. lib. i.

juncture, that there was a violent north wind, laid hold of the opportunity, and sent some of his army over the mountains, but went himself with the rest of his forces along the shore. It is evident that there was no miracle, unless we suppose the wind's blowing opportunely for Alexander's purpose, a miracle; and Plutarch justly remarks, that Alexander himself thought, there was nothing extraordinary in this his passage;[5] and it was certainly very injudicious in Josephus, to seem to compare this passage to that of the Israelites, when they are not in any one respect like to one another. The Israelites crossed over a sea, where no historian ever mentions any person but they, to have ever found a passage. Alexander only marched upon the shore of the sea of Pamphylia, where the historians, who most magnified the Providence that protected him, do allow that any one may go at any time when the same wind blows, which favoured him. It does not appear from any historian, that the Red Sea ebbs backward as far as where the Israelites passed over, so as to leave a large tract of sand dry in the recess of every tide, six or seven miles in length, and three or four miles over. No one but the Israelites ever travelled over dry land in this place, and therefore, undoubtedly, here is no dry land, unless when GOD, by an extraordinary miracle, was pleased to make it so. But,

II. If the passage of Moses and the Israelites over the Red Sea, was upon the recess of a tide, then all the particulars in Moses's account of this affair are false. 1. There needed no cloud nor pillar of fire, to direct the journey of the Israelites to the Red Sea; for they were, upon this supposition, conducted thither by the contrivance of Moses, who thought, that by his skill in the flux and reflux of the sea, he could better escape from Pharaoh there, than in any other place. 2. Moses represents, that the waters were divided and stood on heaps on both sides of the Israelites, and were *a wall to them on their right hand and on their left;* but this could not be true, if here was only an ebb or reflux of the tide. For if the tide was driven back by the strongest wind, the water could stand on heaps on one side only, namely, toward the sea; the land side would be entirely drained, the water being driven by the wind down the channel. 3. Moses represents, that GOD caused a strong East wind to blow, in order to divide the waters, and this, indeed, is a proper wind, to have, by GOD ALMIGHTY's direction, such an effect as he ascribes to it; but if a reflux of the tide had been the only thing here caused, an East wind had not been proper to cause it. The Red Sea runs up from the ocean towards the North-west, therefore a North, or North-west wind would have had the only proper direction to have driven back the tide, if that had been what

[5] Plut. in Alexand. p. 674.

was done in this matter. An East wind blows across this sea, and the effect of it must be to drive the waters partly up to the land's end, and partly down to the ocean, so as to divide the waters, as Moses relates, and not to cause a great ebb of tide; and the blowing of such a wind as this, with a force sufficient to cause so extraordinary an effect, for the opening the Israelites so unexpected and unheard-of a passage through the midst of a sea, must be looked upon as a miraculous interposition of God's power for their preservation.

III. As to what Artapanus suggests, that the Egyptians, who lived at Memphis, related, that Moses conducted the Israelites over the Red Sea, by his skill in the tides, there is no regard due to this fiction, especially if we consider, that the wise and learned part of the Egyptians rejected it. For the same author testifies,[6] that the priests of Heliopolis related the affair quite otherwise. Their account agrees with that of Moses. The Heliopolitans were always esteemed to be the wisest and most learned of all the Egyptians;[7] and if Moses's authority, or the faithfulness of his narration could be questioned, this agreement of the Heliopolitans with him, would be of far more weight with all reasonable enquirers to confirm his account, than what is suggested from the Memphites can be of to impair its credit.

We have brought the Israelites out of Egypt, over the Red Sea into the Wilderness, the period which I designed for this volume. The reader must observe from the whole of it, that from the creation to this time, God had been pleased, in sundry manners, to reveal himself to mankind, in order to plant his true religion in the world; and yet, notwithstanding all that had been done, this religion at this time had well nigh perished from off the face of the Earth. All nations under Heaven, of eminence or figure, were lost to all sense of the true God, and were far gone into the errors of idolatry. The Apostle seems to hint, that the defection was caused by their not *liking to retain* God *in their knowledge*.[8] But why

[6] Euseb. Præp. Evang. ubi sup. The words are: Ἡλιουπολιτας δε λεγειν, επικαταδραμειν τον βασιλεα μετα πολλης δυναμεως, ἁμα και τοις καθιερωμενοις ζωοις, δια το την ὑπαρξιν της Ιουδαικης των Αιγυπτιων χρησαμενος διακομιζειν. τῳ δε Μωυσῃ θειαν φωνην γενεσθαι, παταξαι την θαλασσαν τῃ ῥαβδῳ· τον δε Μωυσον ακουσαντα, επιθειναι τῃ ῥαβδῳ τα ὑδατος, και ἑτω το μεν ναμα διαιρηναι, την δε δυναμιν (some word, perhaps παρασχησαι, seems here to be omitted in the text) δια ξηρας ὁδε πορευεσθαι· συνεμβαντων δε των Αιγυπτιων και διωκοντων, φησι πυρ αυτους εκ των εμπροσθεν εκλαμψαι, την δε θαλασσαν παλιν την ὁδον επικλυσαι· τους δε Αιγυπτιους ὑπο τε τε πυρος, και της πλημμυριδος παντας διαφθαρηναι. This account of the Memphites is remarkably agreeable to that of Moses. It indeed hints, that there were some lightnings, which Moses has not expressly mentioned; but perhaps it may be conjectured from Psalm lxxvii, 16—20, that there were lightnings contributing to the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, and very probably there were anciently many true relations of this fact, besides that of Moses, from some of which the Memphites might deduce their narration.

[7] Herodotus, lib. ii, c. 3.

[8] Rom. i, 28.

should men not like to retain the knowledge of GOD? I can think of no sufficient answer to this question, suitable to the circumstances of these ages, unless I may offer what follows: GOD had given exceeding great promises to Abraham and his posterity, that he would *make of him a great nation; make his name great*, and that in him, or *in his seed all the families of the Earth should be blessed*:[9] that he would *give him northward and southward, eastward and westward, all the land, which he then saw in the length and in the breadth of it, from the river Euphrates unto the river of Egypt*;[1] that he would make him *a father of many nations*, that he would *raise nations from him*, and that *kings should come out of him*.[2] GOD protected him, wherever he lived, in so signal a manner, that whenever he was in danger of suffering injury, his adversaries were prevented from hurting him.[3] His son Ishmael was to be made a nation, because he was his seed;[4] nay, twelve princes were to descend from him,[5] and the seed of Abraham was to *possess the gate of his enemies*.[6] Most of these promises were repeated to Isaac,[7] and afterwards to Jacob;[8] and the remarkable favours designed for this family were not bestowed upon them in private, so as to be little known to the world; but *when they were but few, even a few, and strangers in the land* where they sojourned, *they went from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people, and* GOD *suffered no man to do them wrong, but reproved even kings for their sakes*.[9] The name of Abraham was eminently famous in most nations of the then inhabited world; and I cannot but think it probable, that the kings of many countries might greatly mistake the design of GOD toward him and his descendants, as the Jews themselves afterwards did, when they came to have a nearer expectation of their Messiah, and imagined that he was to be a mighty temporal prince to subdue all their enemies. In this manner the early kings might misinterpret the promises to Abraham, and think that in time his descendants were to cover the face of the earth, and to be the governors of all nations. I cannot say, whether the Hittites might not, in some measure, be of this opinion, when they styled Abraham *(Nesi Elohim,[1])* Βασιλευς παρα Θεϑ, say the LXX, *i. e. a prince from* or *appointed by* GOD; and, perhaps, Abimelech might apprehend that Abraham's posterity would in time become the possessors of his country; and being willing to put off the evil for at least three generations, he made a league with him, and ob-

[9] Gen. xii, 3.
[2] Chap. xvii, 4, 5, 6.
[4] Chap. xxi, 13.
[6] Chap. xxiv, 17.
[8] Chap. xxviii, 13, 14, 15.
[1] Gen. xxiii, 6.
[1] Chap. xiii, 14, 15, 16, 17; and xv. 18.
[3] Chap. xx, 3.
[5] Chap. xvii, 20.
[7] Chap. xxvi, 4, and 24.
[9] Psalm cv, 12, 13, 14.

tained a promise, that he would not afflict his people, during his time, nor in the days of his son, or his son's son.[2] Thus the promises, and the prophecies to Abraham and his children, might be thought to run contrary to the views and interests of the kings and heads of nations; and they might therefore think it good policy to divert their people from attending too much to them. And for this end, they being in their kingdoms the chief directors in religion, they might, upon the foundation of literature, and human science, form such schemes of augury, astrology, vaticination, omens, prodigies, and enchantments, as the magicians of Egypt became famous for, in order to make religion more subservient to their interests; and in these they proceeded from one step to another, in what they they undoubtedly thought to be the result of rational inquiry; until, in Moses's time, the rulers of the Egyptian nation, who were then the most learned body in the world, *beguiled by the deceit of vain philosophy*, and too politically engaged to attend duly to any arguments which might convince them of their errors, were arrived at so intrepid an infidelity, that the greatest miracles had no effect upon them. I am sensible that these points have been set in a different light by some writers; but perhaps there may be reason to re-examine them. The Pagan divinations, arts of prophecy, and all their sorceries and enchantments, as well as their idolatry and worship of false gods, were founded, not upon superstition, but upon learning and philosophical study; not upon too great a belief of, and adherence to, revelation, but upon a pretended knowledge of the powers of nature. Their great and learned men erred in these points, not for want of free-thinking, such as they called it; but their opinions upon these subjects were in direct opposition to the true revelations, which had been made to the world, and might be called the deism of these ages; for such certainly was the religion of the governing and learned part of the heathen world in these times. The unlearned populace, indeed, in all kingdoms, adhered, as they thought, to revelation; but they were imposed upon, and received the political institutions of their rulers, invented by the assistance of art and learning, instead of the dictates of true revelation. In this manner I could account for the beginning of the heathen idolatries in many nations. They took their first rise from the governors of kingdoms having too great a dependance upon human learning; and entertaining a conceit, that what they thought to be the religion, which nature dictated, would free them from some imaginary subjections, which they apprehended revealed religion was calculated to bring them under. Length of time, advance of science falsely so called, and political views, had

[2] Gen. xxi, 23.

carried on these errors to a great height; when God was pleased in a most miraculous manner to deliver his people from the Egyptian bondage; to re-establish true religion among them, and to put the priesthood into different hands, from those who had hitherto been appointed to exercise the offices of it. But the pursuing these subjects, must belong to the subsequent parts of this undertaking.

END OF VOL. II.

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